

Gandhi, Mohandas K. *Non-Violent Resistance (Satyagraha)*. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2001.

Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869-1948 A.D.), a political activist, worked first in South Africa, addressing the needs of Indian expatriates in that then racially segregated nation, and later in India. While in India, Gandhi served for a time as the head of the Indian National Congress, and confronted British rule with public campaign of non-violent non-cooperation. Gandhi urged Indians to dry their own salt (to bypass the British salt tax) and to spin yarn and weave their own cloth (to bypass British and Chinese mills and create Indian employment). The Hindi non-violent movement, and the less pacifistic activity of the Muslim community, resulted in independence from British rule in 1947, but with partition between Hindu and Islamic populations. A Hindu extremist assassinated Gandhi in 1948.

Section First: What Satyagraha Is.

1. *Satyagraha, Civil Disobedience, Passive Resistance, Non-Co-Operation.* The word “Satyagraha” means to cling to Truth. Truth is life of the spirit, and so Satyagraha is spirit-force. Non-violent resistance requires strength of character. It entails more than passive resistance. Civil disobedience, which calls one to violate immoral laws, and non-cooperation, which calls the people to decline to participate in corrupt government, are branches of non-violent resistance.
2. *Domestic Satyagraha.* Gandhi’s wife was ill, and Gandhi believed, after trying everything else, that she should forsake salt and pulses (a leguminous crop, similar to lentils) to cure herself. She refused. Gandhi then vowed to forsake salt and pulses for a year; she relented and begged Gandhi to eat as he wished. Gandhi refused, asserting that self-denial improves a person. A self-restrained person’s diet differs from that of pleasure-seekers, just as do their lives.
3. *Satyagraha.* Non-violent resistance entails seeking truth without violence, and turning opponents from error by patience and sympathy. When an opponent perseveres in error, the non-violent resister takes the punishment and suffering on oneself, without bitterness. Non-violent resistance includes breaking unjust laws and submitting to the penalties for those actions. It may entail refusing to cooperate with the government. For example, Gandhi encouraged all India to decline to work on April 6th. They did so. He was arrested shortly thereafter.
4. *Means and Ends.* A reader asked Gandhi why, since the people have sufficient power, they should not exercise it to be rid of the British. Surely, that end justifies any means. If a thief enters a house, we expel him. If a child thrusts its foot in a fire, we forcibly pull him back. Gandhi responds that means are seeds and ends are the resulting trees. One can never plant violence and reap peace. Opposing thieves can become outright war, robbing all of peace. Ignored petitions to the government may nevertheless educate people. An unanswered petition may cause people to refuse to cooperate with the government. Pulling a child from fire ill-describes the English role in India. When one pulls a child from fire, one acts solely in the child’s interest. England has its own interests.
5. *Satyagraha or Passive Resistance.* A reader asks about soul-force, whether history records that any nation arose by spirit. Gandhi responds that history records disturbances of the normal course of things. Soul-force is normal; it keeps mankind alive by making peace among men. History records tales of cataclysmic outbreaks of violence. A reader asks about “passive resistance.” Gandhi responds that the non-violent resister wins political battles by personal suffering. Soul-force requires a person to act in accord with his best lights, right or wrong. A reader asks why, when laws are bad, the people cannot drive out the corrupt lawgivers by force. Gandhi responds the rules majorities lay does do not necessarily bind minorities. No one should comply with unjust laws. They should decline to obey, and happily suffer whatever the government does in response.
6. *Evidence Before the Hunter Committee (Extracts).* 1. *Examination by Lord Hunter.* Hunter questions Gandhi about his movement. Gandhi characterizes it as an attempt to create alternatives to violence. Non-violent resisters disobey unjust laws to influence the

government. Gandhi states that he objects to laws of good purpose when their means are objectionable. Hunter asks about the April 6th strike and some violence that attended it. Gandhi condemned the violence but declined to provide the names of offenders. He also notes that the government had some hand in the violence that day. Non-violent resisters are not mere Indians. They are humans. Gandhi cannot decide if he would give evidence to police of a criminal he observed in the act. 2. *Examination by Sir Chimandlal Setgalwad.* Setgalwad asks who decides truth, when men differ in their views. Gandhi answers that each individual decides, where there is a vow of non-violence. Setgalwad asks if good moral character and high intelligence are not required for determining truth. Gandhi answers that they are not. Most people can determine truths for themselves. Setgalwad inquires about the violence in connection with strikes. Gandhi notes that the violence is rare, and self-restraint is the vast rule, considering all the people involved. Gandhi believes the violence came from people who lost self-control. These persons have experienced violence for decades, and could not abstain. Setgalwad asks if Gandhi intends to embarrass the government, bringing disorder. Gandhi answers that people breaking laws without violence will not disrupt government. 3. *Examination by Pandit Jagatnarain.* Jagatnarain reasserts that non-violent resistance intends to embarrass the government. Gandhi says that non-violence does not depend upon numbers or embarrassment, but on truth and willingness to suffer for it. Ordinary people grow moral; that is what non-violent resistance may accomplish. Even if Home Rule comes and the British depart, non-violent resistance may continue. Indian leaders can be wrong-headed as well. Jagatnarain asks if unrest will follow non-violent resistance. Gandhi answers that there will be no violence, but the non-violent resisters will form a line to go to jail together.

7. *The Theory and Practice of Satyagraha.* Gandhi writes on the eighth anniversary of his non-violent resistance movement in South Africa. Spiritual power can only be exercised by people who eschew violence. Non-violence can transform homes, towns, cities, nations, and the world. Within each person lies the potential of non-violence. Governments cannot govern unjustly over non-violent resisters. Governments require consent of the governed, and non-violent resisters resist injustice. The South African movement took years because their non-violent resistance was imperfect; some pretended non-violence, few were willing to make necessary sacrifices. The non-violent resister must be indifferent to his physical well-being. Where non-violence is perfected, results are immediate. But this perfection requires extensive self-training. If the values of non-violence pervade the world, militarism would vanish. We should train our children in non-violence first, so they know what humans can become, that love defeats hate and self-suffering banishes violence. Only then should we teach them to read and write.

Section Second: Discipline for Satyagraha.

8. *Satyagraha Ashram Vows. Importance of Vows.* When one vows, one must follow through. Do not say, To the extent possible. That is no vow. Vows purify a man. *Truth.* Nothing exists but Truth. Truth is God, from which we derive life. Our entire lives must be devoted to Truth. In it, we find inward peace, which guides us in selecting what we should do and not do. Men may differ about the truth. That matters not at all. Where one pursues Truth, one finds it. All errors are resolved in the course of suffering. *Ahimsa or Love.* (Non-violence) In our bodies we cannot know perfect Truth. But non-violence can guide us. Instead of responding in kind with the violent, we can suffer with them and possibly bring them out of their confusions. When we fight external enemies, we are missing the real battle within. Endure thieves, and find a way to win them over. The body prevents us from non-violence in its broadest sense. So long as we are attached, we remain in the body in the ceaseless cycle of death and rebirth. *Brahmacharya or Chastity* (Celibacy). Sex makes a man divided, pursuing family and household as well as Truth. All can forsake sex. Married partners can see one another as siblings. Sexual lust sullies a man. Celibacy relates not only to sex, but to all sense organs. All need control and restraint. *Non-possession.* Lovers of Truth abandon all possessions. They retain nothing

for tomorrow. The rich should give away their wealth to create global contentment. Few can endure non-possession. We are weak. Such should examine their possessions and reduce them to a bare minimum. Non-possession means to freely reduce one's desires. Then one is free to serve. Life is service alone. This brings real happiness.

9. *Yajna or Sacrifice.* Sacrifice is action aimed to benefit others, without return. The "others" are not only humans, but all life. Animal sacrifice, even if found in the Vedas, is inconsistent with Truth. When we serve deliberately, our desire to serve grows, as well as our happiness. All our goods should serve mankind. We should give all away and keep none. But do not do so if you feel oppressed by the giving. When freely undertaken, a sacrificial life is a work of art. When Truth brings you possessions, take only what you strictly need. Leave the balance for others. Give your best efforts to deliberate service; save second-best for your own needs.
10. *Protecting Hinduism.* Islamists present a threat to Hindus. Hindus must protect themselves by self-purification. Gandhi would gather a group of young Hindus, go to the Muslims, and be killed. Some object that in scriptures, God sent soldiers. Gandhi responds that Hindus are not pure enough now. Have they abandoned untouchability? Have they addressed their own souls? Focus on Hindu purity, not Islamic misconduct.
11. *Moral Requirements for Satyagraha.* A reader asks if passive resistance is the weapon of the weak. Gandhi replies that soul-force is superior to weapons in every way, and requires of the passive resister immense courage. What soldier can stand at peace before a cannon to be blown to bits? Kings are trained to violence. Their subjects, whom they command to use weapons, desire no guns. The non-violent resister ignores unjust orders. They refuse to cooperate. Regardless who rules India, non-violent resisters will decline to follow injustice. That is true Home Rule. The passive resister must train his body, for strong minds dwell in strong bodies. India must rid itself of child brides and luxury. Non-violent resisters: abandon sex, even if married, avoid becoming parents, avoid wealth and, if they have wealth, treat it with indifference, cultivate fearlessness especially as to death. The fearless man finds strength in himself to suffer pains; he drops his sword.
12. *Conditions for Successful Satyagraha.* To prevail in a just cause, endure endless suffering, avoid all violence of any form (mental, verbal, or physical), and persevere to the victory.
13. *Non-Retaliatioin.* Successful non-violent resistance requires that great crowds learn to hold their tempers. Every Englishman must not only be told he is safe, but also actually feel safe, as Indian protests occur.
14. *Courage and Discipline Necessary.* Non-violent resisters do not comply with rulers' humiliating demands. They stand and are shot instead. The power of rulers is frustrated by persistent non-retaliation. The tyrant's lunges injure himself. Our movement is still weak, ill-prepared for general civil disobedience. Our leaders should look to their own shortcomings.
15. *The Need for Humility.* Non-violent resisters rely upon Truth; he can only be approached humbly. The non-violence movement does what it says. Still, how many parents have removed their children from British schools? How many are spinning their cloth and refusing English textiles? We have cause for humility. Humility convinces many of the rightness of our cause. If we are humble, Home Rule may be attained within the year.
16. *Work in Jails.* Shall imprisoned non-violent resisters comply with jailers' demands? Yes, Gandhi replies, unless prisoners are treated inhumanly. Civil disobedience requires willingness to suffer the penalty for noncompliance. To resist laws and their sanctions is anarchy. What bothers Gandhi most is not blood, but blood spilled by non-violent resisters.
17. *A Model Prisoner.* A friend telegraphed Gandhi, asking him to address non-violent resisters' duties as inmates, since so many were going to jail. Gandhi replied that model prisoners comply with all jail restrictions. The willing compliance melts the hearts of fellow prisoners and wardens. Non-violent resisters may resist jailers, but only for inhumane treatment, unfit food, or refusal to permit religious observances.

18. *Satyagrahi Prisoner's Conduct.* Prison agitation has no place in non-violent resistance. The non-violent resister treats a prison as a neutral institution with which he cooperates. Non-violent resister prisoners act honestly, cooperate, set an example, ask no favors, seek what they truly need but avoid irritation if refused, and do their assigned work. Quiet suffering of humble men is the weapon of the non-violent resister. One may resist prison officials when those administrators fail their duties, but not when they perform their duties.
19. *Pre-Requisites for Satyagraha.* When a son disapproves a father's decision for moral reasons, he asks his father to change his mind. Being denied, he leaves his father's home, with respectful firmness. The father may resist, but most will finally turn from their decision. Non-violent resistance demands, first, willing reasonable obedience to laws. Second, it demands tolerance of inconvenient laws because only people who have proved active loyalty to the state have a right to civil disobedience. Third, non-violent resisters must suffer, for that is the result and point of civil disobedience. Few are prepared for the spiritual rigors of civil disobedience. To disobey when ill-prepared leaves people injured. Much reform could be accomplished by people willing to serve others silently.
20. *My Political Programme.* Gandhi's political program is simple: spinning wheels, welcoming untouchables, and finding common ground between Hindus and Muslims. The primary obstacle to Gandhi's political agenda is failure of self-discipline in truth and non-violence. When motivated by love, civil disobedience is every person's right.
21. *Limitations of Satyagraha.* Non-violent resistance is more than civil disobedience. If people will spin their own cloth and eschew British textiles and make peace between Hindus and Muslims, they will go far in establishing non-violent resistance. Gandhi prays for one worthy non-violent resister to walk to Calcutta to the seat of government, ask them to release wrongfully detained persons, and endure what follows. Then the government will change its approach. Gandhi is not pure enough to undertake this task. The pure non-violent resister has no anger, yet hates wrong. Gandhi tends the lighthouse of non-violent resistance, but has no patent on it.
22. *A Great Satyagrahi.* Gandhi praises Nanda, who shamed persecutors into better actions. Gandhi wonders whether non-violent resistance can spread to millions across time and continents.
23. *Neill Statue Satyagraha.* Protest of an offensive statue of a British officer led thirty volunteers to be imprisoned. Gandhi advises patience, since patient suffering is the essence of non-violent resistance. Gandhi critiques their petition to the government for its anger.
24. *A Himalayan Miscalculation.* Gandhi called for civil disobedience in the Kheda district. The result dismayed him. He called the Kheda results his "Himalayan miscalculation," meaning gargantuan error. He defends his self-criticism. One must see one's own errors with a convex lens, and those of others with a concave lens, in order to re-balance the human propensity for self-adulation and other-criticism. Civil disobedience by non-violent resisters is ripe only where the resisters have long obeyed the law from their hearts, enabling them to see the injustice of some laws. Gandhi noted that, with emphasis on peace and inner work, the number of teaching volunteers was falling, as was the number of new recruits.
25. *Qualification for Satyagraha.* The non-violent resister believes that every person, no matter what evil he may have done, can be redeemed by love. One purges evil by love. The non-violent resister inspects herself, rooting out her own anger and ill-will. The non-violent resister prefers quiet action to speeches. In acting against an evil, first, rally public opinion. The person who, against public opinion, nevertheless, persists in the evil confronted, should be ostracized. The purpose of ostracism is not injury to the evil-doer, but to deny cooperation to him. A man purposely injuring society has no claim to society's service.
26. *Some Rules of Satyagraha.* Non-violent resistance insists on truth. Its spiritual force, which is never physical or violent, addresses evils in families, friends, leaders, governments, or the whole world. The force is suffering without complaint, even death.

Non-violent individuals avoid anger, practice forbearance, never retaliate, submit to legal authorities for their resistance, resist encroachment upon trust funds, avoid foul language and insults, and protect evil-doers from the wrongs of errant non-violent resisters. Imprisoned non-violent resisters show civility to guards, consider himself no better than the other criminals nor seek privileges not accorded all prisoners, and avoids fasting over issues other than those showing personal disrespect. As a group, non-violent resisters obey their superiors' orders. He may quit a group he believes wrong-headed, but not disobey. No non-violent resister should ask for financial support for his family; trust them to God. In conflicts, the non-violent resister avoids quarrels and helps those in the right, protects those not of his own religion from attacks by the non-violent resister's people, and avoids any action that injures the religious scruples of any group.

27. *Full Surrender*. Non-violent resistance requires surrender of possessions, but not honor. One loses when clinging to things and positions.
28. *To Weaken Communalism*. One weakens communalists by yielding to them. Non-violent resisters oppose only those whose obstruction portends violence.
29. *Political Power v. Satyagraha*. Political power emerges from constructive action, not from controlling the mechanisms of governments. Laws without the support of public opinion avail nothing.
30. *For "Followers."* Answering queries about conduct of Gandhi's followers, Gandhi replies that he claims no followers. Non-violent resisters should never demean opponents; they are likely to be honorable people. When an opponent is not a good person, resistance must undo the effect of ill-action: lies meet truth, incivility with civility, violence with suffering, evil with good. Non-violent resisters avoid public office, except in serving the greater good.
31. *Maintenance Allowance*. Workers must take their wages. Organizations need strong rules of conduct; without them, they are rudderless ships. Our needs are modest if we have not allowed our desires to be artificially increased by plenty. Non-violent resisters cut their coats to their available cloth.
32. *A Non-Violent Army*. Gandhi envisions an army of non-violent resisters doing police work. They quell riots by dying at the hands of rioters. They spend their time between outbreaks doing constructive activities that make riots less likely, seeking chances to reconcile disputants, knowing every person in their precincts.
33. *To Volunteers*. Gandhi redirects volunteers ready to immolate themselves in response to distant riots to devote themselves to constructive activity in their local and personal lives.
34. *Requisite Qualifications*. Quality, not quantity, of non-violent resisters is what matters. Never embarrass opponents, appeal to his heart, seeking to convert, not coerce, him. Act from conviction and inwardness. Non-violent resisters must have faith in God, believe in the efficacy of truth and the innate goodness of humans, live with chastity and sacrifice his goods and even life if called, must wear local cloth and weave constantly, avoid alcohol, follow rules of discipline as they emerge, and when incarcerated follow jail rules.
35. *Qualifications of a Peace Brigade*. Peace brigades are non-violent police. Members must have living faith in non-violence, which can only come from God, equal regard for all the great religions, know their localities and work there, find like-minded individuals and form brigades, get to know all the people in his precinct, have spotless character and a reputation for impartiality, seek to intervene preemptively in volatile situations, seek other good people to serve with him, and wear a distinctive form of dress. Gandhi notes that he cannot be directly involved in formation of brigades because his other duties already overwhelm him.
36. *The Necessity of Training*. Gandhi accepts responsibility for civil disobedience by non-violent resisters in which violence occurred. His thoughts move away (1939) from mass non-violent resistance, because the masses are not adequately trained or disciplined. He recommends the spinning wheel as the best form of training.
37. *Physical Training for the Satyagrahi*. Non-violent resisters train by doing good for the community, not by wielding weapons. The weapon of non-violent resisters is his faith in God. He has no external enemies, since he believes that all men are good within, if only

they were wooed to right behavior by the sacrifice of others. Some forms of Yoga provide the right sort of physical training; the goal is to secure control of one's mind by disciplining the body. Sexual abstinence preserves a person's vital energy, but to lust in one's mind is worse than living sexually in a household. Lust makes men craven and a burden on others.

38. *Brahmacharya for Satyagraha*. Chastity (*brahmacharya*) means more than sexual abstinence. Chaste persons marshal and sublimate their vital energy by controlling their thoughts and senses. Creativity emerges. Chaotic thinking and evil acts dissipate vital energy. Sex, except for procreation, squanders this energy. Those who wish to be non-violent resisters must avoid sex altogether. The drive is quenched by the presence of God.
39. *Discipline—Satyagrahi and Military*. Military soldiers know only what they are told to do; generals plan and soldiers execute. So too among Satyagrahi. The leaders obey their inner voice, and the individual non-violent resisters do as they are told. Gandhi says he always tries to provide his reasoning, but in the end, soldiers must have faith and follow orders.
40. *Scorched Earth*. Non-violent resisters do not poison wells or destroy foodstuffs, for fear their enemies will eat, drink, and pursue. Non-violent resisters ennoble themselves by feeding and watering enemies. It is a sacrifice.
41. *Training for a Non-Violent Army*. The essential training for non-violent resisters is solid faith in God, obedience to their non-violent generals, and cooperation with other non-violent resisters.
42. *Constructive Preparation*. The non-violent resister movement is not for everyone. Their motto is maximize work, minimize words. Non-violent resistance works constructively to promote textile independence, literacy, abstinence from alcohol and drugs, good hygiene, and good relations with all local persons. The task of change may take 1,000 years. If one cannot accept this approach, one should leave the non-violent resisters, and do as one wishes.

Section Third: Non-Co-Operation and Civil Disobedience.

43. *The National Week*. In response to the British massacre of Hindus and Moslems peacefully protesting at Jalianwala, Gandhi urged the week leading up to the event be annually celebrated by fasting on the first day, service to the community throughout the week, and fasting and prayer on the day of the massacre, April 13th.
44. *The Satyagraha Week*. Gandhi urges prayer and fasting on Satyagraha Week, to make the nation ready to be a nation. This week is not for civil disobedience.
45. *Jalianwala Bagh*. Gandhi defends Indian purchase of the Bagh, where 500 died in peaceful protest. The death of such is a necessary adjunct to becoming a nation, and honoring them a duty. He urges that General Dyer, who ordered the massacre, be removed as a lunatic, but that he should not be hated. Given his unfortunate circumstance, we all would do as he did.
46. *Neither a Saint Nor a Politician*. A friend sent an article that accuses Gandhi of creating and fanning political factionalism in his strike leadership. Gandhi responds that he responds to criticism only when he can admit mistakes or affirm the principle behind the criticism. Gandhi praises the character of his critic. Gandhi searches for truth, like a scientist, but his methods are so poor that he cannot claim any tangible results. Gandhi seeks no political gain. He is caught and surrounded by politics as by a boa constrictor. He cannot escape, so he wrestles. Gandhi has consciously thrust religion into politics, the religion superseding religions that all men venerate. Such religion drives men to direct action, which is the fount of all change. Gandhi hopes to revere the memory of the innocent dead at Jalianwala Bagh, so their sacrifice can remind people it is better to die victims than tyrants. To teach people direct action, imbued with affection for their opponents, is to follow Buddha and Jesus. If we will stop preying upon our neighbors, the world will come to unity. As the atom, so the universe.

47. *The Law Of Suffering*. All life emerges from death. India will become a nation through suffering. We cannot follow the Europeans. Their history is one of powerful men chasing right heedless of the innocent suffering wrought. We make suffering more potent by avoiding all violence on our side. Progress is measured by the amount of suffering endured. World War I was pointless; the Allies were just as rapacious as Germany. Nothing was gained. Infinite patience is not warranted. Direct action works, when conjoined with the nonviolent resisters' willingness to suffer. We refuse to cooperate with wrong-doers, and quietly suffer their consequences. Depart the roof of an unjust father. Withdraw from an immoral teacher's classes. Quit your job at an unjust corporation. Decline to cooperate with wicked governments. Direct action instructs actors doing evil. Yes, you will suffer for direct action. Suffering leads to freedom.
48. *How To Work Non-Cooperation*. Non-cooperation has four stages: a) surrender of titles and honorary jobs, b) strikes by civil servants, c) strikes by military and police, and d) refusal to pay taxes. Gandhi thinks only the first two steps will be necessary. There are risks in non-cooperation. But there are risks in taking no action as well. Those who oppose non-cooperation should speak with the people, who are incensed. Every citizen has the right to refuse to help a government that ignores him.
49. *How and When to Act*. Non-cooperation, which commences on August 1, will be universal. Those unable to act will provide labor and money. If non-cooperation proves necessary, despite ongoing negotiations, the people will surrender titles and honors, stop borrowing from the government, lawyers will stop practicing before the courts, parents will boycott government schools, reformed councils will be avoided, as will participation in government parties, people will decline military or civil posts in foreign actions, and people will continue using only Indian-made products. There must be calm, coordination of efforts, and absolutely no violence.
50. *At the Call of the Country*. Dr. Sapru convinced the Muslims to avoid non-cooperation, thinking it will lead to worse circumstances than those it is intended to remedy. Sapru wants high office holders to resign too, not just doorkeepers. Gandhi agrees. High civil servants, like officials and judges, should join non-cooperation. If they wish to serve, the people speak with one voice. The government offends them and ignores their wishes. Successful non-cooperation will compel the British to change course. The alternative would be martial law, and the world community will not stand by for that. Non-cooperation will be the most peaceful revolution in history. If employed globally, bloodshed would cease.
51. *The First of August*. On July 28, 1920, Gandhi wrote of the commencement of non-cooperation on August 1st. The great threat is mob violence. Government violence is much easier to cure. The non-cooperation requires complete coordination, discipline, and organization. People fail to understand how much government relies on their acquiescence in its acts. To make non-cooperation a success, all violence must be avoided. Every non-cooperator must keep his own neighborhood in order.
52. *Who is Disloyal?* A British official alleges that non-cooperators are disloyal to the crown if they boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. Gandhi counters that the Prince's visit is a political ploy to prop up the discredited British bureaucracy. The Indian people mourn deeply over the wrongs committed against them by British agents, and cannot at this time welcome the Prince. All Indians have a duty to avoid the Prince.
53. *Non-Violence and Swadeshi*. On July 29, 1920, Gandhi said the time for action had arrived. Two conditions must characterize non-cooperation: absence of violence and self-sacrifice. If violence erupted, Gandhi vows to help the government put it down. Non-cooperation must proceed by denying support to the government to the extent possible without chaos. The first stage of non-cooperation is intended to ask little and risk little: giving up titles, attorneys ceasing to use the courts, and people withdrawing their children from schools. A second act would be Swadeshi, which as a spiritual discipline means giving up fineries. Particularly, Indians would wear locally woven cloth, rough but beautiful, and give up imported cloths from Britain and China.
54. *Programme for Satyagraha*. Gandhi writes from jail to a Muslim leader. Gandhi urges Muslim-Hindu unity. Though they have made great strides, there still exists distrust and

fear. Gandhi recommends the spinning wheel as a spiritual discipline, a sacrament. Spinning and weaving will unite Muslims and Hindus. Intolerance in words and acts is a form of violence. The non-cooperators must take pains to insure that British people and Indians who cooperate with the government feel safe and are safe. The power of non-cooperation lies not in generating fear, but in the pressure a government feels when it persecutes patent innocents. No further persons need to go to jail. They have imprisoned Gandhi; that is sufficient. In the non-cooperation program, untouchability has to go. Every good Hindu believes that.

55. *The Doctrine of the Sword*. People write Gandhi asking when he will authorize violence. These persons think that Gandhi does not really believe in non-violence to the end, but harbors secret violent intentions. Gandhi thinks for those with no alternative, violence may be employed. A man may violently prevent violence. The British may put down the Zulu rebellion in South Africa. It is better than cowering. But in non-violence lies an utterly superior alternative. Strength comes not from physical coercion, but from unyielding wills. India has a right to feel injured. But, if India will forgive and act spiritually, it may deliver the world from violence. Gandhi denied being a visionary. His religion aims not at spiritual athletes, but at every man. Non-violence is natural to man, as is violence to animals. They have no alternative. Man has spiritual strengths and possibilities. A single person, possessed of the power of non-violence, might bring down an empire or reform it. India could prevail by violence. That would be an impossible day for Gandhi. India has a duty to the world to show others the power of non-violence. This religion, which is the root of Hinduism, lacks boundaries. It will prevail.
56. *Renunciation of Medals*. Gandhi returns medals awarded him by the British government for his humanitarian work and complains to the Viceroy of India about his government's abuses in the Khilifat and Punjab matters. Gandhi briefly explains the non-cooperation movement and its aim to cause the Viceroy's government to remedy its wrongs.
57. *Non-Payment of Fines*. The British government levied fines against non-cooperators, which some refused to pay. The government issued attachment writs and seized goods to pay for the fines. Some scoffed at this. Gandhi congratulates the resisters. Multiplied by thousands, such resistance would inconvenience the government and bring attention to the matter the non-cooperators protested initially. Gandhi cites Thoreau on resistance to slavery by even one man.
58. *Non-Payment of Taxes [1]*. Gandhi cautions followers about failing to pay taxes in non-cooperation. Though the path would be rapid, it is dangerous for people not thoroughly ensconced in non-violence, and might lead to violent uprising.
59. *Non-Payment of Taxes [2]*. Gandhi reiterates his concerns about violence in relation to non-payment of taxes. To withhold taxes wrongly is criminal. Further, even if non-violence is firmly entrenched in the peasants, they may still be spiritually wanting. They may avoid untouchables, or treat other religionists as outsiders, or fail to make and wear local cloth. Throwing off British rule without these disciplines will be meaningless.
60. *Boycott of Courts and Schools*. Lawyers must suspend their legal practices and induce their clients to follow suit. They can set up arbitration courts to address ongoing legal needs. Lawyers legitimate the government, cooperating by the nature of their employment. Parents must remove their children from government schools, and each village should manage the education of its children locally. If no schooling can be provided, the children should participate in their parents' political agitation.
61. *Empire Goods Boycott*. The Indian Congress's ineffective retaliatory boycott of British goods, where adequate alternatives exist only, wastes the movement's energy. Gandhi opposes this boycott. He boycotts all mill cloth (including Indian) because it makes paupers of the villagers.
62. *Social Boycott [1]*. Non-cooperation seeks by propaganda to convert its opponents, not coerce them into compliance. Slavery to non-violent protesters would be no better than slavery to British bureaucrats. We must grant the same freedom to disagree to our opponents that we claim for ourselves. It seems possible that social ostracism might be needed at some point in the future when a minority might refuse the majority from raw rebellious spirit. But that time is not now.

63. *Social Boycott [2]*. Social boycott, used improperly, injures and may kill the movement. There have been reports of an opponent being denied medical treatment or use of the only well in a village. One cannot compel another to agree or respect an opponent's position. Impatience of this sort will kill the spiritual aspects of Gandhi's non-cooperation revolution. Social ostracism may exist in the form of refusing gifts or declining to attend celebrations with the person being sanctioned. Nothing more.
64. *Sympathetic Strikes*. Premature sympathy strikes injure the movement. Self-interest is so liable to creep in. Strikes must not embarrass the government. Strike leaders must insure that a real offense underlies the strike, that strikers support themselves and do not seek government assistance, and that a demand upon which they will not compromise is made before the strike commences. The goal is to cause others to sympathize with the strikers because of the suffering of the strikers. The goal is not to coerce others into compliance.
65. *More Objections Answered*. Some think Gandhi has abandoned tax revolt and military strikes as strategies. Gandhi denies these allegations. When people acquire sufficient maturity in dignified non-violence that they are not tempted to violence when wrongs are done to them, then these steps may be possible. The tax resister must remain non-violent as his goods and land are sold. The police or army men must do what they did for pay now for nothing, as national servants.
66. *Answers to Questions*. There have been outbreaks of deplorable violence in some of the non-violent protests. Gandhi goes forward regardless. Success will come to the Indians when British people in India know they are safe not because of superior weaponry but because no Indian will harm them. Then attitudes will change. English lives are as sacred as Indian. Gandhi admits that his Muslim colleagues tolerate non-violence only because they have no alternative. They would do violence if they could. Gandhi believes, as a religious proposition, that no man is his enemy.
67. *Non-Cooperation Explained*. Gandhi is interviewed, after the actions marred by violence, by a Madras Mail reporter. Gandhi asserts that people better understand now than then. Governments depend upon the cooperation of the populace for their functioning. Where cooperation is withdrawn, governments will heed. Among Muslims, more advocate non-violence than violence. In boycotting the visit to India of the Prince of Wales, Gandhi hopes to register the people's discontent. This unjust government must become just. Non-cooperation is not obstruction; bad governments thrive on obstruction. Non-cooperation will be engaged only as India is ready to take care of itself. Not many lawyers have taken up Gandhi's call to cease practice. But his ultimate hopes lie with the masses, not with lawyers.
68. *Love*. Love does good to men who do evil. This does not mean that no harm comes to evildoers. The non-violent resister resists a man's evil by dissociating, even though that may injure or even kill the evildoer. When an evil man repents, non-violent people welcome him back. We refuse to help men killing innocents, but nurse their injuries. We take nothing from hands stained with blood of innocents. We go to jail rather than endure the praise of those who insult the Muslims.
69. *The Poet's Anxiety*. Dr. Tagore, India's poet, disapproves non-cooperation. It is, according to him, beneath Indian dignity. Gandhi answers that non-cooperation resists British evil, as delivered by India's forced entry into market capitalism. The British education system, which Gandhi encourages children and parents to abandon, teaches discontent with no remedy. The poet laments the negative in non-cooperation. Gandhi answers that rejecting untruth is an ideal, as well as adopting truth. India has adopted non-violent non-cooperation, as is natural for Hindus. Only this path will lead to national independence.
70. *What It Is Not*. A British writer criticized the non-cooperation movement as one of veiled violence. Non-cooperation injures some, as would milk-deliverers' refusal to deliver injure and kill babies in Lancashire. Gandhi answers that non-cooperation makes life difficult for unjust and evil actors. Lancashire will be injured by Indian independence, because Indian trade with Lancashire was bought at sword point. Those who suffer from non-cooperation have been done no violence. India is merely defending itself.

71. *The Non-Cooperation of a Satyagrahi*. A critic accused Gandhi of cooperating with the British by going to see the governor. Gandhi responds that he meets his opponents whenever possible, for the purpose of converting them to his cause. Gandhi has no enemies. Satyagrahi suffer to win people over.
72. *Civil Disobedience [1]*. Civil disobedience has become popular. Gandhi sees a time ahead when he may be called to refuse to obey all British laws, even though bloodshed will result. Such non-cooperation is vicarious and selfless. Mass civil disobedience is otherwise. The protesters think to gain benefit. Arrest is the normal state of the non-violent protester. The power of non-violence lies in the insuperable power of innocent suffering. The more deeply innocent, the more powerful the protest. General civil disobedience waits for a well-disciplined population. Beginning before the people are prepared bodes ill. Civil disobedience has two requisites: being undertaken openly and without violence.
73. *Civil Disobedience [2]*. Disobedience that lacks civility and intelligent discrimination of circumstances leads to defeat. Among well-disciplined people, civil disobedience nurtures life.
74. *The Right of Civil Disobedience*. Civil disobedience is a natural right. Criminal disobedience is justly put down, but its civil counterpart merely expresses citizen conscience. Where a state is unjust, civil disobedience is a sacred duty.
75. *Aggressive v. Defensive*. Offensive civil disobedience finds laws to disobey as a symbol of rebellion. Defensive civil disobedience undertakes forbidden actions where obedience would offend human dignity. Both must be non-violent.
76. *My Faith*. Gandhi believes in Satyagraha, the pursuit of truth. It excludes hatred. Gandhi refuses to let Britain impose British ways on India without a fight. But his fight will be non-violent. Though the movement has fallen short, a single non-violent protester, if perfect, would throw off British rule. Everyone should so strive for perfection.

Section Fourth: Vykom Satyagraha.

77. *Vykom [1]*. Vykom laws prohibit untouchables from using certain roads around the temple at Vykom. Gandhi defends the non-violent protesters negotiating with the authorities, even while in the midst of their protests. In this matter, the Satyagrahis are not attempting to remove British rule, as in the general protests, but only a religious prohibition. Rulers who ignore public opinion lose their right to rule. Gandhi opposes Indians from outside the Vykom area sending financial aid. Such assistance may dilute the impact of the suffering of the non-violent protests in Vykom.
78. *Vykom Satyagraha [1]*. Gandhi answers objections to the Vykom Satyagraha. A Christian leader ought not to take the helm in Vykom. Untouchability is the Hindu's sin. They must suffer for it and purge themselves of it. Non-Hindus will only offer an excuse to those who oppose being rid of untouchability. Genuine reform comes from within communities. Satyagraha converts its opponents, not by compulsion, but by warming their hearts. No help should come from outside, pecuniary or personal. Enthusiasts wish to fast to force the hand of the authorities. Gandhi replies that fasting is only to convince one's supporters, not enemies, and then only for reforming those supporters when they have stumbled. Some object to protests in Vykom, because it is an Indian, not British, state. Gandhi argues that untouchability must be confronted wherever it exists. Though these protests are regarding road use, caste abuses must be confronted all over India. These reforms should have limits, not to include inter-dining and inter-marriage.
79. *Vykom Satyagraha [2]*. A spiritual leader advised untouchables to scale the barriers and dine with others in the temple. Gandhi responds that this is not non-violent resistance. Still, Gandhi will not call off the resistance. The leaders should keep participants in line, and work toward the conversion of the opposition by self-sacrifice.
80. *Vykom [2]*. Goondas, who are orthodox Hindus, attach the Satyagrahis by blinding them with lime in the eyes and stripping their clothing. Gandhi opines that the protesters must

- endure. Loss of a few hundred Satyagrahis counts little when compared to the freedom of the untouchables. All martyrs must perish without moral stain.
81. *Vykom Satyagraha [3]*. The Vykom protesters suffer social ostracism, being denied even family property and family relations. These Satyagrahis fight by suffering. They love their oppressors and do not resent them. May they persevere.
 82. *Vykom Satyagraha [4]*. God helps helpless and suffering Satyagrahis. Rely on God. No other, including Gandhi, is sufficient. When the protesters feel defeated, that may be the victory, as birth pangs. The sword of the Satyagrahi is suffering without rancor or bitterness. None can resist its edge.
 83. *Vykom Satyagraha [5]*. Men of conviction are unmoved by rational argument. The Satyagrahi reaches toward the heart, which opens the reason of the otherwise convinced man.
 84. *Satyagrahi's Duty*. Forget politics. The Satyagrahi's duty is to seek truth by personal suffering for the great errors of Hindus, which is making some untouchable. Avoid bitterness by knowing many opponents act in good faith based on their erroneous religious convictions. Learn how the opposition sees themselves. That would obviate most of the world's conflicts. Do not question the resistance's decisions. You are soldiers. Obey. All the work of resistance is equally critical. Cleaning latrines matters as much as sitting at the barricades. Satyagrahis have corruption within, just as the opponents. Eradicate selfishness, jealousy, laziness within your heart. Seek and find truth. Remember Sudhanva, smiling as he was executed in boiling oil. He saw God more than oil.
 85. *Vykom [3]*. Satyagraha works slowly and quietly, yet it is the most powerful and swift way to its ends. Some untouchables threaten to convert if things don't move along. Religion is not clothing to be changed at inclement weather. One confesses a faith because he cannot do otherwise. To convert is to betray one's heritage. God's kindness has a sharp edge. His followers suffer as they are purified and humbled.
 86. *True Satyagraha*. The Vykom Satyagrahi, as they sit at the barricades daily, spin large quantities of yarn for cloth. Gandhi recounts their production. The connection between spinning and protest lies in the motivating spirit of the protesters. They show compassion, patience, and persistence.
 87. *Vykom Satyagraha [6]*. The reform at Vykom was successful in its short term goals: the roads were opened. Its long term goal, however, is to remove all obstacles to untouchables, which is a great sin on Hindus throughout India. On these issues, it is not time for Satyagraha. All less severe methods must first be exhausted. As to the untouchables, while we remove obstacles, we also work with them to make them more presentable in normal society.
 88. *Satyagraha v. Compulsion*. An impatient reformer seeks Gandhi's approval for clocking access to temples that refuse untouchables. Gandhi declines this as a form of compulsion. People change when they will. Satyagraha is used by some for veiled violence. Non-violent protest permits no compulsion in ideas or action. It moves gently and avoids inflicting injuries. It grows from compassion and a sense of injustice, not from hatred. It is patient, compliant, and speaks softly. Satyagraha converts others by appealing to their best selves. The acts non-violence undertakes, it takes against the Satyagrahis themselves. Their self-purification wins hearts. Even these non-violent acts can be twisted to become coercive. The evil in humans makes it possible to distort anything.
 89. *Religious Satyagraha*. Mixed motives are most dangerous in religious Satyagraha. Those who would change religions must be blameless and avoid intrigue at all costs. Religions change only under the influence of purity which values opponents as much as supporters.

Section Fifth: Kheda and Bardoli Satyagrahas.

90. *The Kheda Satyagraha*. Kheda villagers' crops failed. The government sought a tax increase to reduce its resulting shortfall. Gandhi organized non-cooperation, refusing to

pay the taxes. Gandhi spent a great deal of time educating villagers about non-violent resistance, and teaching them to view government men as their servants. Once the people lost their fear of officials, though, they ran the risk of becoming uncivil. Non-violent civility is more than outward pleasantness; it entails a wish for the opponent's good. Gandhi instructed Pandya, who longed for arrest, to harvest a field of attached onions, contrary to government edict. He and his friends were convicted and spent a short time in jail. Pandya was given the honorific "onion thief" by the people.

91. *Bardoli's Decision*. The Bardoli region decided to fight untouchability by mass civil disobedience. They agreed to trans-religious unity, non-violence, making and wearing home-spun clothing, making needed sacrifices including death, and relating to untouchables themselves as though the caste did not exist. The government did not interfere with these preparations. Both sides behaved well.
92. *Bardoli on Trial*. In response to the Bardoli civil disobedience, the government terrorized the people and made untrue claims, as is their habit. Satyagrahis must take their losses in stride. It is a small matter to lose houses when honor and justice hang in the balance. Those who intercede on behalf of the protesters must beware. They should not represent the protest as a weakness of the people. The people rightly demand a judicial inquiry into their plight.
93. *Non-Cooperation or Civil Resistance?* Satyagraha includes all non-violent, truth-seeking actions, including non-cooperation and civil resistance. In the Indian work, non-cooperation means declining to work through government channels until Indian self-rule is established. Civil resistance, as at Bardoli, has a specific and narrow objective. In Bardoli, the people seek judicial review of an unjust tax imposed on them, and withhold payment pending adjudication.
94. *Limitations on Satyagraha*. The resistance at Bardoli is non-political, and not a part of the drive to Indian self-rule, except tangentially. Friends criticize Gandhi's position in this regard as impolitic. Gandhi responds that God leads the resistance. What seems political foolishness to us may be God's plan. Bardoli is a tough people and a difficult enterprise. Friends should not cower or make excuses. Bardoli has God's protection.
95. *All's Well*. The Bardoli protesters achieved almost all they sought. Now they must collect the data to win their trial regarding the unjust taxation. Constructive work must not come to the fore: removing alcohol, village sanitation, education of the children.
96. *Sign of the Times*. Bardoli offers instruction. The government can learn that non-violent protest and cooperation are powers that may greatly strengthen the people and the government too. It is irresistible, and mounting. The people can learn that cooperating with one another is a spirit of unity, they can overcome reticent government. But now they must learn to improve their own lot continually. Non-violence goes on, confronting their own losses and shortcomings, building their community for good.

Section Sixth: Salt Satyagraha.

97. *"Never Faileth."* The Indian Working Committee grants Gandhi authority to undertake non-violent resistance as he sees fit. Members of the Congress seek measures Gandhi sees as coercive. Gandhi has been seeking freedom from this political melee for months, feeling constrained by committee majoritarian decision-making. Following truth, one may have to contradict every other man. Love may demand civil disobedience, which is dangerous, but no more than the violence that prompts it. The only danger is that the non-violent may be tempted to take up violence.
98. *To English Friends*. On the eve of civil disobedience, Gandhi writes to British friends that he knows the government may use violence to end his civil disobedience. Regardless, Gandhi is not Britain's enemy, though he wishes to end British rule of India.
99. *When I Am Arrested*. When Gandhi was previously arrested, demonstrations were non-violent and silent, while constructive works were accelerated. This arrest should be different. Every non-violent Indian should take action as is locally appropriate. Gandhi has no successor in mind. Congress will choose. Gandhi intends to start the civil disobedience through the Satyagraha Ashram, which has long been preparing itself

- spiritually. If the Ashram cannot respond, it should be disbanded. Every Satyagrahi must, as this protest gains momentum, take up the cause. Every man should be in prison, doing civil disobedience, or working at the spinning wheel or other constructive work.
100. *Letter to the Viceroy.* Gandhi writes to the British government about the changes he will be protesting to remedy. Gandhi notes that the British government and some who oppose it move toward violence. Gandhi and his ashram will intervene. Gandhi seeks to convert the British people by his non-violence, to melt their hearts as to the wrong Britain has done India. British trade is tainted by greed. India and Britain should act as equals, helping and trading to mutual benefit. If the Viceroy cannot accede to Gandhi's requests, the non-payment of Salt Tax will commence this month. Gandhi does not seek to embarrass the Viceroy and will delay publication of this letter if the Viceroy sends word of his desire to make the changes Gandhi suggests.
101. *Some Questions and Answers.* *Might non-violence lead to violence?* Yes, but non-violent resistance gives an outlet to frustrations, where, without it, there would be none. One controls the forces of violence by unleashing the force of non-violence. *How will the movement stay peaceful after you have been arrested?* In South Africa, thousands joined after Gandhi was jailed and did wonderfully. *Will non-violence increase the number of factions in India?* Gandhi does not think so. He is an optimist and has confidence that the masses will behave well by instinct. But, Gandhi admits, he may be more optimistic than realities warrant. Still, one never knows how things will go, and this protest is a rare opportunity. *Why is now the time for civil disobedience?* Gandhi says that his internal conflict has laid to rest. He will be arrested in the Salt protest, and that arrest will lead to a conference of equals to establish a free India. *Did you err with the Viceroy?* No. Previous negotiations failed. We need to speak in a new way, as equals. *Will Gandhi make concessions if the British come part way on the Eleven Points?* It will depend on the spirit in which concessions might be made.
102. *On the Eve of the March.* Gandhi addresses a large crowd on the eve of the salt march to Dandi. After Gandhi is arrested, no violence must be indulged, even if Gandhi and his companions are killed. The non-violent working committee will then take the lead. Gandhi reminds the protesters of the ways in which they may violate the Salt Laws. The protest may be enlarged to include boycott of foreign cloth, liquor stores, and the courts. Government employees should give up their work and devote themselves to Indian independence. All should cease cooperating with the government in as many ways as possible. Satyagrahis prevail, whether in jail or free, because they fail only when they grow violent and cease hearing the voice of God.
103. *Ashram Discipline During the March.* Gandhi insisted on the daily ashram disciplines of spinning 212 yards of yarn, writing in the journal, morning prayers, even during the march. Those who could not manage were invited to visit with Gandhi to readjust their schedules. This march lays the foundations of Indian independence, and so must be a spiritual offering that is as pure as possible.
104. *Duty of Disloyalty.* British foreign rule of India is a despotism that must be resisted at any cost. The means of resistance cannot include injuring the British bureaucrats. When even the best men join an evil organization, they are corrupted. It is not their fault. When one refuses to cooperate with the British, he denies them allegiance, which no evil system deserves.
105. *Some Suggestions.* Gandhi sets April 6th as the day for commencing India-wide civil disobedience, which is to be mass, peaceful, and spontaneous. The protesters aim to replace violence with non-violence. The protest will continue even if violence breaks out. Satyagrahi will sacrifice themselves wherever violence erupts. Gandhi rejects resistance of other regulations. If further targets after the Salt Laws are needed, he recommends liquor shops and foreign cloth dealers and opium dens.
106. *Turning the Searchlight Inward.* As the protesters approached Dandi, Gandhi urged them to greater purity. The protesters are weak and subject to stumbling. Some have ordered milk. One's right to criticize the government comes from one's identification with the plight of the poor. If pampered, one's voice carries little weight. And lavish gifts from supporters amount to food stolen from poor India. The protesters are trustees

of the hopes of India's masses. The protesters must be frugal. Their protest must extend first to themselves. Ride only when you cannot walk. Gandhi would rather speak with six poor than droves gathered by expensive advertising. A man was made to carry a stove on his head. Gandhi objects. We need no stove. Gandhi is discouraged by the protesters' failures, which he adopts as his own failures. He will, nevertheless, continue. He will not desist.

107. *Notes on the Way to Dandi.* Gandhi describes the effect of the Salt Tax. It runs 1,000% of the value of the salt. The government destroys untaxed salt, at public expense. The salt tax destroys local salt industry, which is to take food from starving millions. Gandhi answers critics claiming his Satyagrahi are falling ill; a few have difficulties. The youth are somewhat soft. Gandhi encourages exercise, especially walking. Some women coming to protest used spare time to gather trash. Gandhi commends them. All weak points of Indian society must be simultaneously addressed. Gandhi notes that women may exceed men in the work of non-violent resistance.
108. *Remember 6th April.* When mass protest commences, workers will guide, then step back to let the people lead themselves. If violence erupts, Satyagrahi must interject themselves to quell it, even if they die trying. Those who cannot actively march must do other tasks like spin, weave, picket, clean villages, or helping families of Satyagrahi.
109. *Hindu-Muslim Question.* A Muslim boy asks if Gandhi needs only Hindu help to achieve Indian independence. Gandhi responds that he requires all men and women from every village and religion, for they are signs from God. Gandhi felt no conviction about resistance until recently, when he became steeled to act. God looks to the heart; men see externals. God wants purity and self-sacrifice of his workers. Gandhi does not oppose the British, only their rule of India. Gandhi is called to end that rule. Someone asked how many seats Muslims will hold in an independent India. Gandhi notes that the Congress has promised all parties will be satisfied. We fight for the poor, whether Hindu or Muslim. Who does not like such efforts?
110. *Barbarous.* Outside Dandi, police seized salt from protesters, without warrant. The entire village appeared, dug salt, and dared the police to arrest the village, men, women, and children, for digging salt, but the police desisted. The government can take salt, Gandhi says. Arrest the individuals, try them, convict them, and then police can justly seize the salt.
111. *The Inhuman Tax.* The Salt Tax has impoverished the villages of the salt area of Gujarat, where people made money producing local sea salt. Gandhi tells villagers near the sea how to prepare their own daily salt from ocean water. He challenges the government to arrest and prosecute the tens of thousands to protest.
112. *A Survey.* Gandhi encourages protesters to stand firm when police challenge, and if necessary fold their arms and take bullets in the chest, in order to resist salt seizures. Women should let me so fall, and take their place after all the men are gone. The British act without legal authority.
113. *The Black Regime.* Some protesters at Chittagong have planned violent resistance. Protester violence is as wrong as government violence. Gandhi would have the government use arms against such violent men. They impede Indian independence. Non-violent protesters' injuries bring Gandhi joy. When the best and bravest are sacrificed, the universal law of suffering brings victory. The government has no right to use force to seize salt. They must arrest, try, and then seize. Government agents have poisoned some unauthorized salt.
114. *Purity in Account Keeping.* Some enterprising people are selling salt in the name of the Congress and pocketing the money. The local chapters must keep books and have them audited. Since the public now finances the movement, let the bookkeeping be methodical.
115. *Calm Heroism.* Gandhi reports a protester who held a hot salt pan to prevent police seizure, seriously burning his hands. Gandhi praises him. Such will create Indian independence.
116. *Mahadev Desai and His Successor.* Mahadev was arrested for importing a cart of contraband salt. His successor is an illiterate, but devoted, Muslim. Indian home rule

- recognizes no religious distinctions, nor educational statuses, not wealth, but includes the disabled and starving people as well.
117. *Goonda Raj*. Gandhi recounts abuses by the British government in taking salt from salt protesters. The people must resist by suffering. Freedom grows from suffering, and moral license from violence. The British exploit India for their own benefit.
 118. *Message to the Nation*. Gandhi believes he may soon be arrested. Indian independence comes from the protesters' suffering. Make forbidden salt. Picket liquor and opium and foreign textile shops. Spin and weave. Burn imported cloth. Ignore untouchability. Find a common heart with peoples of every faith. Provide for minorities. Leave government schools and jobs. Devote yourself to serving people. Then comes independence.
 119. *The Second Letter*. Gandhi writes to the Viceroy that he will march to Dharasana and seek possession of the Salt Works there. Gandhi recites British abuses of protesters, and propaganda lies of the government. Gandhi complains of government inaction when protesters are attacked. The science of non-violent resistance teaches that great oppression falls before great voluntary suffering at the hands of oppressors. Non-violence conquers violence. Gandhi appeals to the Viceroy to repeal the Salt Tax.
 120. *The Great Arrest*. [This account is not written by Gandhi.] The Surat police, with thirty-two officers, arrested Gandhi because the government viewed his activities with alarm at 12:34 a.m. on May 12, 1930, while Gandhi slept. Gandhi asked to brush his teeth, reviewed the warrant, sought additional time to pray with the Satyagrahi, and then was carted off in a motorcar. He was thereafter cut off from communication. His follower calls him "Great Soul," and anticipates that no jail can contain his radiance.
 121. *More About the Settlement*. Gandhi negotiated a settlement with the British. He addressed a large crowd of protesters. Gandhi says that some are disappointed with settlement before all goals are achieved. Satyagrahi make war, but also seek peace. Peace implies terms not too strict or humiliating for the others. The settlement is provisional. If either side fails to keep its part, the non-violent "war" can recommence. For now, have hope and patience, and negotiate rather than refuse to cooperate.
 122. *The Congress*. Congress reconvenes soon. Gandhi notes that many members have been in jail. While all should be ready to suffer, suffering is not an end in itself. The protesters' self-purification has not been perfected. Many still accept untouchability. The rich do not live as the poor. The alcohol and drug trades have been impaired, but we have not addressed the addicts themselves. Much fine imported cloth is still apparent. All these will vanish when self-purification progresses. Indian self-rule will arrive from within, not from the British or from talking in Congresses.
 123. *Let Us Repent*. The Mayor of Karachi, a strong supporter of Satyagraha, publicly criticized the non-violent movement for creating hatreds, for being intolerant of differences of opinion in its ranks, for using non-violent methods indiscriminately, and for missing the deeper spiritual point of Satyagraha. Gandhi responds that all must listen to the Mayor. Non-violence begins within the mind, and must never be a sham, hiding antipathy. Used mindlessly, Satyagraha leads to societal disintegration and license. There remains great hatred in India. Non-violence must convert the English. If one finds hatred in his heart, he must begin again.
 124. *Power of Ahimsa*. A person wrote that the world's indignation has failed to arise, as it would if a woman were beaten by a ruffian, at India's non-violent resistance, which the correspondent takes to be an indication of the inhumanity of the world. Gandhi counters that women are not powerless nor is truth. Non-violence is a weapon of power, but the non-violence of the Indian uprising was weak and merely formal. It seldom grew from the depths of the human breast. That is shown by fights among the protesters themselves. When non-violence is pure, none can resist, and the world will take note.
 125. *Goondalism Within the Congress*. Gangmembers have become part of Congress. They do not understand non-violence, and were inducted because some feared that without them, there would be no volunteers. One Satyagrahi can win the battle, but a million violent persons cannot. Indiscriminate recruiting threatens the movement. We must deal with the ruffians in our midst. We cannot call the police. They are part of us. We must

refuse to acquiesce in their demands, as we would any other injustice. We must reform, convert, and love them.

126. *Conquest Over Body.* Despite arrests and hardship, nothing external can conquer the soul. The spiritual person is care-free. He relies on God to provide. We cannot store up goods; nature opposes that. We should throw ourselves upon God, as we have these last years.

Section Seventh: Indian States Satyagraha.

127. *Suspend Civil Disobedience.* When Gandhi suspended civil disobedience in Kathiawad, some criticized. Gandhi replies that those who abandon non-violence because of delays never understood in the first place and are better gone.
128. *Rajkot Satyagraha.* The big error in the Rajkot protests was to allow another group to join so they would have big protests. Non-violence begins by setting its opponents at ease, avoiding panic.
129. *About the Rajkot Award.* The Viceroy awarded Gandhi a sum in a dispute. Gandhi believes that the award makes him a coward and separates him from God. Gandhi threw the award away.
130. *Suspension of Civil Disobedience.* Some protesters feared depression if their protests were suspended. Gandhi advises them to begin again, since they lack the requisite inwardness. The civil disobedience must be suspended. The opponents fear the protester's numbers. Only a few Satyagrahi will protest, to be more effective. Those who are not jailed must do the constructive work.
131. *Its Implications.* Gandhi sees that the Rajkot protests were not purely non-violent. The admixture has led to government opposition. Gandhi demands more now of Satyagrahi, and those rigors may reduce the number of non-violent protesters. Gandhi does not know how to proceed with only a few, but waits on God. Congress can no longer lead. It is corrupt, has failed to wed the spiritual communities of India, and has allowed ministers without public support to continue in office. Satyagraha is inappropriate now. There are steps of self-purification that must precede it. India's circumstance is precarious. If non-violence does not prevail, anarchy will erupt.
132. *Non-Violence v. Violence.* The Rajkot protesters were tainted by violence. Non-violence is effective only where head and heart coincide. Even now, Hindu and Muslim arm to fight one another. It is our earlier mixed motives haunting us. Gandhi declines to declare all out resistance under these circumstances. It can only lead to violence.

Section Eighth: Individual Satyagraha Against War.

133. *No Suppression.* Gandhi does not suppress others from protesting. All are free to declare civil disobedience. They will not, however, have Gandhi's approval. Only when the protesters have the spiritual prerequisites will Gandhi approve. Those who protest without the inner conditions of Satyagraha are likely to doom their causes.
134. *Every Congress Committee a Satyagraha Committee.* Splits among protesters lead some to spin without believing the spinning wheel central to civil resistance. These people want my approval so they may control others, but do not want to follow my path. True obedience engenders enthusiastic compliance. Gandhi calls on the Congress committees to declare themselves for non-violence, to select active Satyagrahi representatives who nurture goodwill, spin, eschew untouchability, wear only homespun cloth, are willing to be incarcerated, keep a daily diary, and do the constructive program. These persons are to be registered, with reports to Gandhi. Others, unwilling to spin or go to jail, but who nevertheless are supportive of non-violence, are passive Satyagrahi. The world, and Gandhi himself, believes the protesters' intent is violent. Gandhi admits the non-violent protesters' failures. Gandhi will not fight unless the rolls of the Satyagrahi are pure.
135. *The Charkha and Satyagraha.* Some wish to divorce the spinning wheel from India's non-violent protests. Gandhi refuses, for the spinning wheel symbolizes his commitment

to the poor of India. Those who do not share the spinning wheel with him, should leave Gandhi. None are wicked by nature; they are no more wicked than we. If one cannot share this attitude, he should leave Gandhi.

136. *Civil Disobedience.* Civil disobedience must convince the opponent that protesters really intend no harm to others by the protests. The British and the Muslim League believe that Hindu civil disobedience is aimed at them in veiled harm. This belief makes civil disobedience very unlikely. The great majority should just spin, wear local cloth, and nurture feelings of brotherhood with all Indians. A few Satyagrahi may protest. Just leave them to their tasks.
137. *Not Yet.* Some not-too-serious Congress people are doing non-violence violently. They think to fill the jails, but without the right attitudes, without participating in the constructive work. This is just violence against the British. Do the constructive work. Leave civil disobedience to the Satyagrahi.
138. *To the Reader.* Gandhi refuses to continue publishing in the Harijan, after the British gagged him from speaking of non-violence. Gandhi was criticized for suggesting that the British let the Nazis overrun Britain, but develop the internal strength to resist them by dying. Gandhi says that the people who have read his column will be fine without it.

Section Ninth: Miscellaneous

I. Fast as an Element in Satyagraha.

139. *Fasting as Penance.* In South Africa, two of Gandhi's students went astray. Deeply distressed, Gandhi swore a penance of a one week fast, followed by one meal per day for four and one half months. Gandhi does not think penitential fasting for the failures of students is always advisable, but it is on some occasions.
140. *The Satyagraha Way with Children.* Gandhi fasts because of failings in some children at the ashram for which Gandhi is responsible. Punishing children does not reform, but only hardens, them. Satyagraha entails suffering. Gandhi wants to identify with the humblest people in India and the world.
141. *Satyagraha—True and False.* A friend asks if one can fast to compel payment of monies owed him. Gandhi says no. Satyagraha fasting aims only at the good of others who are close to the faster. Self-interest sullies the fast.
142. *Fast as an Element in Satyagraha.* Some are concerned that Gandhi may harm himself by fasting against untouchability. Gandhi replies that he has fasted often through his life, it is part of Satyagraha, and if he does so, he obeys God. He can do nothing other than obey.
143. *Fast as Prayer.* Fasting supports prayer, bringing it intensity and focus. We crucify the flesh, growing wholly absorbed in prayer, divorced from physical functions.
144. *Is Fast Coercion?* Gandhi answers no. One sacrifices for those he loves. Fasts sacrifice for family and friends. Fasting is integral to Hinduism. Gandhi fasts when his internal agony leads him to the solace of prayer.
145. *Fast as the Last Resort.* Fasting to death is the last resort of the Satyagrahi. Religious literature tells of people who fast to compel God to answer prayer. Many perished, for God answers as he wishes. Still, those who fasted are heroes.
146. *Fast as Self-Surrender.* Some use fasts to evil ends. Still, one must fast for good, even if a few abuse fasts. Christian Protestants have criticized Gandhi's fasts. Gandhi defends fasting as a denial of self, which is the beginning of devotion.
147. *Requirements for Satyagraha Fast.* The disciplines of doing constructive work, of loving opponents, of bridling one's drives, and of forsaking possessions and ambitions prepare one for the inner fast, which is seeking only Truth. Fasting means nothing without these preparations.
148. *Coercive Fasts.* Some criticize Gandhi's fasts as coercive. Gandhi responds that all fasts influence those in their sphere. Truly coercive fasts have selfish ends. One should resist them, even if the faster dies as a result.

149. *Fasting.* Fasting is a non-violent weapon, but those who can use it are few. Gandhi thinks he is made for fasting. Few follow him in fasting. Its use should be very limited. Only those who have trained should fast as Satyagrahi. Most fasts are not fasts, but hunger-strikes. Their lack of spirituality makes them both dangerous and mostly ineffective.
150. *Fasting in Satygraha.* Non-violent fasting contains power, and should be used judiciously by those thoroughly prepared. Fasters must be directly associated with the person fasted against. Gandhi erred in his Rajkot fast. Gandhi was angry, impatient, selfish, and lacked faith. The result was coercion of a friend. Fasts for purification of body or spirit differ from the non-violent fast.
151. *Fasting in the Air.* Gandhi asks that those who contemplate non-violent fasts should seek Gandhi's permission. This obviates the need for rules during Gandhi's lifetime. Non-violent fasts require one to exhaust all other avenues of redress before fasting. One cannot fast to change things. That brings failure. One fasts because he cannot fail to do so. Fasting is much abused, and ill-considered fasting spreads like disease.

II. Women and Picketing.

152. *To the Women of India.* Women are better adapted to non-violence than men. With them lies its future. Women exceed men in intuition, self-sacrifice, endurance, and courage. Women should take up the picketing of liquor stores and drug dens. And they should focus on home-spun clothing.
153. *Women in Conference.* In response to Gandhi's call, the women of Gujarat convened, adopted the homespun clothing boycott of mill textiles and picketing of drug and alcohol shops. Gandhi argues that if India is to be independent, she cannot avoid making her own cloth and clothing. The processes are simple. Avoid idleness. Spin and weave.
154. *The Men's Part.* Men have a part in the women's movement. First, they can avoid meddling in their spinning and boycotts. Women know non-violence innately; men know it only by slow learning. Second, everyone can spin. There exist sufficient weavers, but too few spinners creating sufficient thread. Third, men many never use coercion. We non-violently resist our erring friends. When Satyagrahi become violent, Gandhi gets ill. His heart suffers. Gandhi may one day offer a perpetual fast in response to supporters who practice violence and coercion.
155. *Notes. The Frontier Provinces.* People not convinced of non-violence most help Indian independence by declining to participate in the protests. When protesters lapse into violence, the Indian independence suffers. Lives are lost fruitlessly as well. *Boycott and Picketing.* Indian foreign cloth merchants are bartering their cloth to avoid the boycott on purchase of cloth. This must stop. A local Congress may have promised Delhi merchants they would stop picketing. If this is so, the pickets must stop. Honoring one's word is a critical adherence to truth. The picketing must be left to women; men are too easily provoked.
156. *How To Do the Picketing.* Ten women per shop choose a leader. They ask the merchant to stop selling, and appeal to customers outside the shop if the owner refuses. Picketers carry banners, wear uniforms, prevent male involvement, avoid ill-language, and eschew compulsion against customers. Men should support the women by organizing marches and printing materials. All monies must be accounted, and those accounts audited.
157. *Some Picketing Rules.* The purpose of picketing is to convert the alcohol, drug, or cloth patrons and sellers. Gandhi lists rules for picketing, which emphasize personal warmth and kindness, not political pressure. Picketers control their good thoughts and deeds, not the outcomes.
158. *A Stern Reproof.* Foreign cloth merchants attempted to award Gandhi a cash prize and honors. Gandhi declines. Gandhi invites them to burn their stocks of cloth or to take back their award.

159. *Picketing*. Critics castigate Gandhi's criticism of some picketers who formed living walls blocking off boycotted stores. This is mere violence, says Gandhi. No living walls are permitted.
160. *When Is Picketing Peaceful?* An inquirer asks if picketing in which buyers are actively engaged to join the boycott is peaceful? Gandhi replies that all pickets without a plainly just cause are violent. They impede individual rights. Pickets should be organized only by responsible organizations, and then only within rigid guidelines.
161. *Picketing and Love*. A critic argues that picketing and love are incompatible. Gandhi agrees they can be at odds. But some picketing is loving, as when family members watch over errant loved ones. Indifferent acts become good or evil by the motives that actuate them.

III. Satyagraha in Social Reform.

162. *Students' Noble Satyagraha*. Students opposed a feast in honor of the spirit of a departed mother as wasteful and a reprehensible custom. They employed Satyagraha, fasting the day of the event and refusing all food of the party. The event occurred. Changing such things requires much effort and patience.
163. *Limits of Satyagraha*. Old men marry young girls, so fathers get dowries and the old men indulge their lusts. Gandhi notes that direct confrontation will only cause secret marriages. He proposes approaching the girls' fathers and mothers. Social reform is harder than political change. One must be satisfied with small gains in social improvements. One cannot possibly hope to change the lustful habits of old men. Approach the parents.
164. *Satyagraha Against the Colour Bar Bill*. When South African laws injure the Indian citizens, those persons must offer Satyagraha. Non-violence always wins.
165. *The Jews*. As Hitler rounds up Jews in Germany, Gandhi advises mass civil disobedience. Stand up, be counted, and be shot. By so doing, the Jews will win over the German people to human dignity, and offer true religious resistance against Hitler's mechanized inhumanity.
166. *The Satyagraha Way with Crime*. Someone burglarized a villager's home. Gandhi noted only three approaches exist. First, one can report to the police, who may do little and may be corrupt themselves. Second, the village may acquiesce, which is cowardice. Third, the village may practice non-violent resistance upon the thieves. Cure, rather than punish, them. Teach them skills and vocations. Recognize that the criminal is oneself, with only minor changes of circumstances. All aggregation of money beyond one's legitimate needs is theft. Theft would disappear if society better distributed wealth and insisted on social justice. One aims to reform the criminal, not inform the police.
167. *Socialism and Satyagraha*. Humans find their strength in their relation to Truth and the divine. Socialism will never emerge from human action, but only from god. Non-violence is god's force to bring socialism. Socialism cannot emerge otherwise. Non-violence can bring on utopia.

Section Tenth: Questions and Answers.

168. *Some Questions. Informing the Government?* Non-violent protests are done openly, with the foreknowledge of the government. *Readiness for Non-Violence?* Young men are prone to violence, despite their best intentions. Gandhi has taken over the non-cooperation protests personally, to relieve Congress of its moral dilemmas in leading. Gandhi is responsible for violence that emerges out of his non-violence, and the British are responsible for the urgency the Indian people feel. Gandhi is gambling that his pursuit of truth will win out. *Hindu-Muslim unity?* The Congress must not accept any independence that is not based on all parties, protecting the minorities. This love has always driven Gandhi. *An Indian army?* Never. Non-violence aims to benefit Englishmen as much as Indians. *Personal hallucination?* Gandhi's view may be his

religious hallucination. He does not believe so. He asks the people to address the wrongs he has patiently enumerated.

169. *On Non-Violence.* The non-violent protester works even when asleep, because his weapon is in his heart. The armed warrior must rest. *Refuse military service?* Yes, but non-violence is much more than that. When we pay taxes or cooperate otherwise, we support the military state. One must be willing not just to avoid fighting, but to be jailed or thrown into the street. *What about non-military service?* Non-military service cooperates with the militarist state. It is as violent as carrying guns. *Allowing other countries to be destroyed?* One should not allow that to happen. An unarmed country could march en masse to the front, and stand before the armies, asking them to fight only by slaughtering the innocents intervening. Such courage is possible. If you die, you did your duty. *Soldiers firing in the air?* Such soldiers would be liars and cowards, and would discredit the non-violent war against war. Non-violent warriors must be morally pure and above reproach.
170. *What are Basic Assumptions?* Unity of all people and complete appreciation of non-violent principles by the masses are not requirements for Satyagraha. What is essential is the conviction that suffering by non-violent protesters can defeat armies. There are no historical precedents. This sort of things works in families. Mankind is just a large family.
171. *Belief in God. Can atheists be Satyagrahi?* No. They may protest, but they will not be Satyagrahi. A non-violent protester suffers tortures without resentment. That sort of power comes only from god. I am no prophet, but just a human stumbling from error toward truth. You need not believe as I do. Your god may differ. But you must rely on him to be non-violent. *Must one wear khadi?* Yes. Those who decline may participate in the constructive work. My “Himalayan blunder” was to authorize people ill-prepared for the rigors of civil disobedience to resist. Violence ensued. *Foreign cloth?* No Satyagrahi may sell foreign cloth or use intoxicants, which skew his intelligence. *Non-violent protest in jail?* Yes, if required to offend one’s dignity. But if one is easily provoked, it would be best not to head to jail in the first place.
172. *Not Guilty.* Dr. Lohia asks Gandhi to extend Satyagraha to programs other than Gandhi’s own. Gandhi replies he has always welcomed such adventures, but never yet seen one. Congress has disputes with Gandhi. Non-violence in India’s circumstance requires Hindu-Muslim unity, breakdown of untouchability rules, closing the intoxicant shops, and wearing home-spun clothing. Protests by peasants will not be non-violent; these persons have not been trained. Congress could train them, but has not. What is being provided is preparation for violence.
173. *Question Box [1]. Noncompliant Wife?* If one’s wife refuses to deal with untouchables, she should have a separate kitchen and rooms. Do as is right. She will do as she pleases. *Congress’s Views.* If Congress wishes to commence non-violent civil disobedience at a time when Gandhi disagrees, they have authority to proceed without Gandhi. *Secrecy?* There must be no secrecy. Open plans and books. Gandhi waffled on this before, but is firm now. Some disagree. *Property Damage?* Some maintain that property damage is not violence; they are wrong. Critics claim that I have taught the poor to be disruptive but not non-violent, and that my haste has made a mess. I cannot answer. I err. But I believe deeply in what I am doing. My tombstone may read that I invested much effort but achieved paltry results.
174. *Question Box [2]. Spinning?* Satyagrahi spin daily, unless ill or traveling. *Untouchability?* All Satyagrahi must renounce untouchability and welcome untouchables. This caste curse pollutes India and Hinduism. *Lawyers?* Some lawyers lie, and are impure. They cannot be Satyagrahi. But no profession is excluded from non-violence. *Obstructionism?* Some in Congress oppose measures unless their own party proffers them, and this is wrong. All owe a duty to support wise measures of the majority, regardless of party considerations.
175. *Five Questions. Legal Defense?* Satyagrahis, upon arrest, may offer legal defense. *Class Treatment?* No Satyagrahi, upon arrest, should seek to improve his prison treatment by seeking to change his arrest classification. *Humane Treatment?* A

- Satyagrahi, upon arrest, should work to improve the humane treatment of prisoners. *Spinning Minimums?* One hour per day at 300 rounds per hour, unless doing public work. *Waiting Period?* None, but waiting to take the Satyagrahi pledge without cause is dishonest.
176. *The Sermon on the Mount. Should poor tenants give their coat and cloak to rapacious landlords?* Yes. They should abandon the landlord's lands. Giving a thief more than he sought to steal disarms him. This is the genius of non-violent non-cooperation. Jesus understood.
177. *What Can a Solitary Satyagrahi Do?* A lone Satyagrahi in a village conforms his life to that of the poorest members, he serves the villagers, welcomes all children as his own, spends only for strict necessities, and touches untouchables. He wastes no moments, but educates himself, spins, runs an ordered home. The village will be moved to follow. Gandhi says he cannot himself fulfill this ideal. One man making one ideal village may change the world.
178. *Non-Violent Non-Cooperation.* During World War II (1942) Gandhi was asked what he would do if the Japanese invaded. He said India would have to offer non-violent non-cooperation, perhaps at the loss of some millions of lives. But this would be no more than India would lose if resisting with arms.
179. *Sabotage and Secrecy.* A friend argued that government property belongs to the people, so he may destroy it without violence. Gandhi demurs. Such action would cripple government, injuring millions. The problem is men, not infrastructure. We must address the real problem. The friend objects that blowing up bridges encourages the protesters. Gandhi responds that some confused people think they can style violence as "sabotage" and remedy its ills by the name. The friend suggests that organizational secrecy may be strategically important, though personal secrecy is not. Gandhi rejects this proposition.
180. *Satyagraha in Face of Hooliganism.* A friend asked how to prevent gang thefts. Gandhi responds to love the hooligans and let them kill you, if necessary. But resist them peacefully. Aim for no result. Just show them love and non-violence while resisting. All Indians should learn self-defense in Satyagraha, which is primarily mental training in non-violence and courage.
181. *The Non-Violent Sanction. How does the non-violent protester cause the rich to do right by the poor?* First, the poor persons resist non-violently. They induce their neighbors to join them. Soon the whole village protests peacefully. Thus, Satyagraha teaches the public how to exercise power. All must learn to eschew hatred of opponents, choose only just causes, and suffer to success or death.

Section Eleventh: Conclusion.

182. *My Faith in Non-Violence.* Vanquish opponents with love. India has had failings. Violence has erupted, but the vast majority clung to non-violence. Gandhi can anger, but works hard to restrain himself. Love is like gravity. It works ceaselessly, a power as basic as physical forces, but less explored. Gandhi contemplates that he may be hallucinating about this.
183. *The Future.* A friend asks whether an independent India will adopt non-violence as state policy, and, if so, how India would defend itself from an armed foreign invader. Gandhi says he does not know, since his education in non-violence is incomplete. Gandhi speculates that it is unlikely independent India will adopt non-violence as state policy. However, a well-trained country of non-violent convictions could defend itself. First, the nation could welcome the invader, but refuse to cooperate. Second, the nation could descend upon the invader to die at the invader's hands. Even the worst humans have a heart which will eventually melt. The cost of such non-violence is unlikely to exceed the losses to violent resistance. Love rules mankind. If hatred and violence ruled, man would long ago have been extinct. Successes to date have been mixed. The generous critic will admit the experiments have promise.

