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Empire to an In-day leader off. This journey led him from an obsessive emulation of Western civilization in his forties, and, finally, to a mature realization of what we identify today his inclusive vision of humanity. Gandhi's value system, then, realized everything at once: he struggled to develop it
through constant reexamination, fighting for a fit between his evolving personal values and the mode of political leadership. She began at the age of nineteen in London by entering uncomfortably into eng-lish society, determined to be clumsy no more, but to try to become pol-ished. He would later call it the task too impossible to become an English knight, but
at the time he had tragicomic aspects: Clothes the Mumbai hack I was wearing were, I thought, unsuitable for English society and I got new ones. . . I also went in for a chimney hat that cost nineteen shillings, excessively priced in those days. No No With that, I lost ten pounds in a night dress made in Bond Street, the center of fashion life in London. I lost ten
minutes every day in front of a huge mirror, seeing myself fixing my tie and starting from my hair the right way. My hair was by no means soft, and every day meant a regular struggle with the brush to keep it in position. Every time the hat was posing and going, the hand would automatically move towards the head to adjust the hair, not to mention the other
civilized habit of the hand occasionally operating for the same purpose when sitting in polished society. As if all this wasn't enough to make me look at the thing, I turned my attention to other details that were raised to go towards making an English gentleman. I was told it was nec-essary for me to take lessons in dancing, French and elocution. So he
continued, a compulsion to monkey his master's paths. Countless confessions come from other victims of this kind of colonialism or racism, describing the lethal process of trying to win over the self-show8 Introduction in a way that only brings self-alienation. The tale is best told by MalcolmX in his autobiography. After pouring his thyky hair to make him
performed, as straight as that of any white man, he concludes, how ridiculous he was! Stupid enough to be there just lost in admiration of my hair now looking white. . This was my first big step towards self-degradation: when I endured all this pain, literally burning my flesh because you look like a white man's hair. I had joined this multitude of black men and
women in America who brainwash into believing that blacks are inferior and top white people who will even mutilated their God-created bodies to try to look beautiful by white standards . . . It makes you wonder if black has completely lost his sense of identity, he has lost touch with himself 24 The typical pattern of behavioral change recorded in these stories
is to abandon the emulation by denunciation of the oppressor. Both MalcolmX and Gandhi follow this true to form. Malcolm asa Black Muslim's radical separatism is well known; Gandhi's separatist phase is not, because it seems so out of character with his mature attitude of inclusion. However, as Malcolm had to go through the fire of black racism before he
could realize the humanism of his last period, so gandhi, too, pursued a tortuous path to liberation. In 1893, in London law, Gandhi went to South Africa to make a legal career representing members of the Indian community there, at a safe distance from the expectations and constraints of his rela-tives in Rajkot.25 No one could have predicted Gandhi would
spend twenty-one years in South Africa, let alone the extent to which this long experience would change his life. The first major transformation came from his disillusionment with disillusionment the early days of his arrival in Durban; The epic film Gandhi
dramatically portrays how he was assaulted because of his skin color. His emulating attitude, however, was very profound, and for years he excused such abuses as un representative of the real spirit of British civilization, which he characterized as inherently fair and fair. In late 1905, having practiced law in South Africa for twelve years, Gandhi was able
tourge his Indian community: We must not envy [Britain], but emulate example. By 1909, however, Gandhi, now in his forties, had drastically changed: If India copies England, it is my firm conviction that it will be ruined. Introduction 9 What explains this face-to-face? Gandhi's separatism began in the sum-mer of 1906, with the British response to the Zulu
rebellion, an uprising that British soldiers suppressed with shocking brutality. Gandhi entered that summer so loyal to his colonial rulers that he volunteered to serve as a doctor with the government against the Zulu. He soon decoded that what the British had characterized as a rebellion was really a massacre, often of innocent civilians. At first he comforted
by not having wounded Zulus, but soon his assumptions about English civilization, fixed for decades, completely collapsed. Erik Erikson, in Gandhi's hispsychobiography, incisively describes this moment: the experience of witnessing the outrages perpetuated in black bodies by white men aroused Gandhi a deeper identification with mistreatment and stronger
aversion against all male sadism, including sexual ones as he had probably felt since childhood to be part of the explore Gandhi's connection apparently to the oppression of women is significant: from that moment on racism, imperialism and sexism as related, all different but similar forms of domination. Immediately after this experience, Gandhi's behavior
signaled a return to some of the essential attitudes formed in childhood, particularly to his image of his mother taking vows of self-discipline. Consequently, he imposed on himself a stricter code of moral restraint with a vow of lifelong celibacy (brahmacharya). This act freed him: I realized that a vote, far from closing the door to real freedom, opened it. 3°
Freed him from family ties to perform greater service to the community, enhancing his political power while preparing to break with the colonial system through civil disobedience came only a 15th after the defeat of the Zulu. In August 1906 the British colonial government in Johannesburg gave notice of the
new legislation. All Indians were required to register with the police giving fingerprints and noticing other brands of A substantial fine or three months in prison made those who breach. Among Indians, the law quickly became known as the Black Act. Gandhi, as the leader of his community, called the new legislation discriminatory and humiliating because the
In-Dians were considered common criminals. He called a meeting of trithem and transvaal Indians on September 11 in Johannesburg, and, for this initiative, decided to protest massive civil disobedience. He made it clear when moving the resolution that we are
making, since our ex-istence in South Africa depends on our total observation. 33 He insisted that it was so severe that it must be sealed by each person with an oath before God. Much later Gandhi would refer to the events surrounding this meeting as the adveniment of satyagraha, namely the birth of his method of nonviolence. Here were the main
ingredients: a common perception of extreme injustice and a conviction that civil disobedience could offer. This kind of direct action or empowerment meant, therefore, that it was conceived, that overcoming fear and self-reflection recov-ery could come through collective nonviolence. His new method was initially described as passive resistance, but within a
year Gandhi rejected this term because it did not convey the acrimonious power of nonviolence. He then coined the term satyagraha, defined as the force of truth and love. From the beginning, Gandhi therefore wanted to emphasize the special power of satyagraha by distinguishing him from thepass resistance or what he called duragraha, the strength of
bias. Du-ragraha is the forgery of satyagraha because it involves misuse of power, coming from a selfish obstinacy. Passive or duragrahipot resistance can prevent physical violence, but it still harbors the enmity and anger within, using nonviolence as a tactic, but lacking commitment to its core values of sub-footing, openness and respect for the opponent.
Martin Luther King, Jr., understood this distinction when, after DeGandhi, he dismissed passive resistance as a mistake. Satyagraha, Kingwrote, avoids not only refuses to shoot his opponent, but also refuses to hate him. . . . In the struggle for human dignity, the world's
oppressed should not succumb to the temptation to become bitter or enjoy hate campaigns. . . . Along the way of life, someone must have enough sense and morality enough to cut the chain of hate. This can be done by projecting the ethos of love at the center of our lives.36Gandhi would probably have applianced this interpretation, especially if he had ten
more years to see it come true in the boycott of the Mont-gomery bus, the remarkable satyagraha; the second, integrally Introduction
11relada, is his theory of freedom or swaraj. The Senskrit word swaraj car-ried two different meanings in ancient India. It could denote, in a political sense, freedom of a sovereign kingdom of external control. He could also be released in an internal, spiritual or psychological sense, freeing himself from illusion and ignorance, free to gain more self-
understanding and consequent self-mastery. Obsessions with money and property or ways of manipulating people were seen in this light as addictive forms of human bondage. The Bhagavad-Gita, hinduism's holiest book and Gandhi's main text, regarded freedom as a spiritual liberation. He described the free person as one who acts without desire,
possessiveness, and who finds peace in the consciousness of the infinite spirit, thus being liberated from deception. 37 This is the key: to see beyond the illusion of separatism, to gain a vision of the unity of every being or the unity of life. The prerequisite for this mind is self-discipline. Control must be exercised to focus on the es-sential nature of reality and
distinguish it from the transient illusions, theistrary temptations and the fleeting distractions that surround us. Thus, theBhagavad-Gita hailed the freed sage as the man of discipline and declared: Arming himself with discipline, seeing everything with an egalitarian eye, sees the self in all creatures and all creatures in the self. This is the philosophy of freedom
that came from the classical indian tradition to shape Gandhi's idea of swaraj. He defined freedom in a two-way sense, having political and spiritual sides, but drew more attention to the inter-nal aspect of freedom, a higher consciousness achieved through a disciplined suit of self-awareness and knowledge. What mattered most to Gandhi was how he could
connect with a whole nexus of other concepts, but especially to satyagraha, his idea of nonviolent power and truth. These theories were initially developed in Gandhi's first major writing, Hind Swaraj (Indian Independence), published in 1909, three years after the civil disobedience movement began in South Africa. This treaty consolidated his theories of
freedom and power. Real swaraj, he proclaimed, demands self-government or self-control. The road to it is satya-graha: the power of truth and love. Several years after this very important book appeared, Gandhi recalled the intention to write it, explaining its original purpose in these terms: It was written . . . in response to the Indian school of violence, and its
prototype in South Africa. I came into contact with all the acquaintances known anarchist in Lon-don. His bravery impressed me, but I feel his zeal was wrong. I heard 12 Introduction that violence was not a remedy for India's ills, and that its civilization required the use of a different and superior weapon. . . . [Hind Swaraj] teaches the gospel of love rather than
that of hate. It replaces violence with self-serious. He faces soul strength [satyagraha] against brute force.4° Six months before writing the book, Gandhi had spent three months in a Pretoria prison for civil disobedience. There he read Thoreau, and was particularly impressed by this passage of civil disobedience: Isaw that, if there was a stone wall between
me and my villagers, it was even harder to climb or break before they could become as free as I was. 41 Gandhi liked this vision of freedom and closely identified with Thoreau's imprisonment for civil disobedience sixty-three years earlier. He commented along these lines from Thoreau that the individual pursuing the truth through civil disobedience can be
imprisoned, but hissoul is therefore free, and having this vision of life in prison, feels quite free. He concluded that a correct understanding and enjoyment of freedom only rests with individuals and their mental attitude. 42 There is no doubt that Thoreau's influence was considerable, second to Tolstoy among non-Indian sources. Most elements of this flu are
obvious: his prescription of civil disobedience, which extends to fiscal resistence and incarceration, to resist war and slavery. Less obvious, however, are the ways in which Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi, namely Thoreau's ideas of truth and freedom appealed to Gandhi and tru
of mind or consciousness that required intense self-discipline. Along with Thoreau, Gandhi venerated Tolstoy, for his book The King-Dom of God is within you revealed like no other the infinite possibilities of universal love. Tolstoy confirmed Gandhi's faith in nonviolence, while Tooreau contributed to his ideas of freedom and power. These two bril-liant
visionaries, one American and the other Russian, so different from others and from Gandhi, nevertheless affected ideas in Hind Swaraj takes the form of a dialogue between Reader and Edi-tor. The former argues with terrorist ideas of haste and rash; the lat-ter presents Gandhi's own
case. At first, the editor appears on the defensive. It gradually subdues the terrorist storm. Ultimately, the Reader gives in to the strength and novelty of an alternative that seems more revolutionary than their own method of violent insurrection. It is the reader who initially raises the central question of the book, What is it that isswaraj? Most of the text proceeds
to expose Gandhi's idea of 13The reader gives his version of swaraj first: As in Japan, so should India. We must have our own navy, our own army, and we must have eur own splendour, and then the voice of India will sound across the world. . . . If the education we have received is any use, if the works of Spen-cer, Mill and others are of any importance, and
if the English Parliament is the Mother of Parliament, I certainly think we should copy the English. You want the inage es: You have drawn the image well. Indeed it means this: that we want to govern English without English. You want the nature of the tiger, but not the tiger; that is, it would make English from India. And when it becomes English, it will be said
Hindustan but English. This is not the Swaraj I want. . . . It is as difficult for me to understand the true nature of Swaraj as it seems to be easy. So, for now, I am happy with striving to show that what you call Swaraj is not truly Swaraj as it seems to be easy. So, for now, I am happy with striving to show that what you call Swaraj is not truly Swaraj as it seems to be easy.
the source of their powerlessness. Some Englishmen claim that they took and held India by the sword, says the editor. These two statements are wrong. Thesword is totally useless for holding India. We just keep them. The independence movement must attack the sources of this collaboration. First, then cultivate fear. . . . Satyagraha cannot proceed to a
fearless step. Those who can only follow the path of non-violent resistances who are free from fear, whether in terms of their possessions, false honor, their relationships, government, bodily injury or death. This psychological change is an absolute requirement for a free society. The next step towards the swaraj is to tackle overdue social reforms that have
been hampered by the British presence. The first of these is trust and tension between Hindus and the large Muslim minority in LaIndia. Gandhi devotes most of the space to this problem and therefore prophetically foresees what will ultimately become the main obstacle to Indian independence. As much as Gandhi is later accused of misunderling the bases
of the Hindu-Muslim conflict, it cannot be said that heignorate him. From the start of his political career in South Africa, he had this priority in his social reform agenda. Hind Swarajhe argues that the eignorate him. From the start of his political career in South Africa, he had this priority in his social reform agenda. Hind Swarajhe argues that the allegation that there is a born enmity and an inevitable irreconcilability between Hindus and Muslims has been 14 Introductions invented by our mutual enemy,
the British, in order to divide arid con-quer. The remedy for this is to engender trust and tolerance among hallucinating in India. Gandhi's other reform is essentially as it is aimed at social elites, especially lawyers and doctors, but extends beyond elitist institutions, from schools to Western technology. It attacks modern systems of law, medicine and
communion created by British imperialism, because Indians in these characteristics were among the main collaborators with colonialism. Fortaking this position Gandhi was a reactionary, but a Democrat who desired social justice, economic equality
and a secular state. He despaired of the indianelites' arrogant indifference to the masses; these elites wanted neither revolution nor social and economic equality. Hind Swaraj marks the first salvo in a lifelong battle against elitism by arguing that the truly democratic use of machinery or med-icine to improve the quality of life of peasants could come only if
Indianattitudes advanced to adopt egalitarian norms and a fair distribution of wealth. The most original aspect of his reform program was the insistence that each was devoted to manual labor, anatema for privileged classes given their strong caste taboos. Gandhi's requirement to Hind Swaraj was that lawyers and doctors should take a hand loom to turn
homegrowncotton (khadi) and then even take it instead of British goods. This was not only intended to stimulate the boycott of English products, but also to boost the identification of age with the masses, who could not afford the imported cloth. Gandhi's term for this form of resistance was swadeshi, which means dependence on the country's own products.
Hind Swaraj's last half is largely dedicated to establishing the hirelation between freedom and power, from swaraj to satyagraha. Realsmaraj is possible, he says, only where satyagraha is the governing force of the village. 48 The term force is constantly used in the definition of satya-graha: The force involved in this can be described as the force of love, the
strength of the soul. . . . The strength of love is the same as soul strength or truth. We have evidence of his work at every step. The universe would disappear without the existence of this force. Satyagraha is contrasted with brute force. Gandhi argues: The strength of arms is powerless when re-combined against the strength of love or soul, 49 a force found
in the universe morally comparable to the physical force of gravity. Non-violent actions Introduction 15 releas a natural power that when used correctly must have fundamental political, social and economic consequences. Hind Swaraj originally overflows in his conceptualization of the relationships between swaraj and satyagraha. Nowhere is this more evident
than in Gandhi's creative interpretation of the logical relationship means and ends of action. The editor tells his terrorist friend, His belief that there is no connection between the media and you get them a big mistake. . . . The media can be similar to a seed, the end a atree; I I is the same inviolable connection between the means and the end between the media can be similar to a seed, the end a atree; I I is the same inviolable connection between the means and the end between the
and the tree. . . . We collect exactly how we sow.' Because the method is satyagraha and the end is swaraj, then false release comes only through the purest means, the power of nonviolence. Gandhi concludes his manifesto of freedom with an eloquence that would soon fire up the Indian independence movement. Within a decade of finishing Hind Swaraj
would be the leader of the Indian National Party and, therefore, of the struggle for freedom. At that time these lines would be on the lips of thousands, literate or not: If we become free, India is free. And in this thought you have a definition of Swaraj when we learn to govern ourselves. It is, therefore, in the palm of our hands. Don't consider this
Swaraj to be like a dream. There's no idea sitting still. The Swaraj I want to imagine is such that, having once realized it, we will strive until the end of our lives to persuade others to do the same. But such Swaraj must be experienced by each for himself. A drowned man will never save another. Slaves ourselves, it would be a mere pretation to think about
freeing others . . . Blaming the English is useless, they came for us, and they remain also for the same reason, and either they will go or change their nationalist in 1909. Gandhi returned to India in 1915. The long period in South Africa had given a
prolonged opportunity for successive satyagrahas or campaigns of civil distrust by the Indian minority there. These had culminated in the great March of November 1913, in which 2,221 men, women and children participated in a mass protest against racist legislation. This had a dra-matic impact, and before Gandhi left many of the complaints the Indians had
suffered were effectively straightened out. Unfortunately, after his departure, the apartheid regime reaffirmed itself with renewed vigour; Therefore, it is correct16 Introductions to say that what Gandhi did in South Africa was less important than whatSouth Africa did to him. From his point of view in 1915, experiments had proved successful; He was now eager
to apply satyagraha to India's biggest context. And if ever there was a case for the importance of tim-ing, when the historicans, sometimes historical struggles are best represented by the fighters themselves, especially when they
have a trained eye not only for the details of combat, but also for grand designs. the Atenian general and historian of ancient Greece, offers the best proof of this in nie immortal analysis of the Pelopotasian War. The Indian independence movement found its thucydides in one of the non-violent generals in the nationalist struggle and af-terward the first prime
minister of independent India. Nehru was a practitioner without fear of civil disobedience, as well as a shrewd analyst of Gandhi's thedynamic power. Thucydides composed his story in exile; Nehru wrote his, The Discovery of India, as a political prisoner. As both reflected on the epic struggles that had submerged them, they recorded and interpreted decisive
turning points that defined the challenges of their great civilizations. In his book, Nehru reveals India's mood from 1914 to 1919, as well as the economic and psychological condi-tions that explain Gandhi's rise to power during this critical moment in his history. Nehru's analysis focuses first on India at the beginning of World War I. It moves directly to the
political scene, where the independence movement had reached a low ebb mainly due to the split in the [IndianNational] Congress between the two sections, the so-called extremists and the moderates. This rampant factionalism produced a crisis, tearing the organization apart in 1907. Political infighting continued until 1919, when Gandhi unified Congress
under his leadership. Nehru describes the economic conditions in detail. A huge dwelling of wealth had developed, with profits flowing to for-eign capital owners in Dundee and London as well as to inflate the riches of the Indianos, while the workers who had created these dividends lived at an incredibly low level of existence. Nehru provides graphic details of
the terrible poverty he witnessed, severe deprivation of food, clothing and shelter, through which millions of men are hungry and jobless. The data is particularly damaging to the government because it cites official British reports, including one from a director of public health in Bengal who claims that that the peasantry of that province were 17'leading to a diet
on which even rats could not live for more than five weeks. Then Nehru becomes the period immediately after the war. This was a critical moment in the history of Britain sought to rescue its domestic economy by increasing the exploitation of its collateral. This
inevitably worsened the political situation as control of the government became more authoritarian. Britain had a vast empire around the world, in which literally the sun never set, and India remained the jewel in the crown and thus the object of most imperial domination. The worst moments for Indians were in 1919 when, hoping for some relief from the so-
called victory of the allies, they achieved repression. Nehru captures the mood: World War I finally ended, and peace, instead of bringing us relief and progress, brought repressive legislation and martial law. A One sense of milition and passionate anger filled our people. All the unending talk of reform and constituent indianization of services was a mockery
and an insult when the manhood of our country was being crushed and the inexorable and ongoing process of exploitation was deepening our poverty and suffocating our vitality. We had become an abandoned nation. But what could we do to change this vicious process? It seemed that they helped us less in the grip of some all-powerful monster; our limbs
were paralyzed, our minds dead. The peasantry was servitude and mounted by fear; industrial workers were no better off. The middle classes, intelligence, which may have been beacon lights in the enveloping darkness, were submerged in this gloom. Somehow his condition was even more unfortunate than that of the peasantry. A large number of them,
déclassé intellectuals, cut off from the earth and unable to do any kind of manual or technical work, joined the swelling army of the unemployed, and helpless, desperate, sank ever deeper into morality.53 The nadir of moral collapse in India to govern and govern alike came on 13 April, with what became known in history as the Amritsar mas-sacre. As
Gandhi later wrote, this tragic moment in Indian history provided an indelible example of how long the British Government is able to go, and what inhumanities and barbarities it is capable of perpe-trating in order to maintain its power. 54 Thousands of Hindus and Sikhs had gathered in the town square of Amritsar, a town in Northern India's prov-ince Punjab
for a religious holiday. Instead of a celebration they received a ruthless rifle from the troops who fired relentlessly at 18 Introductioncrowd, for British Army Commander General Reginald Dyer, some as they saw the gathering as a dangerous crowd acting in challenging their proc-lamation of martial law. Four hundred Indian civilians were killed and hundreds
wounded that Sunday afternoon. In the hearings that focused the tragedy, Dyer justified his action by testifying: I think it was a merciful thing. I thought I should shoot well and shoot well and shoot hard, so that I or anyone else shouldn't have to shoot again. Gandhi was repelled not only by Dyer's arrogance and the public assertion he subsequently received in England, but
also by the behavior of Indianos who joined the government's use of terror. He concluded from the episode that imperialism in India had victimized icolonizer alike through its insidious climate of submission and dominance. In an article about General Dyer, Gandhi wrote that, the loss of innocent life [is] deplorable. But the slow torture, degradation
and emasculation that followed was far worse as Indians were sub-sequentially subjected to indescribable humiliations. In a calculated way, mali-cious the British Kill the soul of a nation. 56 Nehru reflected in similar terms on Amritsar's lessons: Imperialism and the domination of one people over another is evil, and so is racialism. But imperialism plus
racialism can only lead to horror and ultimately to the degradation of all those interested in them. In the midst of this quagmire of poverty and defeatism that sucked it up? The way he frames his response presents an aperceptive commentary on
Gandhi's sources of power: And then Gandhi arrived. It was like a powerful stream of fresh air that made us lie down and breathe deeply; like a beam of light that pierced the darkness and pulled the stairs from our eyes; as a whirlwind that disturbed many things, but above all the work of people's minds. It did not go downhill from above; it seemed to emerge
from india's millions, speaking their language and relentlessly drawing attention to them and their terrible condition. Take away the backs of these peasants and workers, he told us, all of you who live by their exploitation; get rid of the system that produces this poverty and misery. Political freedom took new form then and acquired new content. 坛The staff
were very friendly and helpful. But all this was secondary. The essence of his teaching was fear and truth, and action, so we had been told in our old books, was abhaya (fearless), not just body courage, but ab-sence of fear of the mind. Janaka
and Yajnavalka had said, at the dawn of our Introductory 19 story, that it was the function of a people's leaders to make them fearless. But the dominant impetus in India under British rule was that of fear -enva- sive, oppressor, strangling fear; fear of the army, the police, the widespread secret service; fear of the official class; fear of laws aimed at suppressing
and in prison; fear of the landlord's agent; fear of unemployment, hunger and hunger, which were always on the threshold. It was against this fear that Gandhi's calm and determined voice rose: Don't be afraid. Was it as simple as all this? Not quite. And yet fear builds its ghosts more fearsome than reality itself, and reality, when
analysed calmly and its voluntarily accepted consequences, loses much of its terror. So, suddenly, as it were, that black stick of fear rose from people's shoulders, not entirely, of course, but to an astonishing degree. As fear is to falsehood, the truth follows fear. The Indian people did not become much more truthful than they were, nor did they change their
essential essential nature However, a sea change was visible, as the need for falsehood and stealthy behaviour looked like this. It was a psychological change, almost as if some expert in psychoanalysis methods had delved into the patient's past, discovered the origins of his complexes, exposed them to his opinion, and thus get rid of that burden. There was
that psychological reaction too; a feeling of shame in our long-standing submission to an alien rule that had degraded and humiliated us, and the desire to present no longer whatever the consequences.58 The power of Gandhi's new style of leadership was restorative, tera-peutly designed to regain India's spirit and identity. The twenty-eight-year-old national
movement that followed the Amritsar massacre mobilized the country into three successive campaign of non-cooperation (1919-22), the massive civil disobedience movement or satyagraha jump (1930-31), and the wartime resistance or Quit India movement against the
government (1942-44). Each of these specific issues, such as the salt tax in 1930, but all had the overall goal of achieving swaraj. The first campaign of non-cooperation surprised not only the British Raj, but also the whole world because of its effectiveness and novelty. Nothing of this nature in politics had been seen before. Mass strikes had been tested in
various European contexts, but the ideology and practice of satyagraha, with its creedal claim of nonviolence, was filled with surprises, culminating in Gandhi's decision to endeal when Indians participated in an episode of violence, as Gandhi describes in Chaura's The Crime, included in this volume. His decisions
were challenged by other leaders who could not accept that a violent in-cident end to the campaign. Gandhi insisted that his purpose was not 20 Introducmerely to evict the British, but to prepare his people for swaraj, a kind of freedom that could not simply be defined as independence. Going ex-flat, independence can mean license to do what you like.
Stparaj is positive. Independence is negative. . . . Swaraj can therefore be depicted as an undisciplined rule from within. This call for restraint was an unlikely attitude to a revolutionary leader. In its 20th-century history, aptly titled The Age of Extremes, Eric Hobsbawm discusses the first success of the non-cooperation campaign. The government, he observes,
admitted its great anxiety when India became so quickly ungovernable, and at that point criti-cal, Gandhi chose to impose discipline, persuading Congress not to his country in the wild darkness of an uncontrollable resurrection by the masses . . . After Gandhi called the campaign of civil disobedience in early 1922, on the grounds that he had led to the
policemen's mas-sacre in a it can reasonably be claimed that Britishrule in India depended on its moderation - much more than on the police and the armies. 6° This moderation came only as a product of scrupulous training in disciplined nonviolent action. The second civil-disobedience movement a decade later acted on the press that the country was more
prepared for mass action. Although the campaign produced substantial violence by the government, none came from civil resistance to the salt tax. Civil disobedience began with what became known in history as the salt march.
Gandhi and eighty of his followers walked for more than two hundred miles in twenty-four days to the Indian marine coast, while challenging the government's monopoly on salt production by manufac-tormenting their own natural salt deposits on the coasts. Hundreds of ofthousands followed Gandhi's example and were arrested for breaking salt laws.
Everyone understood from the outset that the real point of the campaign was not simply to manufacture salt but to produce disciplined civil disobedience. However, even after these nonviolence campaigns, India ultimately launched imself into mass violence with the civil war that engulfed its independence in August 1947. Gandhi, now in his late seventies,
threw his hole into reversing the tide of religious violence consuming India. In November and December 1946, after the initial invention of the Hindu-Muslim conflict in Bengal, Gandhi, incredibly, walked 116 miles through forty-seven villages in affected areas, halting periods of prevarication in the worst of them. By January 1947 he had been successful in
introducing 21Bengal. He then rushed to Bihar, another scene of religious or commu-nal conflict, in this case the wholesale killing of Muslims by Hindus. His efforts to reestablish peace persisted throughout the following year until his haassay. By far the most dramatically effective Satyagrahas at the time were their firms in protecting Muslims in Kolkata and
Delhi. In fact, the great power of his two great fasts of September 1947 and January 1948 now had an im-pact on indians comparable to that of his salt march on the British. They were classified as never before the remarkable range of their ofsatyagraha technique. Nicholas Mansergh, in a close historical analysis of this pe-riod, concluded that in this last
year of his life, Gandhi's influence was transcendent. . . . It was his preaching of his doctrine of nonviolence more than any other the only one standing between India and the bloodshed on a frightening scale. Another British historian, E. W. R. Lumby, was fas-cinat with Gandhi's Kolkata quickly because it seemed almost magically to transform this city. Lumby,
not given to excessive exaggeration, however, crossed that in Kolkata Gandhi had in fact worked a miracle, miracle, miracle, the greatest of modern times. If British historians of this quality are any measure, then the judgment of Gandhi's story is clear: his leaderships were indemnified for more than forty years of political action by the unenviable powers of
nonviolence. In Delhi and Kolkata, Gandhi would announce his intentions at hisregular prayer meetings. These daily gatherings attracted thousands of Muslims and Hindus to hear him begin with readings of his sacred texts and then appeal to his common faith in God, to the urgent need for trust and tolerance. Extremist elements in both religious
communities, often traumatized by family victims in the civil war, despisedGandhi for his insistence on forgiveness. They wanted revenge. On January 30, 1948, when Mohandas Gandhi died instantly. Godse was captured,
tried and executed. In his judgment, he explained his motives. A well-educated Brahman, o-thodox, thirty-five-year-old editor of a Hindu weekly in Maha-rashtra, had planned the killing carefully: I sat intensely on the atrocities perpetrated on Hinduism and its dark and deadly future to confront Islam outside and Gandhi inside. He believed that the war against
Muslims should accelerate.63 But his assassination of Gandhi had the oppo-place effect of what he had intended. The Hindu community was shocked with the guilt and remorse that the Mahatma had been killed by one of their own. They decided to end the conflict, and the killing was halted.22 Introduction If Gandhi's assassination had led to increased
murder and recrimination, then it could be considered a trial on the futility of nonviolence. As happened, in the eloquent words of a prominent Muslim politician in India at the time, Gandhi's murder had a catharticeffect and throughout India the men noticed with a shock of the depth to which he had dragged them. The Indian nation turned back from the edge
of the abyss and millions blessed the memory of the man who had made redemption possible. 64 There was no greater tribute to his life than the impact of his death, his final statement for Swaraj. NOTES 1. Eric Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991 (New York: Pantheon, 1994), 208. Another appreciative comment by an American
political leader lies on Earth in the balance of Al Gore (New York: Penguin,1993), 14. 2. Robert S. McNamara, In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam (New York Times, March 5, 1993, A29. 4. Mohandas Karamchand The collected works of Mahatma Gandhi
(hereinafter CWMG) (Delhi: Division of Publications, Ministry of Information, and Dissemination, Government of India, 1961) 25: 424. 5. Howard Gardner, creating minds: an anatomy of Seen throughout the lives of Freud, Einstein wrote that in our era of
moral decay [Gandhi] he was the only man who represented this greatest conception of human relations in the political sphere to which we must aspire with all our powers. (Einstein on Peace, edited by OttoNathan and Heinz Norden [New York: Avenel Books, 1981], 468.) The trial of Martin Luther King is cited in Note 8. Nelson Mandela said: I could never
achieve the standards of morality, simplicity and love for the poor established by the Mahatma. . . . Gandhi was human without weaknesses. (New York Times, January 30, 1995, A6.) Aung San SuuKyi, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1991 for her nonviolent government-style resistance in Myanmar, Myanmar, acquired her lasting admiration for the
principles of nonviolence embodied in the life and philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. (Suu Kyi, FreedomFrom Fear [New York: Penguin, 1991], 291.) His Holiness, The Dalai Lama of Tibet, recounts Gandhi's inspiration: I had and still have faith in the doctrines of nonviolence he preached and practiced. Now I made up my mind more firmly to follow his lead
whatever difficulty I may face. I determined more strongly than ever that I could ever associate myself with acts of violence. (My land and mypeople [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962], 146.) Introduction 23 7. Nelson Mandela, Gandhi the Prisoner: A Comparison, Indian Horizon. 43, No. 8. Martin Luther King, Jr., The Words of Martin Luther King, Jr. (New
York: New Market Press, 1983), 71. 9.CWMG 39: 7-9. 10.lbid., 21. 11. Susanne and Lloyd Rudolph have incisively analyzed how Gandhi's sense of cowardice led him to formulate new courage for himself and India in his admirable study Gandhi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 6-38. 12.CWMG 39: 28. 13.lbid., 25. 14. See the magnificent
analysis of this topic by Madhu Kishwar, Gandhi onWomen, Economic and Political Weekly vol. 20, no. 40 (5 October 1985), and No. 41 (12 October 1985), and No. 41 (12 October 1985). 15.CWMG 39: 31. 16.Gandhi recounts in his autobiography that early in his South African experience, Hindu defects were urgently visible to me. If untouchability could be a part of Hinduism, but it could
be a rotten part or an excrescence. His total oppositions to untouchability were evident then and never ceased to be a central issue in his social reform programme. Cwmg 39: 113. 17.Ibid., 36. 22. Ibid., 37-38. 23. Ibid., 46-47. 24. Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York:
Ballantine, 1973), 54. 25. Stephen Hay thoroughly examines Gandhi's thinking at this time in gandhi reasons for leaving Rajkot for South Africa in 1893, an article presented at the Meeting of the Association of Asian Studies of 1995, 1995, D.C., April 9, 1995. 26. CWMG 5: 117. 27. CWMG 10: 18. 28. In one of the chapters of his autobiography on the Zulu
Rebellion (HeartSearchings) Gandhi recounts how this event, unlike his previous experience at the BoerWar (1899-1902), brought home the horrors of war. Cwmg 39: 252. 29. Erik Erikson, The Truth of Gandhi (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), 194. 30. CWMG 39: 167. 31. The phrase self-control and political power is used by Susanne iLloyd Rudolph in
Gandhi, 38-62, as a focal point of her analysis of Gandhi's behavioral change.24 Introduction 32. Cwmg 39: 168. This chapter of his autobiography is titled Brah-macharya. He expresses the connections between his personal and political discourse when relating the critical turn of events in the summer of 1906: Within about a month of my return [to
Johannesburg], satyagraha's foundation was established. As if it were unknown to me, the brahmacharya vote had been preparing me for it. Satyagraha had not been a preconceived plan. He arrived spontaneously. 33. CWMG 16: 368-69; and 29: 254-55. 35. CWMG 14: 63-65. 36. Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (New
York: Harper andRow, 1958), 103-4. 37. The Bhagavad-Gita 2: 71-72, translated by Barbara Stoler Miller (New York:Bantam, 1986), 39. 38. Ibid., 6: 29.66; and 8: 30, 119. 39. CWMG 10: 64. Although Gandhi used to translate satyagraha as the force of truth or love, power seems a preferable translation because force is often associated with violence. 40.
CWMG 19: 277. 41. Essay on civil disobedience, in Walden and other writings, edited by J. W. Krutch (New York: Bantam, 1989), 97. 42. CWMG 10: 65, 189. A year later, after completing Hind Swaraj, Gandhisinged out Thoreau as among those who had humbly endeavored to follow in the writing of the book, and lists civil disobedience and unset principled
uprising among the works that had most influenced him. 43. CWMG 39: 131. 44. CWMG 10: 23. 46. Ibid., 53. 47. Ibid., 53. 48. Ibid., 51. 49. Ibid., 54. Thid., 54. Ibid., 54. Ibid., 55. Jawaharlal Nehru, The Discovery of India (Mumbai: Asia Publishing House, 1967), 377-
78. 54. CWMG 29: 380. 55. Quoted in Robert Payne, The Life and Death of Mahatma Gandhi (London: The Bodley Head, 1969), 340. 56. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 211. 61. Nicholas Mansergh, Commonwealth and Nations (London: The Bodley Head, 1969), 340. 56. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 211. 61. Nicholas Mansergh, Commonwealth and Nations (London: The Bodley Head, 1969), 340. 56. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 211. 61. Nicholas Mansergh, Commonwealth and Nations (London: The Bodley Head, 1969), 340. 56. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 211. 61. Nicholas Mansergh, Commonwealth and Nations (London: The Bodley Head, 1969), 340. 56. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 211. 61. Nicholas Mansergh, Commonwealth and Nations (London: The Bodley Head, 1969), 340. 56. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 211. 61. Nicholas Mansergh, Commonwealth and Nations (London: The Bodley Head, 1969), 340. 56. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 211. 61. Nicholas Mansergh, Commonwealth and Nations (London: The Bodley Head, 1969), 340. 56. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 211. 61. Nicholas Mansergh, Commonwealth and Nations (London: The Bodley Head, 1969), 340. 56. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 211. 61. Nicholas Mansergh, 211. 61. Nicholas Mansergh, 212. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 211. 61. Nicholas Mansergh, 212. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 212. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 212. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 212. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 212. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 212. CWMG 45: 263-64. Introduction 25 60. Hobsbawm, Age of Extremes, 212. CWMG 45: 
RoyalInstitute of International Affairs, 1958), 142. 62. E. W. R. Lumby, The Transfer of Power to India, edited by Louis Fischer (New York: VintageBooks, 1962), 368. 64. Kabir, Muslim Politics, 1942-47, in The Partition of India, edited by C. H. Philips Philips M. D.
Wainwright (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970),405. Part I SATYAGRAHA: THE POWEROF NONVIOLENCEINTRODUCTION This selection of Gandhi's writings is organized around his two fully related ideas ofsatya. graha (power of nonviolence) and swaraj (freedom). The first part of these readings comprises Gandhi's thinking about non-violent power, its
strengths and limitations, and how it can flow strongly from the at-titudes of truth and love. In the second part, on freedom, Gandhi argues that nonviolence frees us from cycles of destructive behavior by connecting personal and political freedoms. Power is of two kinds, Gandhi believed. One is obtained by fear of drowning and the other by acts of
love. Love-based power is a thousand times more effective. . . . Nonviolence is not only an ethically superior tolence, but can also be stronger; but it is often diluted or contaminated by angry enmity and its undersized power. Gandhi sought to explain the problem of the use of nonviolent power in these terms: The word satyagraha is often used above all and
is done to cover veiled violence. But as the author of the word can allow me to say that it excludes all formations of violence, indirect director, and either in thought, word or action. It is a violation of satya-graha to wish harm to an opponent or say a harsh word to him or him with the intention of hurting. And often bad thinking or bad word can, in desatyagraha
terms, be more dangerous than the actual violence used in the scalding of the moment. Satyagraha is soft, never hurting. It should not be the result of anger or malice. It was conceived as a complete substitute for violence. The first entry is from Gandhi's column in Young India, a weekly newspaper he edited throughout his long public career. He often
answered questions in this newspaper, chosen from among the thousands he received from around the world. Your answers in this article show your concern about the Germans in 1927, relying on them as in elBritish, an attitude that Mat had
mixed results but remained characteristic of his application. 2930 Satyagraha VERITAT IS ONEA Polish teacher writes: I am reading with intense joy his fascinating articles in the Young Indies and I want to impress on you the truth that they are the source of power not only for your own country, but for the world. And as you have such a broad spiritual
experience, can I ask you a question to be answered if possible in Young India? It is a very important fundamental question to which an answer from you would have great value. You admit that there is in human thought a certain absolute certainty, for example with regard to Godand prayer, where could we say that we have come to an invariable perfect
truth? Now my fundamental question is, at what specific points does your opinion change? Opinion? what guarantee can these changes be left with regard to the truth of what remains safe? How can we distinguish the timely change of opinion from the permanence of absolute inessential certainty? Can you define what things we can change and what kind of
things remain unchanging? Is the independence of each country or people one of those absolute truths, or is there any innate inability in sometions for self-government and in others an innate one to govern such inescapable nations, since the Germans profess to have the capacity to govern other nations and thus justify their governing ambition? [Gandhi
replied:] Without any form or form endorsing the claims to the powers attributed to me by the writer, I would like with all humility in-deavour to answer your questions. My own conscious affirmation is very simple and emphatic. I am a humble but very serious search engine after the truth. And in my research, I take all the trusted colleagues so I can know my
mistakes and correct them. I confess that I have often erred in his estimates and judgments. As for example, while I thought of sufficient data that the people of Kheda were prepared for civil disobedience, I suddenly discovered that I have often erred in his estimates and judgments. As for example, while I thought of sufficient data that the people of Kheda were prepared for civil disobedience to the extent that they
had not known what was tender voluntary obedience to laws that could be considered annoying but not immoral. I immediately did the discov-ery, I traced my steps back. A similar error of judgment was made for me what I presented what had been described as the bardoli ultimatum.**References to Kheda and Bardoli, districts of India where Gandhi believed
civil disobedience was used prematurely in 1919 and 1922, are discussed at CWMG39: 373-75 and 22: 302-5. These are two significant examples of his determinations to kick out endurance campaigns when he considered discipline and training insufficient. The truth is that a 31 had then believed that the country, which is the people, had been invaded and
touched by the movement, had understood the usefulness of nonviolence. I discovered my mistake in twenty-four hours after the ultimatum was delivered and I went up my steps. And to the extent that in all cases I retraced my steps, no permanent harm was done. On the contrary, therefore, the fundamental truth of nonviolence has become infinitely more
manifest than it has ever been, and the country has not been permanently hurt. . . . They claim to infallibility would be unsustainable, seeing that inspiration can also reach only one that is free from the action of opposite couples, and it will be difficult to judge in a
whether the claim to the freedom of opposite couples is justified. The claim of infallibility would therefore always be a more This, however, does not leave us without any guidance. The sum total of the experience of the world's wise men is available to us and would be for all time to come. On the other hand, there are no fundamental truths, but there is only
           mental truth that is the truth itself, otherwise known as nonviolence. The finite human being will never know in his pleor Truth and Love that it is in itself infinite. But we know enough for our guidance. We will err, and sometimes severely, in our application. But man is a self-governing being, and self-government includes, consequently, the power
both to make mistakes and to put them rights as many times as they are done. I believe that the independence of each country is a truth in the same mind and to the same extent that each man's independence is. There is therefore no inherent inability to self-government in any country ornation and therefore no inherent capacity to govern other nations. No
doubt my correspondent honestly believes that German Democrats, who are happy if they can govern over other nations. But if there are Germans, there are also humble German Democrats, who are happy if they can govern quietly. In early 1922, the British government in India got rid of the effects of Gandhi's national nonviolent non-cooperation campaign.
However, at this time of the movement's extraordinary success, there was an outbreak of violence. On February 5, in a northern Indian village called ChauriChaura, what began as a nonviolent demonstration suddenly turned ugly. The local police who had provoked the protesters were overwhelmed and overwhelmed. Gandhi was appalled. In the following
article, he explains why he32 Satyagrahafelt was forced to call the campaign until by strict discipline and purification we regain the moral confidence required. CHAURI CHAURAGod'S CRIME spoke clearly through Chauri. I understand that the constables who were so brutally hacked to death had given much provocation. They had even returned to
the word that had just been given by the inspector that they would not be disturbed, but when the procession had passed the strag-glers were interfered with and abused by janits. The first called for help. The crowd returned. The janits opened fire. The small amount they had was exhausted and they retreated to thana [police station] for safety. The crowd,
my informant tells me, therefore set Thana on fire. The self-imprisoned had to go out for dear life and as they did, they were hacked to pieces and the wrapped remains became entangled in the stealth flames. It is claimed that no non-cooperation volunteer had a hand in the bru-tality and that the crowd not only had the provocation they also had general
knowledge of the high-handed tyranny of the police in this district. No provocation can justify the the murder of men who had been helpless and who had practically thrown them at the mercy of the crowd. And when India claims to be nonviolent and hopes to mount the throne of Liberty through nonviolent means, mob violence even in response to serious
provocation is a bad omen. . . . The non-violent achievement of self-government presupposes non-violent control over India's hooligans, namely when the latter must also patriotically or religiously refrain from their violent activities at least
while the non-cooperation campaign is going on. The tragedy of Chauri Chaura, therefore, led me thoroughly. The drastic reversal of virtually the whole of aggressive programs can be politically unfathomable and reckless, but there is no doubt that it is re-ligily sound, and I dare assure doubters that the country will have won for my humiliation and confession
of error. The only virtue I want to affirm is truth and nonviolence. I put no claim to the superhuman powers. I don't want one. I wear the same corruptible clue that the weakest of my fellow beings brings and therefore I am as responsible for erring as anyone. My services have many limitations, but God has to this day despite imperfections. The crime of Chauri
Chaura 33 Per, the confession of error is like a broom that sweeps dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before, I feel stronger by my confession. And therefore, it must thrive for recovery. Never has man reached his destination persistence in diverting the straight path. . . . The tragedy of Chauri Chaura is really index finger. It shows the way India can go
easily if drastic precautions are not taken. If we do not want to evolve violence by nonviolence, it is quite clear that we must follow in our footsteps and re-establish an atmosphere of peace, reestablish our program and not think about initiating mass civil disobedience until it ensures that peace is maintained despite the massive civil disobedience that begins
and despite the government's provocation. . . Some of us err despite ourselves. But some others among us with gusto. They join the Volunteer Corps knowing that they are not enter the kingdom of Liberty with a mere tribute to the lips to truth and
nonviolence. The suspension of massive civil disobedience and the subsidence of emotions are necessary to further progress, in fact indispensable to avoid further regression. I hope, therefore, that by suspension every Orwoman congressman not only does not feel disappointed, but that he relieved of the burden of unreality and national sin. Let the
opponent glory in our humiliation or so-called defeat. Defeat. it is bet-ter to be accused of cowardice and weakness who of being guilty of denying our oath and so, for me, the suspension of mass civil disobedience and other mi-nor activities that
were calculated to maintain emotion is not enough to have been the instrument, however involuntary, of the brutal violence by the people of Chauri Chaura. I have to undergo a personal cleaning. I have to become an instrumentable to record the least variation in the moral atmosphere about me. My prayers should have a much deeper truth and humility
about them than the evidence. And for me there is nothing as useful and cleansing as a quick accompanied by the necessary mental cooperation. I know mental attitude is everything. Just as a prayer can be a mechanical intonation from a bird, so it can be a mere me-chanical torture of meat. These mechanical contrivations are worthless
for the intended purpose. Again, just as a mechanical chant can result in voice modulation, a quick mechanic can result in body purification. Nor will it touch the soul inside.34 Satyagraha But a quick push for more complete self-expression, to achieve the supremacy of tespirit over meat, is a more powerful factor in one's evolutionary. After deep consideration,
therefore, I am imposing myself a five-day continuous fast, allowing me water. It began on Sunday; ends on Friday night. That's the least I have to abdicate or acquire skill. . . . All fasting and all penance should be as far as possible to be
secret. But my firmness is both a penance and a punishment, and a punishment must be public. It's penance for me and punishment for those I try to deserve, for whom I love to live and would love to die anyway. They probably hacked the
constables – their compatriots and their fellow beings – with my name on the fellow beings – with my name of t
punishment and ask for a clean confession. I hope workers in Gorakhpur districts leave no stone unturned to find out the evil ones and urge them to surrender into custody. But whether the killers accept my as if not, I would like them to know that they have seriously interfered with swaraj operations, which being the cause of the postponement of the
movement in the same cause they probably intended to serve. I wish I knew, too, that this movement is not a cloak or a preparation for violence. In any case, I would suffer every humiliation, every torture, absolute ostracism and death itself to prevent the movement from becoming violent or a precursor to violence. I make my penance public too because now
I am denying myself the opportunity to share their lot with the prisoners. The immediate issue has once again transfigured. We can no longer push for the removal of notifications or decusal from prisoners. The immediate issue has once again transfigured. We can no longer push for the removal of notifications or decusal from prisoners. They and we must suffer for ChauriChaura's crime. The incident demonstrates, whether we wish or not, the unity of life.. . . . By strict discipline and
purification we regain the moral trust that was regained. . . . If we learn the full lesson of tragedy, we can turn the curse into capable. By becoming truthful and non-violent, both in spirit and action. . . . can we establish swaraj.4What is the truth? 35 Satyagraha is like a Banyan tree with countless branches, Gandhi wrote. Civil disobedience is one of those
branches, satya (truth) and ahimsa (nonviolence) together make the trunk of parents, he said. Bhagavad-Gita's quote in the self suggests connecting everything forGandhi links satya to ahimsa. Because of our spiritual unity, hurting another is raping
yourself. As Gandhi observes in the following article, the wordsatya is derived from sitting down, which means to be, so the highest truth is knowing the floor of our being and he is but striving to serve that truth? but got no answer. . . . The fact remains, that the
question posed by this judge has not been weaned. . . . Beyond limited truths there is an absolute truth that is total and all embraced. But it is indescribable, because it is God. Or say, rather, Godis Truth . . . Other things, therefore, can be true only in a relative sense. He... who understands the truth, follows nothing but the truth in thought, discourse and
action, comes to know God and gains the vision of the seer of the past, present and future. He gets moksha [release] though still in the physical frame. If we get a single person, before December 31, who practices the truth to this perfection, swaraj should be ours that same day. Some of us are nothing but satya-agrahis, those, that is, who aspire to follow the
truth scrupulously, but barely manage to do so in the limited sphere of discourse. Therefore, we see that the delvow observance of truth is not . . . I never claim anything beyond a sincere effort to keep the promise of truth is not . . . I never claim anything beyond a sincere effort to keep the promise of truth is not . . . I never claim anything beyond a sincere effort to keep the promise of truth. It never happens that I deliberately tell him a lie. I don't remember deliberately saying a lie at any point my life, except on one occasion
when I deceived my revered father. It has become part of my nature to speak the truth and act according to the truth. But it is impossible for me to assert that the truth, which I perceive but tenuously, has become part of my life. I'm not beyond indulgence in unconscious exaggeration or autore praiseor who is interested in describing my accomplishments.
There is a real tone in all of these and they will not stand the test of truth. A life totally 36 Satyagrahafilled with the spirit of truth must be clear and pure as the crystal. The truth, because it should be imposed-sible that the truth will not be
exposed in his presence. The hardest vote to hold is the vote of truth. Of the Lakhs who can strive to follow the truth, only a rare person will succeed completely over the same through all time. A thousand times he honors her that she has
succeeded, through love and devotion to this satya, permanently inoplaining her heart to her presence. I have been but striving to serve this truth. I have, I think, the courage to jump from the top of the Himalayas for its sake. At the same time, I know I'm still a long way from that truth. As I move towards it, I perceive my weakness becoming clearer and
knowledge makes me humble. It is possible to be swollen with pride as long as one does not know one's own insignificance. But once a man sees it, his pride melts. In these bad times, it is difficult to follow the truth in this perfection, but I
know it is not impossible. If a large number of us strive to follow him even to some extent, we can win swaraj. We can also win if some of us pursue it with the utmost awareness. Just, we have to be honest. It won't do just to make a show follow up on the truth. It doesn't matter if we follow the truth only to the extent of oneanna in a rupee, i- but it has to be
true and not something else. The little measure we follow should not be mixed, under any circumstances, with deliberate falsehood. It is my serious desire that, in this holy yaina[sacrifice], we will all learn to follow the truth as a matter of principle.' . . . I'm nothing but a search engine after the truth. They claim to have found the way to her. We hail being making
a relentless effort to find him. But I admit I didn't find him. Finding the truth altogether is to realize oneself and one that is, to become perfect. I am painfully aware of my imperfections, and therein lies all the strength I have, because it is a rare thing for a man to know his own limitations. If I were a man, I own I shouldn't feel the miseries of my neigh-boers like
me. As a perfect man I have to take note of them, prescribe a rem-edy and force adoption by the force of the indisputable truth in me.*A lakh = 100,000. A rupee = sixteen annas. Preface to Tolstoy 37 But I still only see how through a glass darkly and therefore I have to take the victims through slow and laborious processes, and then not always
successfully.7 Congress aims to reach purna [complete] swaraj through truth and nonviolence. And it will fail to the extent that the kisans [peasants] fail to achieve these two cardinal principles. You're millions. When millions of people are false and violent, it will mean self-destruction. You there-fore suffer injuries without reprisals.' . . . . If I retain my power in the
youth of Bengal or any other prov-ince or I don't, I have to proclaim my creed from the top of the house. The freedoms of India's hungry millions are only achievable through Gandhi's truth and theory and practice of nonviolence is primarily a product of Hinduism, but Christianity reinforced it in vital aspects. It relates in his Autobiography as the New Testament,
especially the Sermon in elMount went straight to my heart. I compared it to Gita, and my mind tried to unify the teaching of these two religious texts. He founded so much on the core value of nonviolence. Among modern thinkers, it was especially eliminated in Leo Tolstoy, whose influence proved unique because of his Christian anarchism, which
emphasized nonviolence as an essential way of everyday behavior. The Kingdom of God of Tolstoy is inside you, he says in the autobiography, I was overwhelmed. He left me an adverse print-zion. Tolstoy died in 1910. He first related to Indian nationalists in 1908, and later directly to Gandhi, who had sent him a copy of HindSwaraj. The article that follows
accompanied Gandhi's translation from English to Gujarati, from the initial Letter to a Hindoo by Tolstoy (dated 14 December 1908), which Gandhi had found so inspiring. This response was written at the same time that Gandhi had found so inspiring. This response was written at the same time that Gandhi had found so inspiring. This response was written at the same time that Gandhi had found so inspiring.
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more than any other author. When Gandhi replied in August 1910, he mentioned that he had appointed his settlement at South AfricaTolstoy is a Russian nobleman. He's had all his share of life-filled, and he was a brave soldier. It has no equal among European writers. After much

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experience and study, he has concluded that political policies generally followed in the world are quite The main reason for this, he says, is that we are revenge, a habit unworthy of us and contrary to the principles of all religions. He believes to return injury injury injury injury hurts both ourselves and our enemy. Ac-cording at him, we should not retaliate against
anyone who might hurt us, but reward him with love instead. He is uncompromising in his loyalty at first to return good for evil. It does not mean for this reason that those who suffer do not have to look for any repairs. He believes rather that we invite us to suffer in ourselves through our own assault. The efforts of an oppressor will be in vain if we refuse to
undergo histyranny. Usually no one will kick me for the mere fun of it. There must be some deeper reason to do so. He will stop kicking me. It would make no difference to what he did or didn't. What matters to me is the fact that his order is not fair.
Slavery consists of undergoing an unfair order, not suffering from being expelled. Real courage and humanity consist of not kicking again. This is the core of Tolstoy's letter is of great value easily enough. A handful of Indian satyagrahis have
pitted love or soul strength against the transvaal government's vision of weapons. This is the central principle of Tolstoy's teaching all religions. Khuda-Ishwar[God] has endowed our soul with such force that pure brute force is not in va going against it. We have been employing this force against the Government from Transvaal not out of hatred or
revenge, but to resist its unfair order. But those who have not known what a happy satyagraha canbe experience, who have been caught up in the diseases of this huge modern civi-lization farce, like moths flirting around a flame, will find no interest in tolstoy's letter all at once. These men should pause for a moment and reflect. Tolstoy gives a simple answer
to those Indians who seem impatient to drive whites out of India. We are [according to Tolstoy] our own slaves, not the British. This should be etched in our minds. White people can't stay if we don't want them. If the idea is to expel them with guns, let all Indians consider the precious little benefit that Europe has found in these. Everyone would be happy to
see India free. But there are so many men of view on how this can be brought into place. Tolstoy points to a simple way for these men. Preface to Tolstoy 39 Tolstoy has directed his letter to a Hindu and that is why he cites thoughts of Hindu scriptures. These thoughts, however, must be found in the Scriptures of each They are as they will be acceptable to
everyone, Hindus, Muslims and parsis. Religious practices and dogmas may dif-do, but the principles of ethics must be the same in all religions. Therefore, I must devise all readers readers [only] ethics.... It is a mere statement of fact to say that all Indians, whether they own it or not, have national aspirations [for independence]. But there are opinions as
good as Indian nationalists, in terms of the exact meaning of this aspiration and more especially in terms of the methods that of violence. The murder of Sir Curzon Wylie* was an illustration at its worst and [most] detestable form of this method.
Tolstoy's life has been dedicated to replacing the method of violence to eliminate tyrannical or ensure reform by the method of non-resistance to evil. It was the hatred expressed in the violence for love expressed in self-suffering. Heads of no exception to overthrow this great and divine law of love. He applies it to all the problems that concern humanity. When
a man like Tolstoy, one of the clearest thinkers in the Western world, one of the greatest writers, who, as a soldier, has known what violence is and what he can do, condemns Japan for blindly following the law of modern science, falsely named, and fears for this country the greatest calamities, it is for us to pause and consider whether, in our unimpatience of
English rule, we do not want to replace one evil with another and one worse. India, which is the kindergarten of the world's great religions, will cease to be nationalist India, whatever the rest it may become, when it goes through the process of civilization in the form of reproduction on this sacred soil of arms factories and hateful industrialism, which has once
again brought the people of Europe to a state of slavery and all but suffocated among them the best, which are the heritage of the human family. If we don't want the English in India, we have to pay the price. Tolstoyindicated this. Do not resist evil, but also participate not in evil, in the violent actions of the administration of the courts of justice, the collection
of taxes and, more importantly, of the soldiers, and no one in the world will enslave you. Political assistant to the Secretary of State for India, shot in London by a Punjabi student, Madan Lal Dhingra, on 1 July 1909.40 Satyagrahapassionately declares yasnaya Polyana's wise man. Who can guestion the truth of what he says?13 Gandhi's originality as a
thinker and political leader appears more dramatically in his theory and practice of nonviolence. No one before in history had conceived nonviolence and applied it to policies like it. AlthoughGandhi was inspired by the Hindu conceived nonviolence and applied it to policies like it. AlthoughGandhi was inspired by the Hindu conceived nonviolence and applied it to policies like it. AlthoughGandhi was inspired by the Hindu conceived nonviolence and applied it to policies like it. AlthoughGandhi was inspired by the Hindu conceived nonviolence and applied it to policies like it.
provided him with a plan to follow when he developed his idea of The following articles contain the basic elements in their idea of nonviolence and truth, swaraj and satyagraha, as well as a defense of nonviolent resistance as a brave method
capable of succeeding where violence must fail, first appeared in Hind Swaraj. Here they will sharpen as he applies them to wrestling in India. The old idea of ahimsa takes on unprecedented forms. WHERE AHIMSAAll and that my views on ahimsa are the result of my study of most of the world's beliefs, now no longer depend on the authority of these works.
They are a part of my life and if I suddenly discovered that religious books read by me carried a different interpretation from the one I had learned to give them, I should still have the vision of ahimsa in his manhood has the world at his feet, affecting his
environment that even snakes and other poisonous reptiles do him no harm. This is said to have been the experience of St. Francis of Assisi. In its negative form, it means not injuring any living being, either by body or mind. Therefore, I cannot hurt the person from any wrongdoing, obey any ill will to him and thus cause him mental suffering . . . In its positive
form, ahimsa means the greatest love, the greatest love, the greatest charity. If I am ahimsa follower, I must love my enemy. I have to apply the same to the bad player who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong father or son. This active Ahimsa necessarily includes truth and lack of fear. . . . A man cannot practice ahimsa and be acoward at the same time.
Ahimsa's practice claims the biggest scourge.14Non-Violence 41 NONVIOLENCE When a person claims to be nonviolent, he is expected not to be angry at one who has injured him. He will not wish him harm; will not be sworn in; will not cause you any physical damage. He will put up with all the injury to which he is subjected by the
wrongdoer. Therefore, nonviolence is a complete innocence of ill will against everything that lives. Therefore, it embraces even human subm life without excluding insects or harmful beasts. They have not been created to feed our destructive propensities. If only we knew the Creator's mind, we would have to find his
right place in his creation. Therefore, nonviolence is, in its active form, goodwill towards life. It's pure love. I read it in the Hindu Scriptures, in the Bible, in the Koran. Nonviolence is a perfect state. It is an objective towards which all humanity moves naturally though unconsciously. Man does not become divine when he personifies innocence in himself. Only
then does it become Husband. In our current state, we are partly men and partly beasts and, in our nornce and even arrogance, we say that meet the purpose of our species when we deliver blow to blow and develop the extent of anger necessary for purpose. We intend to believe that retaliation is the law of our being, whereas in every writing we find that
retaliation is nowhere to be mandatory, but only permissible. It is a restriction that is mandatory. Retalia-tion is indulgence that requires elaborate regulation. Restraint is the law of (Our being. For, the highest perfection is unattainable without maximum containment. Suffering is thus the insignia of the human tribe. The goal never retreats us. The greater the
progress, the greater the cognition of our inubility. Satisfaction lies in effort, not adchilles. The total effort is complete victory. Therefore, although I realize more than ever the extent to which I am of this goal, for me the Complete Love Act is the law of my being. Every time I fail, my effort will be more determined by my failure. . . . A drop of water must give the
analyst the same results as a lake. The nature of my nonviolence towards my brother can be no different from that of my nonviolence in the universe, he still has to satisfy the same thing. The political nonviolence of the non-cooperating operator [in the civil disobedience campaign of 1920-1922] does not support this test in the vast majority of cases. Hence
the prolongation of the fight. Let no one blame English nature without bending over. The hardest fiber should melt in the fire of love. Page 2 42 Satyagrahal cannot be dislodged from the position because I know. When Britishor other nature does not respond, the fire is not strong enough, if it is not there at all. Our nonviolence should not be one of the strong,
but it must be for real. We should not intend to harm the English or our co-workers if and while we pretend to be non-violent. But most of us wanted to hurt, and we have refrained from doing so because of our weakness or under the ignorant belief that merely abstaining from physical harm amounted to fulfillment due to our promise. Our commitment to
nonviolence excludes the possibility of future reprisals. Some of us seem, unfortunately, to have postponed the date of revenge when politics is abandoned. But it does more emphatically exclude the possibility of future revenge after a successful
termination of the fight. Therefore, while we are taking into account the policy of nonviolence, we are required to be actively friendly with English administrators and their mobilizers. . . . Swaraj by nonviolence must be a progressively peaceful revolution so that the transfer of of a
corporation close to the representatives of the people is as natural as the abandonment of a fully fruit of one of a Tree. I say again that such a thing may be impossible to achieve this comparatively nonviolent environment, they should
drop the nonviolent program and frame another that is totally different in character. If we approach our programme with the mental reser-vation that, after all, we will fight the power of the British people are not susceptible to the
strength of affection as they are undoubtedly susceptible to the strength of weapons. For the incredulous, the alternative is . . . a rapid revolution as they are undoubtedly susceptible to the strength of weapons. For the incredulous, the alternative is . . . a rapid revolution as they are undoubtedly susceptible to the strength of weapons. For the incredulous, the alternative is . . . a rapid revolution as they are undoubtedly susceptible to the strength of weapons. For the incredulous, the alternative is . . . a rapid revolution as they are undoubtedly susceptible to the strength of weapons. For the incredulous, the alternative is . . . a rapid revolution as they are undoubtedly susceptible to the strength of weapons.
that the truth for which I stand has not yet been accepted by India. It has not yet been entirely claimed. My work at LaIndia is still in the experimental phase. On the edge of it 43 My path is clear. Any attempt to use me for violent purposes is bound to fail. I have no secret methods. I don't know any diplomacy that saves that from the truth. I have no weapon,
but no violence. It may have taken me unconsciously for a while, but not for all the time. Therefore, I have well-defined limitations, within which I can only be used. . . . I'm still ignorant of what exactly Bolshevism is. I couldn't see him. I don't know if it's for the sake of Russia in the long run. But I know that to the extent that it is based on god's violence and
denial, it repels me. I don't believe in short violence cuts to success. Those bol-shevik friends who are paying their attention to me should realize that as much as I can sympathize and admire worthy motives, I aman uncompromising opponent of violent methods even to serve the non-stains of causes. There is, therefore, really no meeting point between the
school of violence and myself. But my creed of nonviolence not only doesn't stop me but forces me even to partner with anarchists and all those who believe in violence. But this association is always with the sole aim of weaning them off what I find their mistake. For experience convinces me that the permanent good can never be the result of truth and
violence. ON THE BRINK OF THISJo I am his follower and have gone to jail under his leadership and quidance. . . . Now I feel very shaken in my faith in his reasoning and politics. I'm not a revolutionary, but I'm about to be a revolutionary, but I'm about to be a revolutionary. If you answer these questions satisfactorily, you can save me. . . . What is more inhuman and rather what is more
violent, to let 33 thousand lions suffer, stagna and die, or a few thousand to be [in a violent revo-lution]? What do you prefer, see the slow death of a mass of 33 million through pure degeneration, or the murder of a few hundred people? If it shows that by killing a few hundred, can we end the degeneration of 33 million, will it oppose violence in principle?
[Gandhi replied:] There is no principle worth the name if it is not very good. I swear to nonviolence because I know you only con-duces to the highest good of humanity, not only in the next world, but in that too. I oppose violence because, when it seems to do good, good is only temporary; the damage it does is permanent. I don't think the skill of even every
English man can do the slightest good in India. Therefore, the millions will be as bad as they are today, if anyone made it possible to kill all the English will be powerless to do the wrong one if we will do it but we will do well. Hence my incessant
work on reform from within. But, before the revolutionary, I have urged nonviolence not on the higher ground of the expedition. Con-tend that the revolutionary method cannot succeed in India. If an open war were a possibility, I can recognize that we can tread the path of violence that other countries have and at least
evolve the qualities that bravery on the battlefield brings forward. But an achievement of the swarajthrough war that I have as an impossibility for any time we can foresee. War may give us another rule for English rule, but not self-government [swaraj] in terms of the masses. The pilgrimage to swaraj is a painful escalation. It requires attention to detail. It
means a great organizational capacity, it means penetration into the villagers only for the service of the villagers. In other words, it means an awakening of national education, that is, the education of the masses. It means an awakening of national education, that is, the education of the masses. It means an awakening of national education, that is, the education of the masses. It means an awakening of national education, that is, the education of the masses. It means an awakening of national education, that is, the education of the masses. It means an awakening of national education, that is, the education of the masses. It means an awakening of national education of the masses. It means an awakening of national education of the masses. It means an awakening of national education of the masses are not of the masses. It means an awakening of national education of the masses are not of the masses are not of the masses. It means are not of the masses are
the tree. A bloody revolution will never perform the trick. Haste heirs certainly waste. . . . The talkers are, in fact, stubborn. The English tyrant is obduracy personi-fied. But he's a monster of several heads. He refuses to be killed. It can't be paid in its own currency because it hasn't stopped any for us paying with it. I have a coin that is not thrown at your mint
and can't steal. It is superior to anyone who has not yet produced it. It's not violence. . . Let my friend understand the implications of nonviolence has turned many more English people than any amount of threats or violence. I know that when conscious
nonviolence becomes general in India it will not be far off. Far. A NARANDAS GANDHI July 28/31, 1930The path of truth is as narrow as it is straight. Still it's ahimsa. It's like balancing on the edge of a sword. By concentration anacrobat can walk on a rope. But the concentration needed to tread the path of Truth and ahimsa is much greater. Minor neglect
brings a tumble to the ground. One can realize the truth and ahimsa only senseless effort. . . . Love Not Hate 45 So step by step we learn how to make friends with everyone; the greatness of God, of truth. Our peace of mind increases the inspitude of suffering; they make us braver and more entrepreneurial; we find more clearly the difference between what
is eternal and what is not; we learn to distinguish between what is our duty and what is not. Our pride melts and we become humble. Our worldwide attachment and likewise evil within us decreases from day to day. . . . Not hurting any living being is certainly a part of ahimsa. But it is his slightest expression. The principle of ahimsa is harmed by every bad
thought, rush, to lie, by hatred, to wish for no one's evil. Without ahimsa it is not possible to search and find the truth. Ahimsaand Truth are so intertwined that it is virtually impossible to untangle them. They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather asmooth unsealed metal disc. Who can say what is the inverse and what is the reverse? However, ahimsa is the
medium and the truth comes first. The means to be means must always be within our reach, and that is why our supreme duty and truth becomes God to us. If we take care of the means, we are required to arrive at the end sooner or later. If we resolve to do so, we will have won the battle. Whatever difficulties we encounter, whatever apparent inverse we
hold, we shouldn't lose faith, but we should never repeat a mantra: Truth exists, it only exists. He is the only god and there is nothing but a way to realize it; there is nothing but a medium and this isahimsa. I'll never give it up. May the God who is true, in whose name I have taken this promise, give me the strength to keep it. LOVE NOT HATEA telegram from
Allahabad says Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit JawaharlalNehru, Pandit JawaharlalNehru, Pandit Shamlal Nehru and Mr George Joseph, editor of the dependents, have been arrested [for civil disobedience, as prominent leaders in the independents, have been arrested [for civil disobedience, as prominent leaders in the independents, have been arrested [for civil disobedience, as prominent leaders in the independent of the dependent of t
thousands of people share with me, is conditional on the peace being observed while our leaders are one after another away from us. Victory is complete if nonviolence reigns supreme despite arrests. Disastrous defeat is a certainty if we cannot all minds in order to guarantee peace. We're out to be killed without killing. Hemtipulated us hemtipulated go to jail
without feeling angry or hurt. We don't have to deal with the condition of our own making. On the contrary, our nonviolence teaches us to love our enemies. For 46 Satyagrahanon-violent non-cooperation we seek to conquer the wrath of English administrators and their supporters. We must love them and pray to God that they may have wisdom to see what
we seem to be their mistakes. It must be the prayer of the strong and not the weak. In our strengths we must humiliate ourselies before our Creator. At the time of our trial and our triumph let me declare my faith, Ibelieve in love with my enemies. I believe in nonviolence as the only rem-edy open to Hindus, Mussulmans [Muslims], Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and
Jews of India. I believe in the power of suffering to melt the most stony heart. The buzz of battle must fall into the top three. We must demonstrate for our hon-east conduct that they are our relatives. We need to prove to all English people that it is as safe in india's mottest corner as it professes to feel behind
the machine gun. Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Judaism — in fact, religion is at its judgment. Either we believe in God and in his righteousness or we don't. My association with the noblest of Mussulmans taught me to see that Islam has spread not by the power of the sword, but by the oratorical love of an uninterrupted line of his
saints and fakirs. . . . What should we do? They are surely still non-violent and yet strong enough to offer as many willing victims as the Government may require for jail. Our work must hold Congress at any price despite the detention of all leaders.
unless the Government forefully dissolves it. And if we are no longer shot down or provoked by violence, but are able to continue with na-tional work, we have certainly gotten swaraj. Because no power on earth can stop the march forward of a peaceful, determined and godly people.19 As Robert McNamara has suggested, the behavior of the brothers of civil
resistance: the more civil, the more civil, the more effective. Gandhi emphasized the qualities of civil conduct in all respects, meaning that satyagrahi must constantly show restraint, discipline, in the words of the article that follows, goodmanners and humility. The intemperate and rude behavior revealed a lack of personal control, anger or violence of the spirit, just as the
absence of humility showed an arrogance of the mind, a dogmatic vision. Gandhi felt he could not trust these attitudes under fire, and used to that those who accompanied him, as in the march of salt, claim that they believed in innon violence not only as a tactic, but also as a creed or way of life. These an inner force and a firm self-discipline that would not
allow Civilism 47 to strike again, or, in McNamara's proper words, appear as uncontrolled unmob . . . frightening but ineffective. When Thoreau coined the term civil resistance, he did not appear from the tone or substance of his essay to understand all the implications of this crucial civilian term, but Gandhi understood its multiple meanings for
both the movement and its adversary, turning the concept of civic-mindedness into a doctrine. CIVILITYCivility, good manners and humility—these virtues are in these discount days that seem to have no place at all in the building of our character. . . . Civic-mindedness and humility are expressions of the spirit of nonviolence while incivility and insolence
indicate the spirit of violence. One does not cooperate, therefore, should never be uncivil. However, the most persistent charge against non-cooperating operators is that they have no manners and are inso borrowed, and the burden has a lot of substance in it. We are happy to believe that by becoming uncoasy we have done something very big, as if a
person who had done nothing but pay off their debt would thus have become a right to get an address [i.e. commendation]. This lack of ways delays our victory in the fight we are leading, because, as politeness disarms anger and hatred, incivility increases hos-tility. If the non-cooperator remained courteous towards those who cooperated with the
Government, if they, instead of abusing the latter, showed respect towards them, the existing bitterness between the two would not have left him government school should not harass or abuse another who may not have left him
but should try, instead, to win it with love. He must continue to give him the same service that he used to disobey. A lawyer who has given up the practice should not raise his nose to another who may not have done so, but must maintain with him the same cordial relationships as before. A person who has resigned from the Government service should not
execute another who has not left him. If we, from the beginning, approached our work with this spirit, we may have already achieved our goal and countries would have advanced much more than they have done. Moderate parties would not have stayed away from us. I trust no one understands courtesy to mean flattery. Nor does it hide our consideration for
our dharma. Being polite means showing re-48 Satyagrahaspect towards others while clinging to our own dharma. Since I put avermilion mark [of the Hindu faith] in the I can't sneeze at another one that doesn't. If I face the east when prayer, I should not give scorn to my Muslim brother who says his namaz [prayers] with his face towards the The ability to
   nounce sens written words correctly does not entitle me to speak with contempt of sounds in Arabic jargon. A khadi lover,* while wearing a Khadi man starts swearing at a person wearing pieces of foreign cloth, he will act as the most effective
propagandist in this cloth. Mumbai's inci-teeth have not made Khadi more popular. On the contrary, it now stinks of some's nostrils. If we khadi lovers want to see all of India wearing khadi, we should patiently beg people who use it. Plague is a terrible
disease, but we are also likely to stay away from anyone who has made it. We wish the thesis is rooted, but not the patient who should be killed. If you look at the foreign cloth looks at us like the victims of an illness? By all means, let him
do it. If, however, we continue to give our services to each other, sooner or later we will find out which of us was in error. If we don't act that way, we'll never find the difference between what's adharma. Just as you have to be courteous to those who cooperate with the Government, so those of us who are incarcerated should also behave
civility in prison. It is difficult to observe prison rules and yet maintain self-spectacle. Some of these rules are naturally humiliating. For example, we have no choice but to leave us confined in a cell. Therefore, we must respect the rules that apply to all prisoners. At the same time, we should strongly oppose any measure that is simply intended to tohumiliar us.
Once we have been taught to behave politely, we instinctively know how to act in a particular situation. Where there is egotism, we will find a recognizes the man [me], he's
never thinking about it and, to realize it, he's willing to sacrifice his body. What has its self-show beloved acts*Cotton fabric Homepun, here that means commitment to the independence movement. The need for humility 49 towards everyone in a spirit of friendship, because he values the self-spectacles of others as much as he values his own. He sees
himself in everyone and everyone and everyone else himself, he stands in line with others. The egotist maintains others and, believing themselves superior to the rest of the world, is taken to judge everyone and in the result allows the world to have the measure of the smallness. Therefore, non-violent non-cooperating should regard civic-mindedness as a bereaved virtue
and try to cultivate it. The importance attached to it provides for measuring the culture of an individual or a nation. A non-cooperating man should realize very clearly that incivility is another name for brutality and avoid it completely. THE NEED FOR HUMILITYThe spirit of nonviolence necessarily leads to humility. Nonviolence trusts God, the Rock of ages. If
we seek his help, wemust approach him with a humble and contrite heart. Non-operaists cannot trade their surprising success in Congress [in December 1920]. We need to act, even as the mango tree we uproot as fruit. Its greatness lies in its majestic lowliness. But one feels that non-cooperators are insolent and intolerant in their behavior in the halls of
those who differ from them. I know they will lose all their majesty and glory if they betray any inflation. . . . Non-cooperation is not a brag, bluster, or bluff movement. It's the best of our sincerity. It requires a solid and silent sacrifice. It challenges our honesty and our ability to work nationally. It is a movement that aims to translate ideas into action. And the more
we do it, the more we think much more needs to be done than we expected. And this thought of our imperfection must make us humble. A non-cooperating strives to force attention and set an example not for his discreet humility. Let your solidation speak for your creed. Its strength lies in its dependence on correcting its position. And the
conviction of this grows more in the hisopponent when he less interposes his discourse between his action and his hisopponent skeptical about the reality of the act itself. Humility, therefore, is the key to rapid success. I hope that all non-cooperators recognize
the need to be humble and self-*As stated in the Introduction, Gandhi often invokes from the Bhagavad-Gitathis concept of the universal self.50 Satyagraharestrained.2' Unthreased disobedience means disruption of society. The first, therefore, for those who aspire after civil disobedience is to learn the art of voluntarily obeying laws of voluntary associations
such as congresses, con-ferences and other organs and also obey state laws whether they like them or not. Civil disobedience is not a state of illegality and license, but presupposes a respectful spirit with the law combined with self-restlessness. The basic distinctions Gandhi made between satyagraha and passive resistance were suggested in the
Introduction. The following articles elaborate Differences. As we have just seen, a satyagrahi must always possess civilism and humility, qualities that indicated self-control and humbleness to the truth. Gandhi's fundamental position on the idea of truth, which should always be in pursuit of it and not claim possession of it, is clear from his opening statement of
the following article that satyagraha . . . excludes the use of violence because man is not able to know the absolute truth and, therefore, is not competent to punish. Gandhi characterized civil disobedience as an offshoot of satyagraha, and disobeyed it from non-cooperation, another branch, which he conceived as a massive refusal to obey governmental
authority. Civil disobedience, he says, should be practiced only as a last resort and [initially] by a select footing, because there is not only a refusal to comply (a mass strike), but as an active and deliberate targeting of laws to disobey. These distinctions appear in insiper articles about the non-cooperation campaign of 1919-22 in contrast to the civil
disobedience movement of 1930-31. The main contrast Gandhi wants to make here, however, is between passive resistance and passive resistance and passive resistance. The latter prevents physical violence from only being due to circumstances indicating that it will not work. It's not principle but expediency mat-ters. Since nonviolence is not accepted as a creed, resistance can
despise otherwise and easily give way to indiscipline or incivility. Gandhi also called this approach duragraha, an action that is not violent in form but not the damage they inflict during verbal assault constitutes harshgraha.
SATYAGRAHA, CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, PASSIVE RESISTANCE, NOT COOPERATIONSatyagraha, then, literally clings to the truth and means, therefore known as soul strength. No Passive Resistance 51 Excludes the use of violence because man is not able to know the absolute truth and therefore not
competent to punish. The word was placed in South Africa [in 1908] to distinguish non-violent resistance from South Africa sa weapon of the weak. Passive resistance is used in the English Orthodox sense and covers the movement of suffragecem, as well as
resistance from nonconformists. Pas-sive resistance has been conceived and is regarded as a weapon of the weak. While it avoids violence, it is not open to the weak, it does not exclude its use if, in the opinion of passive resistance, the occasion demands it. However, it has always distinguished imself from armed resistance and its application was limited at
one point to Christian martyrs. Civil disobedience is the civil disobedience is the civil breach of nomoral statutory enactments. Therefore, the expression was, as far as I know, coined by Thoreau to signify his own resistance to the laws of a slave state. He has left a masterful treatise the dust of civil disobedience. But Thoreau was perhaps not one out of place of nonviolence. Thoreau
probably also limited his breach of state laws to income law, namely the payment of taxes, while the term civil disobedience as practiced in 1919 covered a breach of state laws to income law, namely the payment of taxes, while the term civil disobedience as practiced in 1919 covered a breach of state laws to income law, namely the payment of taxes, while the term civil disobedience as practiced in 1919 covered a breach of state laws to income law, namely the payment of taxes, while the term civil disobedience as practiced in 1919 covered a breach of state laws to income law, namely the payment of taxes, while the term civil disobedience as practiced in 1919 covered a breach of state laws to income law, namely the payment of taxes, while the term civil disobedience as practiced in 1919 covered a breach of state laws to income law, namely the payment of taxes, while the term civil disobedience as practiced in 1919 covered a breach of state laws to income law, namely the payment of taxes, while the term civil disobedience as practiced in 1919 covered a breach of state laws to income law, namely the payment of taxes, while the term civil disobedience as practiced in 1919 covered a breach of state laws to income law, namely the payment of taxes, while the term civil disobedience as practiced in 1919 covered a breach of state laws to income law, namely the payment of taxes, while the term civil disobedience as practiced in 1919 covered a breach of taxes.
satyagraha. Non-cooperation mainly involves the withdrawal of state cooperation which, in the view of the uncommitted, has become corrupt and excludes civil disobedience of the fierce type described above. By its own openness, non-cooperation is even open to children to understand and can be safely practiced by the masses. Civil disobedience
presupposes the neglect of voluntary obedience to laws without fear of their sanctions. Therefore, it can only be practiced as a last resort and by a select few in the first instance in any case. Non-cooperation, too, as civil disobedience is an embrace of satyagraha that includes all nonviolent resistance to the vin-dication of truth. SATYAGRAHA NO PASSIVE
RESISTANCEThe force denoted by the term passive resistance and translated into Turkey as nishkriya pratirodha is not described very accurately either by the original English phrase nor by its Hindi representation. His correct descriptions are satyagraha. Satyagraha was born in South Africa in 1908. There were 52 Satyagrahano words in any Indian
language denoting the power that our South African compatriots invoked for the reparation of their grievances. There was an English equivalent, that is passive resistance, and we get on with it. However, the need for a word to describe this unique power came to be felt incredibly, and it was decided to award an award to anyone who might think of an
appropriate term. A Gujarati-speaking knight presented the word satyagraha, and was judged the best. Passive resistance conveyed the idea of the Suffragette Movements in England. The burning of houses by these women was called passive resistance conveyed the idea of the Suffragette Movements in England. The burning of houses by these women was called passive resistance and also their fasting in prison. All these acts could very well be passive resistance but they were not
satyagraha. It is said of passive resistance that is the weapon of the weak, but the power that is the subject of this article can be used only by the strong. This power is not passive but active. South African Indians believe that truth was their object, that truth never triumphs,
and with this definition of purpose that persistently held to the truth. They with all the suffering that this persistence entailed. With the conviction that truth should not be renounced even to death, they demented fear of death. In the cause of truth, prison a palace for them and their doors the gateway to freedom. Satyagraha is not quite physical. A satyagrahi
does not inflict pain on the opponent; he does not seek his destruction. A satyagraha, there is no ill will. Satyagraha is pure soul strength. Truth is the very substance of the soul. That's why this force is called satyagraha. The soul is informed with knowledge. In it burns the flame of love. If someone gives us pain,
we will win it through love. Nonviolence is the supreme is proof of this power of love. Nonviolence is an inactive state. In the state of wakefulness, it's love. Ruled by love, the world continues. In English there is a saying, It could be correct. Then there is the doctrine of survival of the tightest. Both ideas are contradictory to the previous principle. It's not totally
true either. If ill willpower were the main driving force, the world would have been destroyed a long time ago; and neither would I have had the opportunity to write this article nor the hopes of readers. We are alive just out of love. We are ourselves proof of this. Deceived by modern Western civilization, we have forgotten our civilization and worship the power
of weapons. We forget the principle of nonviolence, which is the essence of all re-ligions. The doctrine of weapons represents irreligion. It is due to the influence of No Passive Resistance 53 that the doctrine that a bloodthirsty war is raging in Europe. In India we also find gun worship. We see it even in this great work by Tulsidas. But it is seen in every book
that soul strength is supreme power. . . . He carries both satyagrahi and his opponent well. It's always victorious. For example, Harishchandra was a satyagrahi, Prahlad was a satyagrahi, Prahlad was a satyagrahi, Mirabai was a satyagrahi, Daniel, Socrates and those Arabs who threw themselves into the fire of French artillery were all sadistic. We see from these examples that a
satyagrahi is not afraid for his body, that he does not give up what he thinks is true; the word defeat is not found in his dictionary, he does not expect others, but throws himself into fear, relying entirely on his own
resources. Trust that when the time comes, others will do it the same way. His practice is his precept. Like air, satyagraha is all-ivading. It is infectious, which means that all people —large and small, men and women- can become satyagrahis. No one is kept out of satyagrahis' harbrace. A satyagrahi cannot perpetrate tyranny on anyone; it is not subjected
through the application of physical force; he does not attack anyone. In the same way that anyone can resort to can be resorted to any situation. People demand historical evidence in of satyagraha. History is for the most part a record of armed activities. Natural activities are very much said. Only rare activities attack us with wonder. Sa-tyagraha has always
been used in all situations. Father and son, man and wife are perpetually turning to satyagraha, one towards the other. When a father gets angry and punishes the son, the son does not hit back with a gun, he conquers the wrath of his father subject him. The son refuses to be subdued by his father's unfair rule, but the punishment he can incur is raised
through disobeying the unjust father. Similarly, we can free ourselmyself from the unfair rule and accepting the punishments that go with it. We do not endure malice towards the Government by challenging unfair rule and accepting the punishments that go with it. We do not endure malice towards the Government by challenging unfair rule and accepting the punishments that go with it. We do not endure malice towards the Government by challenging unfair rule and accepting the punishments that go with it.
them from power, but only to get rid of their injustice, at the same time they will be subjected to our will. The question asks why we should call any rule unfair. That said, we ourselves assume the role of a judge. It's true. But in this world, we must always act as judges for ourselves. That is why the Yayagrahidoes do not attack their opponent with weapons. If
he has truth on his side, he will54 Satyagra h awin, and if his thinking is flawed, he will suffer the consequences of his guilt. What is the good, they ask, of a single person who opposes injustice; forhe will be punished and destroyed, put in jail or he will meet through an inadportun end. Invalid objection. History shows that all reforms have begun with one
person. Fruit is hard to get without tapas [self-searifice]. The suffering to be suffered in satyagraha satyagraha is tapasya in its purest form. Only when the tapasya, it fruit is delayed. The tapasya of Christ Je-sus, without limits even if it was, was not
enough for europe's needs. Europe has rejected Christ. Through ignorance, he has despised TheChrist's pure way of life. Many Christs will have to offer themselves on the terrible altar of Europe, and only then will they realize the dawn of this continent. But Jesus will always be the first among these. He has been the sower of seeds and his will therefore be
credit for increasing the harvest. It is said to be a very difficult task, if not entirely impossible, to educate ignorant peasants in satyagraha and that it is fraught with dangers, as it is a very arduous business to transform ignorant people without letters from one condition into another. Both arguments are stupid. People in India are perfectly in a position to receive
satyagraha training. India has recognized the dharma [duty and where there is knowledge from dharma, fromharma, it's a very simple question. The people of India have encountered the nectar of devotion. These great people overflow with faith. It is not a difficult matter to take this town on the right path of satyagraha. Some have the fear that once people
get involved in satyagraha, they may attend later stage take to arms. This fear is illusory. From the path of satyagraha [clinging to truth] is impossible. It is possible, of course, that some people who limbo themselves in armed activity can deceive the Satyagrahis by infiltrating their money and later
making them take up arms. This is possible in all integer-pleas. But compared to other activities, it is less likely to happen insatyagraha, because their motives are soon exposed and when people are not willing to take up arms, it becomes almost impossible to take them on this terrible path. The power of arms is directly opposed to the satyagraha powers.
Just as darkness does not conform to light, soulless armed ac-tivity cannot enter the solar glare of soul strength. Many pathans took part in satyagrahi and that the whole people will not be willing to deal with this suffering. Invalid
objection. People generally always follow in the footstepsNo Passive Resistance 55 of the nobleman. There is no doubt that it is difficult to produce a satyagrahileader. Our experience is that a satyagrahi needs many more virtues such as self-control, fear, etc., which are necessary for one who believes in unarmed action. The greatness of the man wearing
arms is not found in arm supervision, nor is he in his physical prowess. It lies in hisdeterminae and lack of fear in the face of death. . . . The strength of a war rior is measured not in reference to its weapons, but by its firmness. A satyagrahi needs millions of times more of this steadfastness than a weapon bearer. The birth of this man can provoke the salvation
of India in no time. Not only India, but everyone is looking forward to this man's event. We can meanwhile prepare the ground as we can through satyagraha is the infallible weapon. Satyagraha is the infallible weapon. Satyagraha is the infallible weapon. Satyagraha is the infallible weapon.
dharma [religion] higher than The Truth. Truth always wins. We pray to God that in this sacred land we get rid of the reign of the dharma following satyagraha and dura-graha. In our deeds, they have described, respectively, as
divine and diabolical modes of action. In satyagraha, there is always an unraveling adherence to It should never be forgotten on any account. Even for a country's desensciousness, it does not leave his way, although sometimes it seems
impenetrable and with difficulties and dangers, and a slight exit from this straight path may seem full of promises. Even under these circumstances, his beliefs resplendent as the midday sun and he does not despondent. With the truth for his sword, he needs neither a steel sword nor a gunpowder. Uniform inveterate enemy that conquers by the strength of
the soul, which is love. Love for a friend is not tested. There is nothing surprising in a friend who loves a friend; there is no merit in it and it costs no effort. When love is bestowed upon the so-called enemy, it is tested, becomes a virtue and requires effort, and is therefore an act of manalism and real bravery. We can cultivate this attitude even towards the
Government and, by doing so, we can appreciate their beneficial activities and, as for their mistakes, instead of feeling bitter on their own, pointing them out in love and thus rectifying them. Love does not act through fear. Weakness cannot be. A coward is unable to bring love, it is the prerogative of the brave. Looking at it all with love, we will not regard the
Satyagraha Government with suspicion, nor do we believe that all its actions are inspired by bad motives. And our examination of their actions, being directed by love, will be inert and is therefore bound to bring them conviction. Love can struggle; is often required to. In intoxication of power, men become angry at seeing their mistake. When this happens, a
satyagrahi does not sit still. Suffers. It disobeys the ruler's orders and their laws in a civil manner, and voluntarily submits to the penalties of such disobedience, for example, imprisonment and gallows. So is the disciplined soul. In this, one does not end up wasting time and, if he subsequently realized that this respectful disobedience was a mistake, the
consequences are only on the part of the satyagrahi and his coworkers. In the event, no bitterness develops between satyagrahi and those in power; the latter, therefore, voluntarily give in to him. They discover that they cannot command Thesatyagrahi's obedience. They can't do anything to him against his will. And this is the consummation of swaraj,
because it means complete indepen-dence. It is not necessary to assume that such resistance is only possible against civilized rulers. Even a Sylex heart will melt in the fire enshred by the power of the soul. Even a Nero becomes an lamb when confronted with love. This is no exaggeration. It is as true as an algebraic equation. This distinctive weapon of
Indian satyagrahais. He's had others, but satyagraha has been dining room. It is source of infallible force, and is able to be used at all times and in all circumstances. It does not require any ap-proval seal from Congress or any other body. What he knows his power can only use it. Even while the eyelashes automatically protect the eyes, so do fasatyagraha,
when kind, automatically protect the freedom of the soul. But duragraha is a force with opposing attributes. . . . The man who follows duragraha's path becomes impatient and wants to kill the so-called enemy. There can be nothing but a result of this. Hatred increases. Therefore, the defending party promises revenge and simply offers its time. The spirit of
revenge descends so from father to son. It is very much to wish that In-dia never gives predominance to this spirit of duragraha. If members of this assembly deliberately accept satyagraha and plaster their program, they will reach their goal more easily to do so. They may have to face disappointment in the initial stages. They may not be able to see the
results for a while. But satyagraha will triumph in the end. The dura-grahi, like the oil ox, moves in a circle. His movement is just mo-tion, but it's not progress. The satyagraha will riumph in the end. The dura-grahi, like the oil ox, moves in a circle. His movement is just mo-tion, but it's not progress. The satyagraha will riumph in the end. The dura-grahi, like the oil ox, moves in a circle. His movement is just mo-tion, but it's not progress. The satyagraha will riumph in the end. The dura-grahi, like the oil ox, moves in a circle. His movement is just mo-tion, but it's not progress.
the weapon of satyagraha, which will never accept the supremacy of the armed force. India will never respect the principle of being able to be right. She will never reserve her loyalty at first: The truth only triumphs. In reflection, we find that we can use satyagraha even for social reform. We can get rid of the many flaws in our caste system. We can resolve
Hindu-Muslim differences and we can solve political prob-lems. It is good that, for convenience, we talk about things as separate topics. But it should never be forgotten that they are all closely related. It is not true to say that neither religion nor social reform have anything to do with politics. In the excerpt of Jawaharlal Nehru's Discovery of India quoted in the
Introduction, the political situation in India before Gandhi's rise to powers considered desperate, even desperate. The struggle for freedom, began in 1885, had stopped thirty years later due to lack of will and imagination. The country's condition was dramatically transformed in the spring of 1919 when under deGandhi's leadership a mass movement was
born. From April 6, 1919, when Satyagraha Day was observed throughout India to initiate nonviolence, until August 1, 1920, when a second stage of non-cooperation began to herald a systematic and prolonged attack on the Raj, Gandhi's methods were tested. It was successful beyond the of anyone, Indian or British. Therefore, the first article that follows
refers to this period. The most surprising thing was how the India mobilized through an unprecedented combination of leadership, ideology and organization. Prior to Gandhi's emergence, the Indian Congress had produced magnificent and sophisticated leaders, but lacked a mass base. Gandhi's achievement at the head of The Congress understandably
alarmed the British authorities, both in England and India. A committee was appointed to investigate the disorders. A sample of Gandhi's testimony is included before including this committee, which he gave two years before he was arrested and jailed in March 1922. His defense indicates how firmly hefeels he has captured the moral terrain of the fight. He
argues for their devotion to absolute nonviolence, the pursuit of truth, and even to the constitutional nature of satyagraha because of his commitment to a higher law. Much has been made of Gandhi's admission in the article here, entitled Doctrine of the Sword, that he would prefer violence to cowardice or the life of Indi in a perpetual state of fearsome
presentation. His main point, however, is that nonviolence is always higher than violence, as the end of this article makes clear. But satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and devotion to truth.58 Satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and devotion to truth.58 Satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and devotion to truth.58 Satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and devotion to truth.58 Satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and devotion to truth.58 Satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and devotion to truth.58 Satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and devotion to truth.58 Satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and devotion to truth.58 Satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and devotion to truth.58 Satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and devotion to truth.58 Satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and devotion to truth.58 Satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and devotion to truth.58 Satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and devotion to truth.58 Satyagraha must be learned and applied throughout discipline and applied throug
power of satyagraha whether it is known by the name of civil disobedience or not cooperation. Many people fear the advencation of last year's almost insurmountable reprisals in its ferocity in the history of modern times. Personally I don't care
about government fury like the fury of the mental mafia. The latter is a sign of national distemper and therefore more difficult to deal with than it is to cure unknown people in a multitude of its madness. But the moves cannot be stopped although
a Government or a people or both go wrong. We learn to benefit from our mistakes and failures. And so we must approach non-cooperation with confidence and hope. In the past, the beginning must be marked by fasting and prayer as a sign of the religious nature of the demonstration. There must also be on this day the suspension of business, and
meetings to pass resolutions. . . . But the most important thing about this non-cooperation campaign is to evolve order, discipline, cooperation between people, coordination among workers. Effective non-cooperation depends on the complete organization. Thousands of men who have filled meetings throughout Punjab have convinced me that people
withdraw the government's cooperation, but they need to know how to do it. More More they do not understand the Covernments of the Government. They do not realize that all citizens take care of each act of this Government.
And it is appropriate to support it as long as the government's actions are unbearable. But when they hurt him and his nation, it becomes their duty to put aside their support. But like I said, every citizen doesn't know how to do it in a way or of advanced age. Disorder comes from anger, the order of intelligent resistance. The first condition, therefore, of real
success is to guarantee the absence of violence. The violence done to people representing the Government or people who do not join our ranks, that is, to the supporters of the Government, means in all cases the retrogression in our case, the cession of non-cooperation and the useless waste of innocent lives. Those who do not cooperate resolution 59fore
who want to make non-cooperation a success in the shortest time possible will consider it their first duty to see that in their neighborhood order remains . . . We need perfect discipline and training in voluntary obedience in order to offer civil disobedience in order to offer civil disobedience in order to offer civil disobedience in order to offer civil disobedience. Civil disobedience in order to offer civil disobedience.
from the strong of passivity, i.a. negative nonviolence of the weak. And since weakness cannot lead to swaraj, negative nonviolence must stop achieving our purpose. Do we then have the discipline required? We, a friend asked me, have we evolved the spirit of obedience to our own rules and resolutions? Although we have made enormous progress over
the last twelve months, we certainly haven't done enough to justify ourselance when it comes to embarking on civil disobedience with easy confidence. The rules voluntarily approved by us and the rules that carry no sanctions save the disapproval our own consciences must be like much more binding debts of honour than the overlapping rules on us or rules
whose non-compliance we can purge by paying the penalty there. It follows that if we have not learned the discipline of obeying its own rules, that is, carrying out our own promises, we are ill-suited by the disobedience that can be described at all as civil. I suggest it to all congressmen, all non-cooperators, and especially all members of the Congressional
Committee from across India to stand with Congress and its creed by performing the most central self-threat and correcting itself wherever it is or she might have failed. THE NON-COOPERATIVE RESOLUTIONThese Congress is of [the] opinion that there can be no adquiment inIndia . . . progressive nonviolent nonviolent cooperation . . . and swara-jya is
set. And to the extent that it should initially be taken by the classes that the opinion shaped and represented and to the extent that the Government consolidates its power through titles and honours granted to individuals, through schools controlled by it, its courts of justice and its legislative councils, and to the extent desirable in the prosecution of the
movement to assume the minimum risk and ask for the least sacrifice compatible with the attesting of the desired object, this Congress advises (a) to hand over honorary degrees and positions and renounce unidentified seats in local authorities;60 Satyagraha (b) refusal to attend government levees, durbars, and other official and official duties held by
Government officials or in his honor; (c) gradual removal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by the Government and instead of these schools and colleges establishing national schools and colleges in several provinces; (d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants and the s-tab of private arbitration courts for their
help in resolving private disputes; (e) the refusal by the military, clerical and labor classes to become recruits for service to Mesopotamia; (f) the withdrawal by candidates of their candidacy for election to the councils reconstititated and the refusal by voters to vote in favor of any sedated-date they can despite congressional advice being offered for elections;
(g) the boycott of foreign goods. And to the extent that non-cooperation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-registration without which no nation can make reality, and to the extent that an opportunity should be given in the first stage of non-cooperation to each man, woman and child, in order to be disciplined and self-critical, this Congress
advises the adoption of large-scale swadeshiin pieces, and to the extent that India's existing mills with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture enough threads and enough rags for the nation's needs - and it is not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate encouragement of more large-scale manufacturing by reviving
the spinning by hand in every home and knitting by hand by the millions of immigrants who have abandoned their old one Honorable call for stimulus research.28 EVIDENCE BFORE DISORDERS INQUIRY COMMITTEE*Sr. Gandhi, have we been informed that you are the author of the satyagraovehamment? Yes, sir. I would like to give you an explanation
for what this move is.*The Disorders Inquiry Committee, convened to investigate Gandhi's movement, was chaired by Lord Hunter. The committee consisted of Justice Rankin, W. F. Rice, Major-General Sir George Barrow, Jagat Narayan, Thomas Smith, Sir C. H. Setalvad, and Sultan Ahmad Khan, with N. Williamson as secretary. The Brigadier Dyer
appeared before the Lahore. Disorders Lahore. Disorders Investigative Committee 61 It is a movement aimed at replacing methods of violence. It is a movement based entirely on truth. It is, as I have conceived, an extension of domestic law in the political sphere, and my own experience has brought to meto the conclusion that this movement and this
movement alone can ridIndia of the possibilities of violence that extend throughout the length and breadth of the earth for the repair of grievances, supposed or real.... For the past thirty years I have been preaching and practicing satya-graha. The principles of satyagraha, as I know it today, constitute a progressive evolution. Satyagraha differs from passive
resistance as a South Pole. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak and not ex-clude the use of physical force or violence in any form or form. The term satyagraha was coined by me in South Africa to express the
strength that the Indians there used for a total of eight years and was coined to distinguish it from the movement that then passed to the truth, hence the truth-strength. I've also called it a force of love or soul strength. In the application of satyagraha, I
weaned against rather the early stages that the search for truth did not admit that violence inflicted on the opponent, but must be mistake for the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to signify the claim of truth, not by the infliction of
suffering in the adversary, but in oneself. But in the political sphere, the struggle on behalf of mostly Co-Consists people in opposing error in the form of unfair laws. When you have fainted to bring the error, is to force you by physical
force to give in to you or for suffering on your own staff inviting penalty for breaking the law. Hence satyagrahalargely appears to the public as civil disobedience or civil resistance is not the case. He always obeys the laws of
the state to which he does not belong for fear of sanctions, but because he considers them to be good for the well-being of society. But there come occasions, gen-erally rare, when you consider certain laws to be so unfair as to make them a dishonor. Then openly and civilly breaks them andquietly suffers the penalty for their And in order to register his 62
satyagrahaprotest against the action of giving them the law, he is open withdraw their cooperation from the state by disobeying these other laws whose scope does not imply moral turpitude. In my opinion, the beauty and effectiveness of satyagraha are so great and doctrine so simple that you can preach even to children. He was betrayed by me to
thousands of men, women and children commonly called indentured Indians, with excellent results. When the Rowlatt Bills were published I felt they were so restrictive of human freedom that they should resist to the fullest. I observed that opposition to them was universal among Indians. I do not present any State, however, that has the right to enact laws
that are re-pugnative throughout the body of the people, let alone a government guided by constitutional use and precedents such as the Indian Government. Ifelt also that the on approaching turmoil needed definitive direction if it was not more collapse or run into violent channels. Therefore, I ventured to present satyagraha to the country emphasizing its
aspect of civil resistance. And since it is purely an inner and purifying movement, I suggested observing the speed, prayer and suspension of all work for one day— on April 6,1919. There was no organization and no great prior preparation. Theidea was given
to the public as soon as it was conceived. On April 6, there was no violence used by people and no collision with the name of the police. The hartal was purely voluntary and spontaneous. . . . Was it your intention to enlist as many satyagrahis as possible? Yes, consistent with conducting the movement in an appropriate way, that is, if I found a million men
who were able to understand the truth and stick by it and never use violence, I would certainly be willing to have the million men . . . I suppose it is the reason, the main reason, why violence is eliminated here. The satyagrahi gives his
opponent the same right of independence and real feeling that he reserves himself, seeing that [if] he wants to fight for the truth he will do so by inviting injury to his own person . . . Can't you refuse to obey this or any other law you choose to select a fairly dras-tic way of trying to do this? Disorders Research Committee 63 differ respectfully. When it seems to
me that even my father has imposed on me a law that is disgusting to my conscience, I think it's the least dras-tic course I take by respectfully telling him: Dad, I can't obey that. I do nothing but justice to my father when I do this. If I can say that without any disrespect to the Committee, I have simply followed this in my own domestic circle, and I find that I had
done it with the greatest have put this before the Indians and everyone for acceptance. Instead of feeling angry with my father, I would respectfully tell him: I can't obey this law I see nothing wrong with that. If it's not bad for me to say to my father, there's nothing wrong with me telling a friend or a Government. . . . Isn't a condition of very great danger to peace
and order created? On the contrary, I promote peace. And I did it myself on April 6, because I was there in Mumbai, and there was some fear of peoples offering violence. And I'm here to tell you that there is no violence, not real violence was offered by people, because people were called the fake nature of satyagraha. It was an amazing spectacle for me to
see thousands of people behaving in a perfectly peaceful way. This would not have been the case if the satyagraha doctrine had not been preached in the key to the right. . . . Ahmedabad. . . his arrest seems to have created great resentment on his part, and very unfortunately again, by the crowd. . . . . I consider the action of this crowd, either in Ahmedabad or
Vi-ramgam, to be totally unjustified, and I thought it was a very sad thing that they lost self-control. I don't want to offer the slightest defences for mafia acts, but at the Government that I should have known better. I believe that the
Government made an unforgivable mistake of judgment and the mafia made a similar unforgivable mistake, but more unforgivable on the part of the Government. I mean he's also a satyagrahi, I can't find a single thing done by the crowd that I can defend or justify. No amount of provocation, however great it may be, could justify
people doing what they have done. He has suggested to me that everyone who did this was not satyagrahis. That's true. But they chose to take part in the satyagrahagives give me the greatest pleasure and also the pain to declare my
established conviction before this Committee as well. As for his satyagraha doctrine, as far as I'm concerned I'm able to understand it, does it mean a search for the truth? Yes. Now in this doctrine must determine for himself what truth
he will pursue? Most decisively. And in doing that different individuals will take very different views as to what is the truth to follow? Certainly. Could it, on this foot, cause considerable confusion? I'm not going to take it. It should not lead to any confusion if you accept the position that a man is honestly looking for and that will never inflict violence on him
holding on to the truth. Then there is no chance of confusion. A man can strive honestly after the truth of some other people or his intellectual team can be of such a char-act character that his conclusion regarding the truth may be entirely opposed to
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someone else's conclusion? This was precisely why in response to Lord Hunter I made a gesture that non-cooperation is unconstitutional. I dare deny that it is unconstitutional. On the contrary, he argues that non-cooperation is a

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just and religious doctrine; is the inherent right of the human being and is perfectly constitutional. A great lover of BritishEmpire has said that under the British Constitutional? 65I I cannot deny in support of your claim. I do not demand
constitutionality for a successful rebellion or otherwise as long as this rebellion means in the ordinary sense of the term what it means, that is, fighting justice by violent means. On the contrary, I have repeatedly told my colleagues that violence, whatever its end in Europe, will never deserve us in India. My brother and friend Shaukat Ali believes in methods of
violence; and if he was in his power to draw the sword against the British Empire. I know that he has the courage of a man and also has the wisdom to see that he should offer this battle to the British Empire. But because he recognizes as a true soldier that the means of violence are not open to India, he joins with me accepting my humble assistance and
shreds his word that whenever I am with him and so long as he believes in it. doctrine so long will not harbor even the idea of violence against any single Englishman or any single man on earth. I'm here to tell you that it's been as true as his word and he's kept it religiously. I am here witness who has been following this nonviolent non-cooperation plan to the
same charter and I call on India to follow this nonviolent nonviolent cooperation. I tell you there is no better soldier living in our ranks in British India to follow this nonviolent nonviolent cooperation. I tell you there is no better soldier living in our ranks in British India to follow this nonviolent nonviolent nonviolent nonviolent accepts the doctrine of the
sword, my life as an Indian is over. It's because I believe in a special mission for India, and it's because I think the old ones after centuries of experience, have discovered that the true for any human being the land is not justice based on violence, but on justice based on the sacrifice of itself; justice based on yajna andkurbani [sacrifice]—I cling to this doctrine
and I will stick to it forever—that is why I tell you that while my friend also believes in the doctrine of nonviolence as a weapon of the strongest. I think a man is the strongest soldier to dare to die without arming himself with his bare chest before the
enemy. So much for the nonviolent part of non-cooperation. I therefore dare to suggest to my learned countries that as long as the doctrine of non-cooperation remains without violence so long there is nothing unconstitutional in doctrine of non-cooperation remains without violence so long there is nothing unconstitutional in doctrine of non-cooperation remains without violence so long there is nothing unconstitutional in doctrine of non-cooperation remains without violence so long there is nothing unconstitutional in doctrine.
our worthy president to return with all aspects all the titles he has ever had of a mainstream Muslim leader within the nationalist movement.66 Satyagrahathe government or school? It is unconstitutional for the lawyer to say: Will I no longer support the arm of the law as
long as the weapon of the law is used not to lift me but to debase me? It is unconstitutional for a civil servant or for a judge to say: Do I refuse to serve a Government that does not want to respect the wishes of the whole people? I ask, is it unconstitutional for a policeman or for a soldier to submit his resignation when he knows he is called to serve a
Government that seduces his own compatriots? It is unconstitutional for me to go to the krishak, to agriculture, and tell you: Isn't it sensible for you to pay taxes, if these taxes are used by the Government not to raise it but to weaken you? I have and dare to present that there is nothing uncon-stitutional in it. Also, I've done all these things in my life and no one
has questioned the constitutional nature of it. I was inKaira working in the middle of seven farming lakhs. They had spent that it will be highly
unconstitutional in the midst of this unconstitutional Government -in the midst of a nation that has built its magnificent constitution- for the people of India to funnel every insult offered to them; it is unconstitutional for India's 70 million Mohammedans who came forward to a violent
mistake made in their religion; is highly unconstitutional-tional all of India to sit still and cooperate with an unfair Gov-ernment that has trampled under his feet the honor of Punjab; I say to my countrymen: As long as you have a sense of honor and whenever you want to remain the descendants and defenders of noble traditions that have been delivered to you
for generations after generations, it is not constitutional for you not to cooperate and unconstitutional for you to cooperate with a Government that has become as unfair as our gov-ernment has become. I am not anti-English; I am not anti-English; I am not anti-English; I am not anti-I am anti-I am anti-I am anti-I am anti-I am not anti
injustice, it can regard me as its enemy, relentless enemy, relentless enemy. I was waiting for Congress in Amritsar - I * A reference to Dyer's infamous crawl order after the Amritsar mas-sacre in April 1919. See CWMG 39: 375 for Gandhi's expression of outrage at this humiliation. Is it unconstitutional? 67am speaking the truth of God before you - when I pleaded on your
knees before some of you for cooperation with the Government, I had full hope that British ministers, who are wise as a rule, placate the Mussul-man feeling, they would do full justice in matters of punjabiats, and, therefore, I said: Let's return goodwill to the land of fel-lowship that has spread, which, he then believed, extended to us through the Royal
Proclamation. It was on this account that Ipleaded for cooperation. But today that faith is gone and [state] bound by the acts of British ministers, I am here to defend not forphistic obstruction in the legislative council, but for real substantial non-cooperation that would paralyze the most powerful government on earth. That's what I stand for today. Until that's
how we've done justice and until we've approached the self-show of unwilling hands and unwilling pens, there can be no cooperation. Our Xastras say and say it with the greatest deference to all the greatest religious preceptors of India, but without fear of the contradiction that our Shastras teach us that there will be noco-operation between injustice and
justice, between an unjust man and a man loving adjustment, between truth and truth. Cooperation is a duty only as long as the Government protects your honour. This is the doctrine of non-cooperation. . . . I have suggested another difficult matter, viz,
that lawyers should spend their practice. How should I do it otherwise knowing as well as the Government had always been able to retain that power through the battles of the but when it comes to a matter of action against the Government, when it
comes to a matter of paralyzing the activity of the Government, I know that the Government always looks to lawyers, no matter how good fighters it may have been, to preserve their dignity and self-show. I therefore suggest to my lawyer friends that it is their duty to suspend their practices and prove to the Government that they will no longer retain their
positions, because lawyers are considered honorary court officials and therefore subject to their disciplinary jurisdiction. They no longer have to wane in these positions of honour if they want to withdraw government cooperation. But what will happen to law and order? We will evolve the order of the rod through the instrumentality of these lawyers. We will be
tried for pro-mote arbitration and dispense justice, pure, simple, homemade, swadeshi justice to our compatriots. This is what the suspension of the practice means.68 Satyagraha I have suggested another difficulty: withdrawing our children from government schools and asking collegiate students to withdraw from university and empty schools helped by the
Government. How could I do it differently? I want to calibrate national feeling. I want to know if the Mohammedans feel deeply, they will be understood in twinning an eye that is not right that they receive schooling from a government in which they have lost all faith; and that they do not trust at all. How can I, if I do not want to help this
Government, receive any help from this Government? I think schools and colleges are factors in making government employees and servants if I want to withdraw the cooperation of this Government. Look at it from any point of view you like. It is not possible for you to send
your children to schools and still intersect in the doctrine of non-cooperation. I've gone further. I have suggested that our holders should give up their titles. How can they stick to the titles and honours awarded by this Government? They were at one point badges of honor when webeleved that national honor was safe in their hands. But now they are no
longer badges of honour, but badges of dishonor and disgrace when they believed we cannot get justice from this Government. Everytitle-holder has his title and honors as patron of the nation and in this first step in withdrawing from Government. Everytitle-holder has his title and honors as patron of the nation and in this first step in withdrawing from Government.
have spoken these words with anger because I have considered the ways of this Government immoral, unfair, debased and false. I use these adjectives with the greatest deliberations. I have used them for my own true brother, I you used to tell
him it was unfair when his plans were based on immoral foundations. I used to tell him that he wasn't in favor of the truth. There was no anger in me. I told him this partnership in well-defined conditions. I want my respect and my
absolute equality with them. If I can't win the equality of the British people, I don't want the British connection. . . . It is for this reason that I stand before you and implore you to offer this religious battle, but it is not a battle that offers you a visionary or a saint. I deny being a vi-zionaire. I do not accept the claim of saintness. I'm from the land, earthy, a common
gardener as much as any of you, probably much moreDoctrine than sword 69 than you are. I'm prone to as many weaknesses as you are. But I've seen the world, I've been through this discipline. I understood the secret of my own sa-cred
Hinduism. I have learned the lesson that non-cooperation is the duty not only of the saint, but is the duty of all ordinary citizens, who do not know much, do not care about knowing much, but wants to perform their barley-nary domestic functions. The people of Europe teach even their masses, the poor, the doctrine of the sword. But India's rishis, those who
have maintained India's traditions, have preached to india's masses the doctrine, not of the sword, not of violence but of suffering, of self-suffering. And unless you and I are willing to go through the primaries, we're not even ready to offer the sword and that's the lesson my brother Shaukat Ali has imbibed to teach and that's why today ac-cepts my advice
tended to him in all prayer and in all humility and says: Long live non-cooperation. DOCTRINE OF THE SWORD They have no land of advisers. They send me letters, signed and unsigned, and, therefore, I will achieve nothing in this world; that it
is my fear that makes me think of nonviolence without knowing what it means. Some others tell me that I have enough violence in my heart, that I approve of killing, but that I am a fellow shrewd and so cunning that I do not let people know what I think and, although speaking of nonviolence, deep down I want you to insti-gate violence. In addition to these,
there is another class of men who think lam is not a rogue, but I am only waiting for my opportunity and, when I arrive, I will advise people to use the sword is Force. Killing people does not require intelligence. We can, in fact, to misdirect our intelligence
to use it in the service of brute force, but, although aided by intelligence, brute force remains the law of the sword remains the law of the sevice of brute force, but, although aided by intelligence, brute force remains brutal and the law of the sevice of brute force, but, although aided by intelligence, brute force remains brutal and the law of the sevice and may not have knowledge of himself. That's why we know the animal world as wrapped in darkness. The activities of eating, drinking, sleeping, feeling fear,
etc., are common to man and twin. But man has the power to distinguish between good and evil and can also know the self. One animal submits to another simply because of its physical satyagra hamight70. His world is ruled by this law, but not so the human world. The law that is most in harmony with human nature is to win over the oth-ers for the power of
love, by the strength of the soul. When, therefore, a man wins an enemy through love, he simply follows the law of his nature. He has not become a god in doing so. The gods also black gods. The man is, at times, seen acting like an animal. It is
also endowed with brute force, and, as long as it has not developed awareness of its spiritual nature it remains an intelligent animal. Although the human body, instead of obeying the law of this kind follows the law of the human being. This, however, should not be regarded as its true nature. I believe, therefore, that if we wake up to the awareness of our true
nature, we would like, that very moment, to renounce the law of the jungle. But the wise men saw that the passions of the beast had not died in most people, although they possessed human bodies. They recognized, therefore, that there was scope for the use of brute force even by humans and it showed under what circumstances it could be employed.
When one man submits to another through fear, he does not follow the hisnatura, but gives in to brute force either. Recognizing, therefore, that a man who fears brute force while
heirs in this state. A Pathan killed me in 1908. My eldest son [Ha-rilal Gandhi] was not present then. He possessed pretty good physical mind. I didn't have the Pathan processed since ',I had the same opinions as I do now. I was educating my children also on ideas of forgiveness and love, and so at our first meeting [after the assault], my son told me: I want to
know what would have been my duty if I had been with you at the time. You have us we cannot attack or tame the other man. I understand this principle, but I don't have the strength to act on it. I couldn't remain a silent spectator as you were beaten to death. Jo Jo I consider it my duty to protect you if you should be assaulted, but I couldn't do it by setting my
own life [instead of going backwards]. So, I have to protect you by attacking the man who would beat you, or witness the attack on you, or run away. I said, It would be a sign of cowardice whether he ran away or did nothing to protect me. If you couldn't do me to take the anger over yourself, you should certainly do it by attacking the other man. It is any day
better to use brute force than to betray the cow-Doctrine of the Sword 71 ardice. I have this view even now. It is better that India should arm im fully and take the risk that it should refuse to take the weapons of fear.... It will be evidence of India's soul strength only if it refuses to fight when it has the strength to do so. You have to understand what the phrase
means, strength to fight in this context. That doesn't just mean physical strength to fight. It is not true to say that, in
order to fight, it is essential to acquire the ability to use the arems; the moment, therefore, a man awakens the power of the soul, who at this time gets to know the strength he has to fight. . . . For me, the day will be the day of my test.
I pride myself on looking at India as my country because I think she has it in her to prove to the world the supremacy of soul strength. When India accepts february's supremacy of force, I should no longer be happy to call it my homeland. It is my belief that my dharma does not recognize limits of duty spheres or ofgeographic boundaries. I pray to God that he
can then prove that my dharma has no idea about my person or is not restricted to a aparticular field. 3' The success of the non-cooperation movement in 1921 prompted Gandhi to consider escalating nonviolent action to the higher stage of mass civil obedience but, as explained, the violent outbreak of the mafia in Chauri Ch inearly 1922 forced him to halt
the campaign. The first article in this section, dated August 1921, indicates that he always contemplated civil disobedience with extreme reluctance and tried to restrict those impatient to embark on it. Gandhi was in prison from 1922 to 1924. After his release, he concentrated the social reform program that he called constructive work and said he. This pointed
to Hindu-Muslim unity, the abolition of untouchabil-ity, and the lifting of villages, especially through improved industries such as the spinning of cotton fabric (khadi). These he insisted, were prerequisites for swaraj. They are examined in the Second Part of the readings. In 1928, a local campaign of fiscal resistance in the Western Indian districts of Bardoli,
Gujarat, proved successful. Gandhi found in this small-scale movement the key to his upcoming national campaign, which in 1930 made Satyagrahalong's planned leap into mass civil disobedience. This historic action, easily the broadest civil disobedience movement ever carried out, became known as the salt satyagraha, because it was a campaign of fiscal
resistance aimed at the duties the government imposed on salt. The tax was the equivalent of forty-six cents each maund (eighty-two pound unit), which made up 8.4 percent of the total revenue raised by the Raj. By Gandhi's calculation, the tax could co-institute three days of income for the villagers' average charter.32 Gandhi to Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of
India, is the second piece induced in this section. He dwells on the economic burden that the salt taxi placed on the poor, but Gandhi knew that the real strength of satya-graha salt came from its symbolic significance. Again, he found a way to seize moral high ground by conveying a heroic struggle against a cruelly ex-ploitative outside system that, as he
says in his letter to Irwin, appears to be designed to crush the very lives of his victims. This letter to Irwin surely represents Gandhi at his best, reporting hisadversary in advance of his intentions and reasons, even details of hisbat's plans. Starting with Gandhi's classic style with Dear Friend, it sets the tone of congeniality and confidence that served to create
ambivalence in elBritish and make them doubt, for them a fatal concession to the campaign. It should be noted that Gandhi's letter opens with a humble allegation that theviceroy helps him find a way out so that disobedience is not necessary-sary. But of course there is power behind his plea, the power of what he later calls in his letter the intensely active
force of nonviolence. His careful explanation in most of the letter of precisely why he considers the British government to be a curse gives eloquent justification for civil disobedience. Salt satyagraha began on March 12, 1930. Gandhi, sixty, combined his march with eighty followers, from his ashram near Ahmedabad, traveling through his home state of
Gujarat, bound for the village of Dandi, more than two hundred miles away on India's western coast. He came to hisdestination twenty-four days later, unimpeded by the government. At 6:30A.M. on April 6, collected a handful of natural sea salt, its use prohibited by law because it did not taxed. Press reporters and film crews from the United States, Great
Britain and Europe who had determined that the Mahatma was worthy of news to record the event. It didn't disappoint them, proclaiming to the whole world: With that I'm shaking the foundations of thebritish . . . I want global sympathy in this right-wing battle against the fight. . . . That I have come here is to no small extent because of the
powers of peace and nonviolence: that power feels universally. 33 The answer was electoral: massive civil disobedience throughout India followed as millions of people broke salt laws, filled prisons and paralyzed the government. The viceroy had civil disobedience 73 clearly was wrong not to arrest Gandhi at the same time because the delay allowed the
rapid escalation of the movement. By the time he was arrested on May 5, the momentum was unstoppable; it continued unsuccessfully until February-March 1931, when Gandhi was released and concluded talks with Irwin. This was the first time these two leaders had negotiated on equal terms, and from then on India's independence was secured, signed by
the Government of India Act 1935. When Time made Gandhi his Man of the Year for 1930, he recognized the unique quality of salt satyagraha: never before has a nonviolent movement become a revolutionary event.34 DISOBEDIENCE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE was on the lips of each member of the All-India Congress Committee. Having never tried
everyone appeared in love with her from a mistaken belief in her as a sovereignty for our current ills. I feel confident that it can be done such if we can produce the atmosphere needed for it. For individuals there is always this atmosphere, except when their civil disobedience is sure to lead to bloodshed. I discovered this exception during the days of
satyagraha. But even so, there may come a call that one dares not neglect, cost what he can. I can see with slit the moment that comes to me when I have to reject obedience to state law, even though there may be a certainty of bloodshed. When the neglect of the call means a denial of God, civil disobedience comes a peremptory duty. Mass civil
disobedience is on a different footing. It can only be tested in a quiet environment. It must be the calm of strength not weakness, knowledge not ignorance. . . . It was in virtually uninhabited treatment of country that I was arrested in South Africa when I was marching in the forbidden area with more than two or three thousand men and some women.* The
company included severalpathans and others who were able-bodied men. It was the biggest testi-mony of merit that the South African Government gave the movement. They knew we were as harmless as we were determined. It was easier for this body of men to cut to pieces those who arrested me. Not only would it have been something more cowardly to
do, but it would have been a treacherous breach of his own promise, and it would have meant Fight for freedom and children to the Transvaal on his Great March. 74 74 halndian, South Africa. But the men were not rabid. They were disc socket
soldiers and all the best to be unarmed. Even though I was torn from them, they didn't disperse, nor did they turn back. They marched to their destination until they were, each of them, arrested and unfathomed. As far as I know, this was an example of discipline and nonviolence for which there are no parallels in history. Without this restriction I see no hope
of success of mass civil disobedience here. We must dismiss the idea of overseeing the Government for huge arrests whenever someone is arrested. On the contrary, we must treat detention as the normal state of the life of an uncommitted. Forwe must seek arrest and imprisonment, as a soldier who goes to battleseek death. We hope to avoid opposition
from the Government and not avoid jail, even if it is to show our supposed willingness to be arrested and imprisoned en masse. Civil disobedience then emphatically means our desire to surrender to a single unarmed policeman. Our triumph is that thousands of people are led to prisoners like lambs in the house of sacrifices. If the lambs of the world had been
driven voluntarily, they would long have been saved from the delbutcher knife. Our triumph is again to be jailed for now. The greater our innocence, the greater our strengths and the faster our strengths and the faster our strengths and the faster our victory is. As it is, this Government is cowardly, we are afraid of prison. The Government takes advantage of the fear of prisons. If only our men and women welc
prisons as health centers, we will stop worrying about the beloved put in prisons that our South African compatriots used to name Her Majesty hotels. We have been mentally disobedience. Disobedience to being civil must be open and
nonviolent. Complete civil disobedience is a state of peaceful rebellion, a refusal to obey all state laws. It is certainly more dangerous than an armed rebellion. Because it can never be ended if they are resisted by civilians are prepared to deal with extreme difficulties. It is based on an implicit belief in the absolute efficiency of innocent suffering. By going
without noise to prison a civil resistance ensures a quiet atmosphere. Misuse of bad practices in the absence of resistance is necessary at least on the part of people's representatives before we can launch into a company of such
magnitude. The fastest remedies are always full of the greatest danger iLetter to Lord Irwin 75qui the maximum in the handling of them. It is my firm conviction that, if we lead to a successful boycott of we will have a produced atmosphere that would urge the
hospital and determine the concentration in those who embark on mass civil disobedience. LETTER TO LORD IRWIN Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati March 2, 1930A my friend, before embarking on civil disobedience and taking the risk I have read to take all these years, would approach you and discover. My personal faith is absolutely clear. I can't
intentionally hurt anything that lives, let alone other human beings, even though they can do the greatest harm to me and mine. Although, therefore, I have British rule as a curse, I do not intend to harm a single Englishman or any legitimate interest he may have in India. I don't have to understand anything. Although I have British dominance in India to be a
curse, I do not consider, therefore, the English in general to mind that any other people on earth. I am privileged to claim many englishmen as dearest friends. In fact, much I have learned from the evils of British rule is due to the writings of frank and courageous Englishmen who have not hesitated to tell the unappealable truth about this rule. And why do I
regard British rule as a curse? It has impoverished the millions of fools by a system of progressive ex-ploy and by a ruinously costly military and civilian administration that the country can never afford. It has reduced us politically to servitude. He has demented the foundations of our culture. And, because of the cruel disarmament policy, it has been
involununntarily degraded. In the absence of inner strength, we have been reduced, by all butuniversal disarmaments, to a state bordering cowardly impotence. . . . The great pressure of land revenues, which gives a large part of the total, must undergo a considerable modification on an independent In-day. Even the much-invaded permanent settlement
benefits the few richzamindars [owners], not the ryots [landless peasants]. The ryot has remained as helpless as ever. He's a mere tenant at will. Not only, then, land revenue must be considerably reduced, but the entire revenue system 56 Satyagra must be so revised as to make ryot your main concern. But the British system seems to be designed to crush
the very life outside it. Even the salt you have to use to live is so imposted as to make the burden heavier on it, if only for the heartless impartiality of its incidence. The tax is even heavier for the poor when reminded that salt is the only thing you should eat more than the rich man both individually and collectively. Drinking and drug admissions, too, is derived
from the poor. He knows the foundations of both his health and morality. He defends himself under the false request for individual freedom but, in reality, is for its own sake. The ingenuity of the authors of the 1919 reforms transferred this income to the so-called responsible part of dyarchy, in order to launch the prohibition burden, thus, from the outset,
making it powerless for good. If the unhappy min-ister eliminates this income he must starve education, since in existing circumstances he has no new source of substitution for this income. If the weight of taxation has crushed the poor from above, the destruction of the municipal supplementary industry, that is, spinning by hand, has diminished their ability to
produce wealth. The account of India's ruin is not as-plete without reference to the liabilities incurred on its behalf. Enough has already been said about these in the public press. It must be the duty of a free India to submit all responsibilities to the strictest investigation, and repudiate those who may be tried by an impartial court for being unfair and unfair. The
inequalities shown above are maintained in order to carry out a for-eign administration, demonstrably the most expensive in the world. Take your own salary. It is more than Rs. 21,000 per month at the current exchange rate. You're getting
overRs. 700 per day against average Indian earnings of less than 2 per day[= .125 rupee]. The Prime Minister gets Rs. 180 per day against GreatBritain's average earnings of nearly Rs. 2 per day. So you are getting well over five thousand times India's average income. In the
curves I ask you to reflect on this phenomenon. I've taken a personal illustration to drive home a painful truth. I have too great a consideration for you a man for wanting to hurt his feelings. I know you don't need thesalysail you get. Probably the whole of his salary goes for charity. But a system that envisages this agreement deserves to be scrapped
summarily. What is certain of the vice-mayor's salary is true in general of the administration. A radical reduction in income therefore depends on AnLetter to Lord Irwin's 77th radical reduction in administration expenses. This means a transformation of the government scheme. This transformation is im-possible without independence. That is why, in my
opinion, the spontaneous demonstration of January 26, in which hundreds of thousands of villag-ers participated instinctively. For them independence means delivering from the weight of slaughter. None of Britain is helped overnight, often, despite unanimous
opposition indian opinion. However, if India is to live as a nation, if death slowed by starvation your people must stop, you have to find some remedy for the immediate response. The proposed Conference certainly is not the remedy. It's not about bringing conviction by argument. The matter is resolved in one of the coincidental forces. Conviction or no
conviction, Britain would defend its Indian trade and its Indian trade and its interests by all forces in its com-mand. Therefore, India must evolve strong enough to free itself from this embrace of death. It is a common cause that, no matter how disorganized and, for the moment, insignificant it may be, the party of violence is gaining ground and making itself heard. Its end is the
same as mine. But I am convinced that he cannot get the desired relief to the millions of fools. And the conviction is ever deeper and deeper in me that nonviolence is not an active force. My experience, limited though it may be, shows that
nonviolence can be an intensely active force. It is my purpose to launch this force also against the organized violent force of the British government as [against] the un organised violent force of the growing party of violence. Sitting still would be to give kingdom to the two forces mentioned above. Having an unquestionable and immovable infidel in the
effectiveness of nonviolence as I know it would be sinful on my part to wait longer. This nonviolence will be expressed by civil disobedience, by its confined will to the inmates of the Satyagraha Ashram, but ultimately designed to cover all those who choose to join the movement with its obvious-egg limitations. I know that by embarking on nonviolence I will be
running what we might say a crazy risk. But the victories of truth have never been won without risks, often of the most serious nature. Converting a nation that has consciously or unconsciously taken over another, much more numerical, much older and no less cultured than itself, is worth any amount of risk.78 Satyagrah to have deliberately used the word
conversion. For my ambition it is nothing more than turning the British people through nonviolence, and so seeing the evils they have done in India. I'm not looking to harm your people. I want to serve them even when I want to serve my own. I think I've always served them. I served them until 1919 blindfolded. But when my eyes opened and I conceived non-
cooperation, the object was still to serve them. I have employed the same weapon I have in all humility used successfully against the most beloved members of my family. If I have love for your people with mine it won't stay long hidden. It will be recognized by them, even as my family members recognized it they had tried me for several years. If people join
me as I hope they will, the sufferings they will suffer, unless the rather he goes back in his footsteps, it will be enough to melt the stoniest hearts. The plan through civil disobedience will suffer, unless the rather he goes back in his footsteps, it will be enough to melt the stoniest hearts. The plan through civil disobedience will be to combat these evils as I have shown. If we want to cut off the British connection it is because of these evils. When the path is removed it becomes easy. Then the road to
an amicable negotiation will be open. If British trade withIndia is purified of greed, it will have no difficulty recognizing our independence. I respectfully invite you to pave the way for the immedi-eaten elimination of these evils, and thus pave the way for a real conference to be the same, interested only in promoting the common good of humanity through
voluntary scholarship and in organizing terms of mutual aid and equally appropriate trade for both. You have unnecessarily put stress on communal problems that unhappyly affect this land. Important thoughts are undoubtedly for consideration of any governance scheme, which have little to do with the biggest problems that are above communities and
affecting them all equally. But if you can't see your way to deal with these evils and my letter makes no calls to your heart, on the 11th of this month,* I will proceed with these coworkers from ElAshram as I can take, to ignore the provisions of salt laws. I consider this tax to be the most unicympathic of all from the poor man's point of view. Since the
independence movement is essentially for the poorest on earth, putting it at stake will be done with this evil. The wonder is that we have presented ourselmself to cruel monopoly for so long. It is, I know, open to you to thwart design by arresting me. I hope there are tens of thousands of people, in a disciplined way, to take on the work after me, and, in the act
of disobeying the Salt Act by putting itself open to the sanctions of a law that should never have disfigured the Statute-book.*The march, however, began on March 12.iDuty of Disloyalty 79 I have no desire to cause you unnecessary embarrassment., or anyone at all, as far as it can help. If you think there is any substance in my letter, and if you mind
discussing matters with me, and if you want to postpone the publication of this letter, I will gladly refrain from receiving a telegram to that effect shortly after this comes to you.* However, you will do me the favor of not diverting from my course unless you can see your way of adjusting to the substance of this This letter is not intended in any way as a threat,
but it is a simple and peremptory duty on a civil resistance. So, I'm having it spe-cially delivered by a young English friend who believes in the proposit.f I stay, Your sincere friend, M. K. Gandhi DUTY OF DISLOYALTYThere is no halfway
house between active and active loyalty it is very true in Judge Stephen's latest observation that a man who came forward not guilty of disaffection must prove active loyalt to institutions. When, therefore, you are disloyal that seeks not
to destroy people by institutions. The current state is an institution that, if one knows, can never evoke loyalty. It's corrupt. Many of its laws governing people's conduct are positively inhumane. His administration is worse. Often the will of a person is the law You can safely say that there are as many rulers as there are districts in this country. These, called
Collectors, combine in their own people the executive as well as the judicial functions. Although his reactionaries are supposed to be governed by highly flawed laws themselves, the viceroy's response was simply an expression of repentance that Gandhi should be contemplating a course of action that is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and
danger to public peace. f Reginald Reynolds, who took the letter to the viceroy, observes in To Live inMankind: Before going Gandhi insisted that he should read the letter was in fact intended to be symbolic of the fact that this was not just a struggle
between the Indians and the British. 80 satyagrahathese rulers are often whimsical and regulated by nothing but their own fancies. They do not represent the interests of individuals, but those of their foreign owners or directors. They do not represent the interests of individuals, but those of their foreign owners or directors. They do not represent the interests of individuals, but those of their foreign owners or directors.
minimum income, therefore they have been found to be more unscrupulous in their relationships with people. This system of government is based confessedly on a ruthless exploitation of millions not numbered by the inhabitants of India. From the villagers to their personal assistants, these tents have created a class of people who, while clinging to their
foreign owners, in their relationships with the people act so irresquently and so harshly as to indemnify them and for a system of terrorism that makes them unable to suppress corruption. It is then the duty of those who have realized the evil of the Indian government system to be disloyal to it and actively and openly to preach disloyalty. In fact, loyalty to such
a corrupt state is asin, disloyalty a virtue. The spectacle of three hundred million people living in the fear of three hundred men is being demoralized equally for destinations in terms of It is the duty of those who have realized the wickedness of the system, but attractive some of its characteristics torn from their context, they seem to be, to destroy it without
delay. It is your clear duty to take any risks to get the end. But it must be equally clear that it would be cowardly for three hundred million people to try to destroy the three hundred perpetrators or their contractors. On the other hand, they are
butcreations of circumstances. The purest man entering the system will be affected by it and will be instrumental in spreading evil. Therefore, the rem-edy, therefore, is not infuriating against the administrators and, therefore, harming them, but to not cooperate with the system by drawing all possible voluntary assistance and rejecting all its so-called binefits. A
little reflection will show that civil disobedience is a necessary part of non-cooperation. You help an administration more effectively by obeying its orders and decrees. An evil administration with all his soul. The obedience of the
law of a bad state is therefore a duty. Violent disobedience deals with men who can be replaced. It leaves evil intact and often accentuates it. Nonviolent, that is, civil, disobedience is the only one and the most successful remedy and it is mandatory for him to dissociat himself from evil. Some Satyagraha 81 rules There is danger in civil disobedience just
because it is still just an attempted par-tially remedy and should always be judged in a recharge environment with violence. Because when tyranny is rampant, a lot of anger is generated among the victims. He remains latent because of his weakness and bursts into all his film in the slightest pretext. Civil disobedience is a sovereign method that transports this
latent energy destroying undisciplined lives in life-saving energy deviated whose use guarantees absolute success. The risk of attenuation is nothing compared to the promised outcome. When the world has become familiar with its use and when it has had a number of manifestations of its successful work, there will be less risk of civil disobedience other than
in aviation, despite science having reached a high stage of development'. SOME RULES OF SATYAGRAHASatyagraha literally means insistence weapon elvotary with useless power. This power or force is connected by the word satyagraha, to be genuine, can be offered against par-ents, against one's wife or
children, against rulers, against rulers, against fellow citizens, even against the whole world. This universal force does not necessarily make any distinction between male-relatives and strangers, young and old, man and friend and enemy. Therefore, the force to be applied can never be physical. YDn error. Error. The only universal application force can therefore be
ophthalms or love. In other words, it is the strength of the soul. Love does not burn others, it burns itself. Therefore, a satyagrahi, that is, an acivil resistance will suffer joyfully even until death. It follows, therefore, that a civil resistance will net make any intentional injury in thought, word or
action to the single English person. This brief explanation of satyagraha will perhaps allow the reader to understand and appreciate the following rules: As an individual 1. A satyagrahi, that is, a civil resistance will not bring anger. 2. You will suffer the wrath of the opponent. 3. In doing so, it will rise with the opponent's aggressions, never retaliate; but he will
not submit, for fear of punishment or the like, to any order given in anger. 4. When anyone of the authority seeks to arrest a civil resistance, they will voluntarily submit to detention, and will not resist Satyagraha's attachment or removal from their own property, if any, when necessary being confiscated by the authorities. 5. If a civil resistance has any property
in its power as a patron, it will refuse to surrender it, although when defending it it could lose its life. However, never retaliate. 6. Non-retaliation excludes oath and curse. 7. Therefore, a civil resistance will never insult your opponent, and there- fore will also not participate in many of the newly minted screams that are contrary to the spirit of ahimsa. 8. A civil
resistance will not greet the Union Jack, nor insult it nor the civil servants, English or Indians. 9. In the course of the fight if someone insulting or attacking even at risk of his life. As a prisoner 10. As a prisoner, a civil resistance will behave judicially
towards prison officers, and will observe all this discipline of prison as not contrary to self-spect; such as, while he salaam offi- cials in the usual way, will not perform any humiliating twist-tions and [will] refuse to call Victory to Sarkar [Government] or the like. He will take cleanly cooked and cleanly served food, which is not contrary to his religion, and will
refuse to take food served or served insultingly on unclean boats. 11. A civil resistance will not make any distinction between an ordinary pris-oner and himself, it will not be considered in any way superior to the rest, nor will it ask for any comfort that cannot be nec-essary to keep your body in good health and condition. You have the right to request these
comforts as necessary for your physical or spiritual well-being. 12. A civil resistance can not be quick to want comforts the depri- vation does not no injury to a As unit 13. A civil resistance will cheerfully obey all orders issued by the body leader, whether they please him or not. He will carry out orders in the first instance, even though they bring him insulting,
unimportant or stupid pere, and then appeal to higher authority. He is free before joining to determine the body's fitness to satisfy him, but having joined him, it becomes a duty to submit to his discipline or otherwise. If the total sum of Render Unto Caesar 83 body energy seems to be improper or immoral, you have the right to cut off your connection, but
being with it, you have no right to commit a violation of your discipline. 15. No civil resistance is waiting maintenance for your dependents to the care of God. Even in ordinary warfare, in which hundreds of thousands give in for themselves, they are able to
make any prior arrangements. How much more, then should be the case in satyagraha? It is the universal experience that in these times hardly anyone lets go of hunger. In community fights 16. No civil resistance will intentionally become a cause of communal [religious] fights. 17. In the event of this outbreak, it will not take sides, but it will only help this party
that is demonstrably on the right. Being Hindu he will be generous towards Mussalmans and others, and will sacrifice himself in attempting to save non-Hindus from a Hindu he will be generous towards Mussalmans and others, and will avoid all occasions that
may lead to community quarries. 19. If there is a procession of satyagrahis they will do nothing that hurts the religious susceptibilities. RENDERTO CAESAR An unknown English friend has thought it worth setting myself up against civil disobedience I'm
going against the teaching of Jesus: Leave Caesar what Caesar is. Another, an Indicristian, writes from Punjab a little in the same way and, for charity, pours abuse on my head dedicated to my action. He says more than, while he considered me a good man before, he is now completely undeceived. I can assure this friend that civil disobedience is not
something new with me. I started preaching and practicing in 1906. His re-gard for me, therefore, was evidently of ignorance, if his current disgust of me is wise. But I have learned from the New Testament, as well as from other sources, that if one wants to walk in fear of God, one must be indifferent about popular praise or guilt.84 Satyagraha Now for the
issue. How do I have mine to be in absolute agreement with universal religion and as I have the teaching of the New Testament in major, I would not wish it was said to me that I was going against the teaching of Jesus. Render into Caesar was also quoted against me. I have not read in the famous verse the meaning that my critics have tried to put into it.
Jesus eluded the direct question that was put to him because it was a trap. In no way was I obliged to answer it. There he asked to see the coin for taxes. And then he said with contempt: How can you traffic in Caesar's rule refusing to pay taxes? All of Jesus' preaching and practice unequivocally
point to non-cooperation, which necessarily includes non-payment of taxes. Jesus never recognized man's authority against that of God. What despised the entire priesthood, which was in those days superior to royalty, would not have hesitated to challenge the power of emperors if it had found it necessary. And didn't he deal with the Supreme despising all
the farce trial he got through? March and fasting were the two most dramatically successful branches of the Gandhi for his 1930 salt march and then for his heroic rapids to contain the violence of India's civil war in
1947-48. The ongoing conflict between India's Hindu majority and Muslim minorities occurred mainly in the northern part of the country, where millions of people had invested in Islam. This conflict was called community violence, and Gandhi's response to the Hindu-Muslim problem is examined at length in World War II, as one of the most important social
reforms in his constructive program. Violence had therefore erupted periodically during the nationalist movement, but reached an unprecedented level in August 1946, when the civil war began in Kolkatta. India was now just a year from its independence. Elsmuslims, led by M. A. jinnah and the Muslim League, demanded a separate state from Pakistan, a
land of Islam, located in the Muslim-majority regions of northwestern and northeastern India. The creation of Pakistan thus provoked the partition of India, an event that Gandhi opposed as a living section of the subcontinent. Although it failed when Pakistan became a sandstone, it demonstrated the effectiveness of nonviolence even at the height of the civil
war. A correspondent whom Gandhi quotes in the first article in this section addresses the question that immediately worried Gandhi when large-scale community violence struck: How can the no be effective during nonviolence during the 85riot riots? Gandhi's response is based on a _philosophy that begins with the adceptance of responsibility for so-called
     nal elements that were blamed on violence. After that comes a articles on his theory of fasting. A friend writes: How can nonviolence be effective during riots? By self-immolation we can only influence those with whom we have already established living contacts. But hooligans who perpetrate violence during riots are, as a rule, hired from the
How can they have scruples about hurting those they have never met before and for whom they can have no consideration? The issue deserves careful consideration. The friend who has put him is a brave worker who almost lost his life trying to do his duty during a riot. I've often written about this question before. The pity is that
congressmen have never seriously thought about the issue of finding an anonviolence that goes so far and no more hardly deserves the name ahimsa. You can call it unarmed resistance. So far it is a device to embarrass
the Government which is a kind of himse [vi-olence]. To quell the riots nonviolently, there must be real ahimsa in the heart, an ahimsa that carries even the wandering hooligan in its warm embrace. This attitude must be cultivated. It can only come as a prolonged and outpatient effort to be made in times of peace. Members of a peace brigade should come
into close contact and cultivate the relationship with the so-called Goonda element [hooligan or thug] in hisvicinity. He should be considered as toocontemptible or mean to mix with. Goondas do not fall from heaven, nor do they leave the
earth like evil spirits. They are the product of social disorganization, and society is therefore responsible for its ex-istence. In other words, they should be looked at as a symptom of corruption in our body politics. To eliminate the disease we must first discover the underlying cause. To find the remedy will then be a comparatively easy task. So far we haven't
even tried a good start. But it's never too late for the pack. It is enough that we are finally alive to the need for it. Now we need to get on with the quick start in their own neighborhood. The diffi cult mentioned by my correspondent will be resolved automatically if we proceed with our effort
in the right spirit.° Can you quickly against the goondes? [question asked Gandhi on the eve of the FastClock] [He replied:] The conflagration has been caused not by goondas but by those who have become goondes. We are the ones who make goondes. Without our passive sympathy and support, the Goondas do not legs to get up. I want to touch the
hearts of those who are the goondes. But do you have to throw your fast at this stage? Why not wait and see a little? It would be good. I know I'll also be able to deal with Punjab if I can control Kolkata. But if ifalter now, the conflagration can
be extended.41 If and when the call reaches rapid death, it would do so regardless of whether others join or not. Fasting to death is the latest and most powerful of satyagraha's armor. It's a sacred thing. But it must be ac-cepted with all its implications. It's not the fast itself, but what it implies that matters. Haven't hypocrites even been known to make a
pretentious desentit? These fasts are a pest and a nuisance. They don't count. If I get up to send a hundred or even ten men who will undertake it with the heart of the apse, I will be happy. But so fast should be undertaken inside the prison.42 I have had the temerity to claim that fasting is an infallible weapon in satyagraha's armor. I used it myself; be the
author of Satyagraha. . . . A general principle, however, I would like to enunciate. A quick satyagrahishould only as a last resort when all other avenues of repair have been explored and failed. There is no room for imitation in fasts. Hewho has no inner strength should not dream of it, and never with coupling it to success. But, if a satyagrahi once undertakes a
fast of conviction, he must adhere to his resolution whether there is a possibility that his action will be fruitful or not. That doesn't seem to fail, he loses all the inner joy that a real fast holds. Whether to take fruit juices or not depends on the physical powers of
resistance. But no more fruit juice than is absolutely necessary for the body should be taken. It probably has the greatest inner strengths that only takes water. Fasting into nonviolent action 87 It is a quick mistake for selfish extremes, for example, for raising one's own salary. In certain circumstances it is admissible to fast for an increase in waves on behalf
of the group itself. Ridiculous fasts spread like plague and are harmful. But when fasting entails a duty, you cannot give up. So, I do it fast when I deem it necessary and I can't abstain from it on any scores. What I do myself I can't atom abused. We see
this happening every day. Don't I coaccio a friend when I try to prevent him, through my fasting, from doing the wrong act? A. The rapids made in accordance with the rules governing them are non-violent ones. There is no room for coercion. If a friend of mine leaves unfortunately, and I impose suffering on myself by fasting in order to awaken their best
instincts, it can be just out of love. If if ifast's friend has no love in him, he won't answer. If you have it and answer, it's all for good. Here's how he would analyze his act: He valued his love for me more than his bad manners. There is a possible risk, I admit, that is, as soon as the effect of fasting is over I would be tempted to go back to its old ways. But then I
can fast again. Ultimately, the growing influence of my love will either turn the friend to the extent of weaning him as-pletely of his evil ways, or repeated rapids can lose their novelty, their blunt mind, and make him impervious to my fasting. It is my conviction that a quick departure from genuine love cannot have such an unseen outcome. But since this
outcome is not impossible, we cannot afford to bypass this instrument of moral reform. The risk, however, makes it clear that whoever fasts must be properly qualified, and that should not be taken lightly. FASTING IN NONVIOLENT ACTIONS AND the struggle we seek to avoid with all our power must begin,* and if it has to remain nonviolent as it should be
to succeed, fasting is likely to play an important role in it. It has its place in the tussle with authority and with our own people in case of acts of violence and stubborn riots, for example. This anticipates the Quit India campaign, the last large-scale disobey-ence civil action against the British from 1942-44, during which Gandhi fasted while in prison.88 Satyagra
has There is a natural prejudice against her as part of a political struggle. It has a recognized place in religious practice. But it is considered a vulgarity in politics by ordinary politician, although it has always been borne by prisoners in a dangerous way with more or less success. However, they have always managed to draw public attention and disrupt the
peace of prison authorities. My own fasts have always been strictly in accordance with satyagraha law. . Fast... it is the greatest strength due to the unlimited scope it offers for self-suffering without causing or intending any physical or material equipment to the infactic. The goal is always to evoke the best of him. Self-suffering is an appeal to its best nature,
as retaliation is for its baser. Fasting under the right circumstances is an attraction par excellence. If therefore, the politician does not perceive his ownership in political matters is to know its true value. It's bringing heaven to earth. There is no such thing as the
other world. All worlds are one. There's no here and there's no here and there's not there. How jeans has the entire universe including the most distant stars, invisible even through most powerful telescope in the world, is compressed into acquire merit for a favored position in the
other world. Every virtue ceases to have use if it serves no purpose in every walk of life. Therefore, I would ask purely political people to study nonviolence and fasting as their extreme manifestation with sympathy and under Stan Ding.45 COERCIVE ERA?•. . Fasting has for years been an integral part of my life and I may have to resume either outside or
inside prison walls. I can't, there first, write too often about the science of fasting, if I can use the word sacred science relative to my fast. I also admit that my last quick coerced the Government into me. I admit, too, that
such coertion can and sometimes leads to insincere conduct. . . . This income is not cut to the very root of fasting. Do they just show that there is a great need for caution and that special degrees are coercive? 89essary for those who would resort to fasting as a method of reform or healing justice. . . My ultimate opinion is that the overall outcome of my
numerous fasts was undoubtedly beneficial. They invariably rushed the consciousness of the people concerned and tried to be influenced by these rapids. In no case was there any idea to exercise coertion on anyone. In fact, I think the word coercion would be a mistake
because of the influence exerted by fasts under criticism. Coerion means some notional force used against a person who is expected to do something desired by the force user. In the fasts in question, the force used was against myself. Surely, the strength of self-suffering cannot be put in the same categories the strength of suffering caused to the party that
was sought to influence. If I fast in order to arouse the consciousness of a wandering friend errors mistakes is beyond question, I'm not coercing in the ordinary sense of the word. . . . Of course, it should not be denied that fasting can be truly coercive. These are quick to achieve a selfish object. A quick undertaken to write a person's money or to fulfill any of
these personal ends would amount to exhaustion of coerion or undue influence. I would advocate without hesitation the insistence of this undue influence. I have successfully resisted fasting that has been carried out or threatened against me. And it is argued that the dividing line a selfish and unselfish endeail often very thin, I would urge that a person who
considers the end of the hustle and then be selfish or otherwise base must be decidedly to give in, although the refusal can result in the death of the person fasting. If people will be stolen from coer-cion ink and undue influence. Like all human
institutions, fasting can be used legitimately and illegitimately. But as a big gun in the Ofsatyagraha arsenal, you cannot give up because of your possible abuse. Satyagrahaha has been designed as an effective substitute for violence. This use is in its infancy and has therefore not yet been perfected. But as the author of modern sa-tyagraha I cannot give up
any of its multiple uses without losing my claim to handle it in the spirit of a humble search engine. Fasting in satyagraha has well-defined limits. You can't quickly against a tyrant. . . . Fasting can only be appealed against a lover, not to extort rights but to reform it, as when a child fasts for a drinking father. My fasting in Mumbai, and then bardoli, was that
character's. I fasted to reform those who loved me. But I'm not going to quick to reform, say, General 90 SatyagrahaDyer who not only doesn't love me, but considers himself to be lying.47 The words 'tyrant' and 'lover' also have a general application. What does an injustice is styled by chatting. What is in sympathy with you is the lover. . . . There are two
conditions attached to a satyagrahifast. He should be against the lover and for his reform, not to extort rights from him. . . . I can fast against those who don't satisfy them are nothing more than children fasting against a parent for a good
suit. The first part of the readings on the theory and practice of sug-gestures satyagraha that a study and an appreciation of Gandhi's importance begins with an understanding of his idea of power. As indicated in Part H, satyagraha is closely related to his idea of freedom, and concepts should be examined together. Gandhi's originality as a
political thinker lies here; his revolting spirit was emphasized by Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not surprisingly vital that this surprisingly vital that this in terms of the poorest, fascinated india's masses and attracted them as a magnet. It
seemed to them to link the past with the future and make the dismal present appear as a cornerstone to this future of life and hope. And not only the masses, but intellectuals and others too, although their minds were often worried and confused and the for them life habits was more difficult. In this way, he made a great psychological revolution, not only
between who followed his lead, but also among his opponents and those many neutrals who could not decide what to think and what to do.49 Gandhi's final comment in this section once again illustrates the hisawareness of what we have come to know as people's power, or the strength that empowers the powerless, phrases that have become common
currency, especially since the fall of authoritarian governments in the Philippines, Eastern Europe and South Africa. Gandhi would have understood these revolutionary changes, just as we can better understand them in light of their success. We have long been used to thinking that power only comes through Authorized Assemblies. I have regarded this
belief as a grave mistake caused by inertia or hypnotism. A superficial study of British history has made us think that all power percolases the people of parliaments. Was it coercive? 91The truth is that power resides in the people and is entrusted for the moment to those who can choose as representatives. The parments have no power even existence
regardless of people. It has been my effort for the last twenty-one years to convince people of this simple truth. Civil disobedience is the storeroom of power. Imagine that people are not willing to comply with the laws of the legislature, and before suffering the consequences of the breach. They will take the legislative and executive machinery to a hiatus. The
police and military are of use to coerce minorities no means powerful as they may be. But no police or military coercion can bend the resolute will of a people to improve their condition in every department of life. Political power capacity to regulate
national life through national representatives. If national life becomes as perfect as it is self-egulated, there is no need to resent it. Then there is a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a great state everyone is their own ruler. It is governed in such a way that it is never an obstacle for your neighbor. In the ideal state, therefore, there is no political power
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because there is no State. But the ideal is never realized in life. Hence Thoreau's classic declaration that the Government is the best governing least. 51 less. 51

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