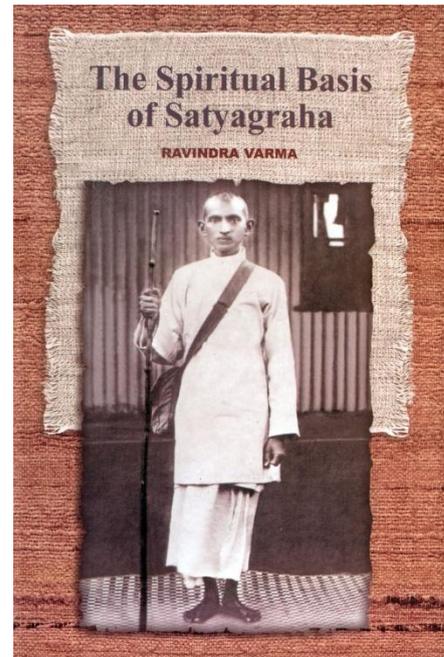


# The Spiritual basis of Satyagraha

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First Published: October 2001



Printed and Published by:

Vivek Jitendrabhai Desai

Navajivan Publishing House,

Ahmedabad - 380 014, INDIA.

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## FOREWORD

Ravindra Varma is a learned scholar, who has been running the Institute of Gandhian Studies at Gopuri, Wardha for several years. He has been introducing the youth, especially the college students and postgraduates to the life and message of Gandhiji. I have had the privilege of addressing a number of such audiences at his Institute in Gopuri, and I have also heard him there and in other places talking about Gandhiji. His knowledge and study of Gandhian ideology is deep, and to the best of my knowledge he has been trying his level best to live according to the Gandhian ideology. This gives depth to whatever he says or writes.

He has written three books on Gandhiji or I might say that he has written one book which is divided into three parts. Part one gives a narrative of Gandhiji's life story describing a shy mediocre student at Rajkot, who goes to England and comes back as a Barrister.

Circumstances take him to South Africa. He goes as a young man to earn money, and to find name and fame, and also to see a new country. This first book describes Gandhiji's struggle to establish himself in which he makes outstanding success as a lawyer. As a seeker of truth, and full of love for the oppressed Indians and black population in the midst of racial prejudice, he has to fight and overcome many hurdles to preserve the self-respect of Indians and also to serve the blacks in every way he can. He also serves the whites during the Boer War.

His fight against colour prejudice starts from the day of his arrival in South Africa and continues throughout his stay in that country. Discovery of the mighty weapon of Satyagraha which can enable the downtrodden and the weak also to stand up for their own rights, is the first great achievement which makes the shy young man a great leader. He shows to the Indians the way of fighting prejudice by bringing about a change of heart among the oppressors through self-suffering. His experiments and his studies in non-violence lead him to establish his first Ashram at Phoenix.

He fought many battles against racism. His struggle was based on truth and non-violence, and he worked to bring about a change of heart among the oppressors who were the white rulers in South Africa.

He had gone to South Africa for one year, but he was there for almost 25 years, and at last left in 1914 after signing an agreement with General Smuts, the Prime Minister of South Africa, which ensured minimum justice for the Indians in that country.

The First World War started while he was nearing England where he had gone to meet Gopal Krishna Gokhale his political Guru, who in the meantime had gone to France. He returned to India early in 1915.

In England he got Pleurisy. The cold climate did not suit him.

Gandhiji landed at Bombay in mid-January 1915 with Kasturba, and had a rousing reception. His reputation had reached India before him. He decided to go to Pune to meet Gopal Krishna Gokhale and from there he went to Shanti Niketan where his party had arrived in the meantime from South Africa. He introduced many healthy changes in self-help at Shanti Niketan.

Gokhale's death soon afterwards led to Gandhiji founding the Satyagraha Ashram at Ahmedabad from where he spread the message of Satyagraha and provided leadership for the struggle, first in Bihar for justice to Indian Indigo planters and then in Khera and Bardoli regarding land revenue, and finally for India's freedom struggle.

It was a new way of fighting for justice, and for one's rights in which the physically weak could have as much opportunity to show their valour as the physically and intellectually strong. High and low, rich and poor, men and women all joined him, and a new moral and spiritual awakening was seen in India which finally led to the end of foreign rule in India.

But unfortunately the British agreed to the partition of India before they quit India, which resulted in endless suffering to millions of people in India and Pakistan. If the last Viceroy Lord Mountbatten had listened to Gandhiji's advice, and the British had left India to Indians, or God and Indians were allowed to

settle the Hindu-Muslim question by themselves, History might have been quite different. Much suffering and blood shed could have been avoided. But Mountbatten wanted to be the hero, who solved the Indian problem, and the result was the dead line of 15th August 1947. Partition of India became a reality, and the creation of Pakistan with mass migration led to bloody riots and terrible suffering for millions on both sides.

Gandhiji stood like a beacon light bringing peace and sanity wherever he went. Instances of his work in Calcutta, Noakhali and Bihar illustrated his ability to bring about change of heart among the fighting Hindus and Muslims through his own self-suffering, and establishment of peace between the two communities.

His effectiveness, and total dedication to peace and non-violence to bring about sanity and change of heart among the fighting Hindus and Muslims through his own self-suffering, was not acceptable to certain communal-minded Hindu sections, and as a result of that Gandhiji became the victim of the three bullets of Godse while on his way to prayers on 30th January 1948. With God's name on his lips he made a perfect exit and thus ended a perfect life.

The youth of India will greatly benefit by reading Ravindra Varma's book which is in three parts. Part-I gives the narrative of Gandhiji's life. Part-II consists of a series of anecdotes from Gandhiji's life. Part-III concentrates on his philosophy of life, the development of his concept of Satyagraha based on truth and non-violence as the law of life. The discovery of Satyagraha provided the remedy to the weak and strong alike to fight injustice and get back their legitimate rights from the oppressor without causing bitterness or enmity. Satyagraha he showed, leads to winning over the opponent so that he willingly gives up the path of injustice, and mutual differences are settled by change of heart.

Gandhiji's death of January 30th, 1948, shocked the whole world and sanity prevailed in India for quite some time. There were no reprisals or killings by Hindus or Muslims of one another as was feared. His martyrdom made India and Pakistan to turn the search light inward at that time.

Gandhiji's teachings, however, are still to become a part and parcel of India's way of thinking and solving the problems of communalism, poverty and unemployment. The downtrodden are still to get justice, and peace and prosperity have yet to reach all. We need opportunities for development for all and there has to be an end to the exploitation of the weak by the strong.

We have a long way to go to eradicate poverty, un-employment, illiteracy and exploitation. We can do so only by going back to Gandhiji's message of Satyagraha and sustainable development by using human hands and tools to supplement their strength.

May God give us the wisdom to choose the right path. Pursuit of power by itself is not going to end our problems. Pursuit of service of the weak by the strong and putting an end to corruption and exploitation of the weak by the strong with a firm hand alone can and will do so. Similarly we must avoid machines which make human hands mere cogs in the machine and take away all joy of creativity which is the reward of making things with one's own hands making use of tools where necessary. Gandhiji's favourite example was the Singer Sewing machine which takes away drudgery but not the joy of creativity.

A study of Gandhiji's message can show us the right path, and Ravindra Varma's three books can prove very helpful to the youth of India. I have narrated above the message of the 1st book. Book 3 concentrates on the implications and application of Gandhian technique and the ideology of Satyagraha, non-violence, non-cooperation and the importance of bringing about change of heart in the opponent through self-sufferings

Book 2 narrates several anecdotes that illustrate the way Bapu dealt with problems, which are very interesting.

I congratulate Ravindra Varma for the service he has rendered to the younger generation in India by writing these three books and hope they will be widely read and their message understood and accepted by our people.

Sevagram

June 19, 2000

**Dr. SushilaNayar**

## INTRODUCTION

While Gandhi was alive, he was often described as a Mahatma. Some hailed him as a prophet. But he was quite emphatic and even stern in declining to accept such descriptions. He laid no claims to Mahatmaship. He repeatedly declared that he was not a prophet; that he had no religion to found. When he was asked whether he intended to found a sect he declared with characteristic humour that his ambition was not so limited. He wanted to convert the whole of humanity to his view. Asked to define what he claimed to be, Gandhi's answer was that he was a Satyagrahi, he was a seeker after Truth. His ambition, his goal, was to be a true Satyagrahi. He defined Satyagraha as insistence on Truth and the force that is derived from such insistence.

To him, Truth was God. On more than one occasion, he declared that he worshipped no God other than Truth. He explained how and why he had come to the conclusion that seeing and describing Truth as God was more accurate and more comprehensive than describing God as Truth. He did not believe in any personal God. The quest for Truth was the quest for God; and Truth-realization was God-realization or self-realization. Satyagraha was, therefore, the highest goal that a human being could pursue. In fact, human life was meaningless unless it was devoted to the pursuit of Truth as God and for the praxis or *Sadhana* that was essential for the triumph, and the regime of Truth in one, and around one.

To Gandhi, therefore, Satyagraha was both the end, and the means to achieve the end. Since the force it depended upon was the force that is inherent in Truth, and since the realization of Truth or God is the essence of the spiritual effort, Satyagraha was a spiritual exercise, or *Sadhana*. Its base was spiritual; its nature was spiritual; and so its effect had to be spiritual if it was pursued with diligence, and in the true spirit.

It was a method of purification – purification of oneself, and others including those who considered themselves adversaries – cleansing all concerned of untruth, violence and the seeds of injustice, and aggrandizement.

The force of Truth on which Satyagraha depends thus is a spiritual force. In fact Gandhi claimed that his goal in life was to demonstrate that even the mightiest material force could be made to bend before the force of the spirit. Both Truth and love – which Gandhi has described as two sides of same coin are manifestations of the force of the spirit. The source of the power of Satyagraha is, therefore, spiritual. All those who want to understand or practise Satyagraha have, therefore, to understand its spiritual base. This tract is an attempt to review the spiritual base, what Romain Rolland termed the crypt of Gandhi's beliefs.

I know that the review presented in these pages is not as comprehensive or as lucid as it should be. I deeply regret that I myself could not do more to what I wrote. I hope readers will forgive me for any inadequacies or ambiguities they perceive. I do believe, however, that I have not been guilty of misrepresentation, and that is the reason I make bold to offer the tract to the readers.

**Ravindra Varma**

## The Spiritual Basis of Satyagraha

Gandhi has often been described as a 'man of God'. Some have called him a religious person. Some have preferred to call him a spiritual person.

A spiritual person need not necessarily be a person who believes in God. The Buddha is an example of a person of undisputed spiritual eminence who was 'spiritual', and yet not a believer in God. On the other hand, a person who staunchly believes in a religion, and in God as understood by the religion, need not necessarily be a person of spiritual eminence. A person may become the head or leader of a religious community by ascending a hierarchy, or even through dynastic succession. That does not necessarily make him a spiritual person or spiritual leader.

What is it then that entitles a person to be described as spiritual? Any person who believes in the primacy of the body and the pleasures of the body, and believes that there is nothing that has higher value than the material conditions that relate to these, who believes that everything related to one ends with death cannot be described as a spiritual person. Anyone who believes that there is something in the human being that survives death, and therefore perhaps precedes birth; that this something is higher than the body and the pleasures of the body; that this something has to be identified through the use of all the unique powers of the human being; and who therefore believes that the true purpose or use of life is to identify this principle and engage in achieving the fullest development of its powers, can be described as a spiritual person. If this distinction can be accepted, Gandhi can certainly be described as a spiritual person.

It is true that Gandhi was actively engaged in dealing with problems that related to the material conditions of life. But he has spared no effort to explain that his activities in the mundane or material fields of life were only meant to serve his spiritual goals, and to prove that even problems that one faced in one's day to day life could be solved only with means that were consistent with the principles and methods that ruled in the realm of spiritual endeavour. In

fact, he claimed that whatever competence or power he had acquired to deal with material conditions and problems had come to him from his spiritual practices.<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi spoke of God, religion and the spiritual path. But since these terms have different flavours, he did not want to leave anyone in doubt about his understanding of these words. Gandhi's faith in God was total and unshakeable. But to him, God was not a person.<sup>2</sup> Truth, and truth alone, was his God.<sup>3</sup> He believed in religion, but to him true religion was not exclusive. It was not a set of catechisms and rituals. It was not a hermetically sealed house. He believed that true religion transcended denominations.<sup>4</sup> He believed that those who wanted to tread the spiritual path could not ignore or shun fields of mundane activity. Thus, there was something unique about Gandhi's perceptions of God, religion and the spiritual path. Perhaps the uniqueness of his perceptions of religion and the spiritual path, arose from his perception of God.

One way of looking at the spiritual element in Gandhi's personality may be to begin by looking at his perception of God. Another may be to start by enquiring into the spiritual element in the impact that Gandhi had on individuals and masses of people.

Let us begin by looking at the impact that he had on others. First let us look at the instances of a few persons who came in close contact with him, and examine their testimony. We will look at a few instances from among Gandhi's friends and admirers, and a few from those who may be described as belonging to the other side.

We begin with the Rev. Doke (an Englishman) who was one of Gandhi's close colleagues in his early days in South Africa:

1. "Our Indian friend lives on a higher plane than most men do. But those who know him well are ashamed of themselves in his presence. He is one of those outstanding characters with whom to talk is a liberal education, whom to know is to love." (J. Doke: A Patriot in South Africa, p. 13)

2. "I can tell you that a purer, a nobler, a braver and a more exalted spirit has never moved on this earth. He has in him the marvellous spiritual power to turn ordinary men around him into heroes and martyrs. In my life I have known only two men who have affected me spiritually in the manner that Mr. Gandhi does our great patriarch Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and my late master Mr. Ranade men before whom, not only are we ashamed of doing anything unworthy, but in whose presence our very minds are afraid of thinking anything that is unworthy." (Speech by Shri G. K. Gokhale in December 1912. Quoted by Tendulkar, in *Gandhiji As We Knew Him*. pp. 14-17)
3. "But this man comes naked and unafraid, protected only with the 'shield of faith', armed only with 'the sword of the spirit'. How can such a man be beaten? *Panoplied in cosmic law* (author's emphasis), how can he be overthrown?" (Rev. J. H. Holmes)
4. "You cannot say this is he, that is he. All that you can say with certainty is that he is here, he is there. Everywhere his influence reigns, his authority rules, his elusive personality pervades; and this must be so, for it is true of all great men that they are incalculable, beyond definition." (H.S.L. Polak, colleague who worked with Gandhi in South Africa.)
5. "Neither the natural correctness of conduct nor the consciousness of prestige could keep off the creeping nervousness from him." (the English Judge who presided over the trial of Gandhi at Ahmedabad.) For once in his official life a Civil and District Sessions Judge nodded respectful salutations to a native in the dock before he himself took his seat on the bench. For once were the judicial words of a prison sentence belied by the tributary words of human admiration: "Would I not rather sit at your feet and learn a little of your nobility than send you to jail for six years." (N.C. Kelker: *Incidents in Gandhi's Life*, ed, by C.S. Shukla, p.107)
6. "It would be impossible to ignore that in the eyes of millions of your countrymen you are a great patriot and a great leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of

noble, and of even saintly life...."\* (J. Broomfield, British Judge, while addressing Gandhi who was standing trial before him as a prisoner, at Ahmedabad.)

7. "It was my fate to be the antagonist of a man for whom even then I had the highest respect. His activities at that time were very trying to me. For him everything went according to plan. For me, the defender of law and order, there was the usual trying situation, the odium of carrying out a law which had not strong public support, and finally the discomfiture when the law had to be repealed. For him it was a successful coup. Nor was the personal touch wanting. In jail he had prepared for me a pair of sandals which he presented to me when he was set free. I have worn these sandals for many a summer since then, even though I may feel that I am not worthy to stand in the shoes of so great a man." (General Smuts of South Africa)
8. "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a man as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."(Prof. Albert Einstein)

One could cite the oft-quoted observations of Romain Rolland, Will Durrant, Fenner Brockway, General McArthur and many others.

In every case, in the presence of Gandhi, the person concerned experienced elevation to a 'higher' plane, above ego-centrism and all the compulsions or consequences of ego-centrism, including untruth, suspicion, deceitfulness, designs in defence of self- interest, and so on. The experience could perhaps be described as one that elevated the person to the higher realm of transparency and egolessness.

The effect that Gandhi had on the Indian masses, or his followers in South Africa, was similar. He was able to wean them from pursuing self-interest at the cost of human dignity. By arousing in them the readiness to undergo physical suffering for an ideal, (outside of their 'self') or for Truth or human dignity, he raised them from a mental state of body-centrism, to ideal-centrism. The method that Gandhi placed before the masses was one which empowered them, or enabled them to discover the power that lay dormant in

them. To discover, activate and deploy this power, they had to rise above sloth and selfishness, to cultivate courage, to be ready to undergo physical suffering, to sacrifice material possessions, to distinguish the evil from the evil-doer or the doer from the deed; to refrain from hating or inflicting harm on those who were guilty of tyranny and injustice; and to observe exemplary self-restraint. These qualities elevated the collective consciousness of the people, – to a realm that was morally and spiritually superior to the one in which they were before he came on the scene, and to which they relapsed, after his influence ceased...<sup>5</sup>

Gandhi has not left any room for doubt about his goals or objectives in life. He had only one goal or ambition in life, and that was spiritual.<sup>6</sup> He did not seek the kingdom or heaven or even a better rebirth. His only desire was to end the suffering of others. And he believed that he could generate the power to do so, only by achieving self-realization or *moksha*. "What I want to achieve – what I have been striving and pining to achieve all these thirty years is self-realization, to see God face to face, to attain *moksha*. I live and move, and have my being in pursuit of this goal. All that I do by way of speaking and writing, and all my ventures in the political field are directed to this same end." (M. K. Gandhi: p. xix - Introduction to *My Autobiography*)

Now let us turn to the uniqueness of the path that he chose for his spiritual evolution or self-realization (*sadhana*). The general pattern that we have seen is that of the aspirant renouncing or leaving the world of mundane activity, insulating himself from the temptations and responsibilities of the mundane world, repairing to the penance grove or the cloister or the wilderness to pursue his spiritual practices, and in some cases, returning after the attainment of self-realization or God-realization, to transmit the knowledge or vision that he had come by, or the Gospel that he had heard, to those who were still steeped in the mundane.

Gandhi did not believe in withdrawing from the world of everyday life to devote himself to spiritual practices.<sup>6A</sup> To him, religion had no meaning, and nouse, if it was only meant to benefit the human being when he went to some

other world.<sup>7</sup> Gandhi did not believe that there were two worlds, one here, and another somewhere else.<sup>8</sup> To him, there was only one world, and religion had to benefit human beings in this world.<sup>8A</sup>

This was a world in which the human being had no escape from action.

"A marvellous verse in the Gita (III-5) lays down a law which physicists have shown is universal in application. It may be translated thus: "No one can remain even for a moment without doing work. Work here means motion of inanimate as well as animate beings. It is characteristic of human beings that they may obey this law in a selfless spirit." (MD 32/1/306.)

Every moment therefore confronts a human being with the need to act.

Every action has its consequences. No human being therefore can escape the consequences of his action. Even inaction has its consequences. Thus the human being has no escape from the consequences of his action or inaction. He, therefore, needs a code that could help him to determine his course of action. This code can flow only from the knowledge of the Supreme Law that governs the Universe. One had to know the Law because the Law was unalterable, and its effect was inexorable.<sup>8b</sup> To Gandhi, this Law was the law of cause and effect.

Thus, every moment, every demand for action is a challenge as well as an opportunity. The human being can either act according to the Supreme Law or act in defiance of it. In either case he will have no escape from the consequences of his action.<sup>9</sup> He is on trial. If he chooses to act according to the Law he will make progress, and the results he achieves will endure. If he does not, he will fail and regress; the edifice that he erects will be shaky, and will eventually crash. Every mundane act, therefore, could be, and should be, made a spiritual act, by conforming to the Supreme Law, even if one is only concerned with results. Gandhi, therefore, believed that a seeker after Truth or one who sought spiritual progress could not afford to ignore or exclude any aspect of life from his field of concern and action.

Gandhi went further, and believed that "real and lasting purity of mind can only be attained through continuous work." (MD. 32-1.306). In answer to critics he said: "You seem to think that external action leaves little time for a review of mental purification. But my experience is just the reverse of it. Without mental purity, external action cannot be performed in a selfless spirit. Therefore mental purity can be measured in terms of the purity of external action. One who tries to attain mental purity without purifying external action runs the risk of going astray."

There was yet another reason that convinced Gandhi that he could not disengage from the mundane world. He believed that the Law that governed the Universe was sovereign. It had therefore to hold good in every realm, the realm of the spirit as well as the realm of the mundane. One who wanted to find the law and live by it could not therefore ignore or withdraw from any field of human activity. In every field, he had to look for, and apply the spiritual law.<sup>10</sup> He could not do this if he withdrew from everyday life or the problems or activities of everyday life," if he thought that any field was extraneous to the pursuit of the Law or Truth. .

Another unique element in Gandhi's spiritual effort (*sadhana*) was its transparency. He conducted his *sadhana* under the gaze of the public. Most of his acts were performed under the watchful eye of the public, with newspapers reporting every move and every reaction. There was nothing hidden from the public, nothing that the public did not know. As for his thoughts, he incessantly wrote about what he thought and felt, and why he did or did not do something. He wrote in his Weeklies or in the newspapers, confessing what he thought were deviations or lapses from the standards that he had set for himself. He wrote of his dreams,<sup>12</sup> and examined how far they showed that he had not yet reached where he wanted to reach. These public confessions ensured complete transparency. On the one hand, they ensured that he was not sailing under false colours, dissembling, or benefiting from an untruthful image of himself. On the other, they made common people realize that they too could overcome their weaknesses as Gandhi was doing. Gandhi's spiritual effort (*sadhana*) was

therefore unique in that it enabled others to follow every step by which he was struggling to accomplish the ascent. He chose to do his penance in a glass-house watched by others.<sup>12A</sup> It could not be otherwise because the God that he was seeking was Truth. Truth did not need secrecy to survive. It was untruth that needed secrecy that needed the mask of Truth to survive. Truth and secrecy were therefore antithetical. One who sought Truth could not do so through means that were secret. One could not be truthful without being transparent. Since transparency was a characteristic of the resultant state that one was seeking, the causal method that one adopted had also to be consistent with the character of the resultant state.

We will now turn to Gandhi's perception of religion. He described religion as the science of the soul.<sup>13</sup> He did not think that a religious temperament was inconsistent with the scientific temper. To him, a truly religious quest had to follow the scientific method which uses observation, logic and insight, and bases itself on empirical as well as experiential evidence.<sup>14</sup> He believed that in the age of science, every religious belief had to stand the test of reason<sup>15</sup> and empirical or experiential evidence.

Even in the early years of his spiritual life in South Africa, he distinguished between formal, denominational or customary religion, and basic or true religion. Explaining his perception, he said, "Let me explain what I mean by religion. It is not the Hindu religion which I certainly prize above all other religions, but the religion which transcends Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and others, which changes one's very nature, which binds one indissolubly to the truth within, and which ever purifies. It is the permanent element in human nature which counts no cost too great in order to find full expression and which leaves the soul utterly restless until it has found itself, known its maker, and appreciated the true correspondence between the maker and itself."<sup>16</sup>

Thus, his perception of religion is not denominational. It transcends the contextual and denominational. It is what discovers the truth within, purifies one of the negativities that prevent the vision of the truth within, and consequently changes one's nature, and commits one irrevocably to the pursuit

of this Truth. Gandhi could therefore describe himself as a Hindu, Christian, Buddhist, and a follower of all religions.

It may be useful here to look at another of Gandhi's formulations about his perception of religion. In answer to a set of questions from Dr. Radhakrishnan, Gandhi said, "My religion is Hinduism, which for me, is the religion of humanity, and includes the best of all religions known to me.... I am being led to my religion through Truth and Non-violence, i.e. *love in the broadest sense* (author's emphasis). I often describe *my religion as the religion of truth*; of late, instead of saying God is Truth, I have been saying Truth is God, in order more fully to define my religion.... We are all sparks of truth. The sum total of these sparks is the indescribable, as yet unknown truth, which is God.... To be true to such religion, one has to lose oneself in the continuing service of all life. Religion or Truth [mark that he equates religion with Truth - author] is impossible without a complete merging of oneself in, or identification with the limitless ocean of life."<sup>17</sup> If religion is the science of the soul, the quest for Truth, and the pursuit of a life that leads one to Truth, what is Gandhi's perception of God?

We must begin by pointing out that Gandhi's faith in God was total. It was the very basis of his life. "I am surer of His existence than of the fact that you and I are sitting in this room. Then I can also testify that I may live without air and water, but not without Him.... Blast my belief in God, and I am dead." (*Harijan*, 14.5.1938). Gandhi felt intense anguish at his separation from God. "It is an unbroken torture to me that I am still so far from Him, who, as I fully know, governs every breath of my life, and whose offspring I am. I know it is the evil passions in me that keep me so far from Him." (Introduction to *Autobiography*).

Gandhi longed for God. He could feel God's presence everywhere. All activity in every field therefore was only an effort to find Him and cling to Him. Yet, in spite of describing his longing and his sense of torment at separation, Gandhi explained repeatedly, that he did not believe that God was a person. To him, God was an Unseen Power, a living force, the sovereign Law that governed the

Universe, the Power or Force that informed everything and held the world together; God is Truth, love, conscience, Dharma.<sup>18</sup>

"I do dimly perceive that while everything around is ever changing, ever dying, there is underlying all that changes, a living power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves and recreates. That informing power or spirit is God." (*Harijan*, 10.8.1941)

But, as we saw earlier, in Gandhi's perception, this living power is not a person. It is present everywhere, in every form. Therefore, it is formless or not imprisoned in any one form. It is in everything. Therefore it is nameless. It is the principle, the law, the force that forms, dissolves and governs everything. He, therefore, came to the conclusion that it would be more correct to say, 'Truth is God' than to say "God is Truth". Truth is omnipresent, omnipotent, omniscient.

Let us look at the way Gandhi describes how he arrived at this conclusion: "You have asked me why I consider that God is Truth. In my early youth, I was taught to repeat what in Hindu scriptures are known as one thousand names of God. But these one thousand names of God were by no means exhaustive. We believe, and I think it is the truth, that God has as many names as there are creatures and, therefore, we also say God is nameless, and since God has many forms we also consider Him formless. I would say with those who say God is love, God is love. But deep down in me, I used to say that though God may be love, God is Truth, above all. I have come to the conclusion that for myself, God is Truth. But two years ago, I went a step further and said that Truth is God. You will see the fine distinction between the two statements, viz. that God is Truth, and Truth is God. And I came to the conclusion after a continuous and relentless search after Truth which began nearly 50 years ago." (*Young India*, 1.12.1931)

Gandhi was therefore keen that those who wanted to understand his perception of God should clearly understand the distinction. He was eager to ensure that even the little children under his care in the Ashram understood this difference (right from the beginning). This is clear from one of the letters that he wrote

to the children: "Do you remember my definition of God? Instead of saying that God is Truth, I say that Truth is God. This was not always clear to me. I realized it only four years ago, but *my conduct has been unconsciously based on that realization*, (italics for emphasis). I have known God only as Truth. There was a time when I had doubt about the existence of God, but I never doubted the existence of Truth. This Truth is not something material, but pure intelligence. This is for one almost a matter of experience. I say almost, because I have not seen Truth face to face. I have only had glimpses of it. But my faith is indomitable (*Young India*, 21.3.1932)

The fact that Gandhi explained (emphasized) the distinction in answer to questions at a meeting with believers and intellectuals in Lausanne (1931) and also to the little children of the Ashram should be regarded as sufficient evidence of the importance that he attached to the implications of the refinement in his perception of God. Yet there are some persons who either do not understand the distinction or want to slur over it, since they would want to believe that Gandhi's perception of God was identical with or similar to their own perceptions. Perhaps Gandhi himself was aware of the possibility. He, therefore, made it clear that when he insisted that a Satyagrahi should have faith in God (that faith in God was an essential qualification for a Satyagrahi) he was not suggesting that the Satyagrahi should have the same perception of God as Gandhi himself had: "For a Satyagrahi has no other stay but God. But far be it from me to suggest that you should believe in the God that I believe in. May be your definition is different from mine, but your belief in that God must be your ultimate mainstay. It may be some Supreme Power or some being even undefinable, but belief in it is indispensable." (*Harijan*, 3.6.1939)

Those who are hesitant or reluctant to accept the full import of Gandhi's belief that God is not a person often enter a caveat. If Gandhi really did not believe in a personal God, if he really did not believe that God is a person, why did he take the name of Rama, and talk of Ramaraj? Why did he talk of seeing God 'face to face'?

Some scholars have tried to argue that Gandhi believed in a personal God, viz. Rama, as well as an impersonal God. This view is untenable. For one thing one cannot believe that God is impersonal as well as personal. What Gandhi has said is that "God was a person to those who believed in a personal God. But as far as he (Gandhi) himself was concerned, he did not believe that God was a person. Scholars who argue that Gandhi believed in a personal God as well as an impersonal God base themselves on Gandhi's "faith" in Rama or Ramnama. We will examine this question in detail in a subsequent paragraph.

First of all, let us point out that Gandhi did not deny anyone the freedom to think of God as a person.

"I do not regard God as a person. Truth for me is God..." (*Harijan*, 23.3.1940)

"To me God is Truth and Love. He is a personal God to those who need His touch." (*Young India*, 5.3.1925)

To those who asked him how he could hope to see God 'face to face' his answer was: "In the phrase, 'seeing God face to face' is not to be taken literally. It is a matter of decided feeling. God is formless. He can therefore only be seen by spiritual sight." Thus it is to the spiritual eye that 'God' appears, not to the physical eye that sees physical form. That Gandhi did not depend on the visualization of a physical form for God, or a physical form in which God appears was made clear by him as early as 1924.

"All true Art must help the soul to realize its inner self. In my own case, I find that I can do entirely without external forms in my soul's realization." (*Young India*, 13.11.1924).

Thus even a few days before his death Gandhi reiterated his belief: "God is not a person. No one can describe Him as no one has seen Him. He is the Law and the Law giver combined into one. The author of the Vedas, after the profoundest search has described Him as *Neti, Neti*." (*Harijan*, 16.6.1946)

Let us then go back to the question of 'Rama' and 'Krishna'. Gandhi says: "My Rama, the Rama of our prayers is not the historical Rama, the son of Dasharatha, the King of Ayodhya. He is the eternal, the unborn, the One

without a second (reminiscent of the Gita's description of the soul: *Ajo Nitya Sthanurachaloyam Santana*). Him alone I worship. His aid alone I seek, and so should you."

It was pointed out to him that in the *dhun* or refrain that was being sung in the course of the prayer at the Ashram everyday there were specific references to Rama and Sita.

"*Question:* You have often said that when you talk of Rama, you refer to the ruler of the Universe and not to Rama, the son of Dasharatha. But we find that your Ramadhun calls on 'Sita Rama', 'Raja Rama', and it ends with 'victory to Rama, the Lord of Sita'. Who is this Rama if not the son of the King of Ayodhya?

*Answer:* I have answered such questions before. But there is something new in this one. It demands a reply. In Ramadhun, 'Raja Rama', 'Sita Rama' are undoubtedly repeated. Is not this Rama the same as the son of Dasharatha? Tulsidas has answered this question. But let me put down my own view. Much more potent than Rama is the Name.... Thousands of people look doubtless upon Rama and Krishna as Historical figures, and literally believe that God came down in person on earth in the form of Rama, the son of Dasharatha, and by worshipping Him one can attain, salvation. The same thing holds good about Krishna. History, imagination and truth have got so inextricably mixed up. It is next to impossible to disentangle them. I have accepted all the names and forms attributed to God, as *symbols* connoting *one formless omnipresent Rama*, (italics authoer's) To me, therefore, Rama described as the Lord of Sita, son of Dasharatha, is the *all powerful essence* (italics authoer's) whose name inscribed in the heart, removes all suffering – mental, moral and physical." (*Harijan*, 2.6.1946)

Gandhi believed that the human being had within himself elements that were common to him and the animal; elements that were unique to man; and elements of the divine, of what the human being could evolve into.

To those who still entertained doubts, Gandhi explained further that there was a process of evolution in the perception, from Rama as a historical or legendary

person to Rama as a symbolic name of the all-powerful omnipresent force or essence. In this sense, or for this purpose, any name could be used as a symbol.

"I worshipped Rama or Sita's husband in the first instance, but as my knowledge and experience of Him grew, my Rama became immortal and omnipresent. This does not mean that Rama ceased to be Sita's husband; but the meaning of Sita's husband expanded with the vision of Rama. This is how the world evolves. Rama cannot become omnipresent for the man who regards him merely as the son of Dasharath. When we acquire true understanding, the little self perishes and God becomes all in all. Rama then is and is not the son of Dasharatha, the husband of Sita and yet is God, the unborn and eternal." (*Harijan*, 22.9.1946)

Before looking at Gandhi's perception of Rama or Ramanama as a symbol that represents one's perception of God or Truth, it may be useful to refer to his view on 'incarnation'. Since Gandhi did not believe in a personal God, residing somewhere, in a world other than the one in which we live, he could not believe that God incarnates himself and comes to our world. "God is not a person. To affirm that He descends to earth every now and then and again in the form of a human being is a partial truth which *merely* (emphasis – author's) signifies that such a person lives near to God. Inasmuch as God is omnipresent, He dwells within every human being, and all may, therefore, be said to be incarnations of Him. But this leads us nowhere. Rama, Krishna, etc. *are called incarnations of God because we attribute divine qualities to them. In truth they are creations of man's imagination,* (italics author's) whether they actually lived or not does not affect the picture of them in men's minds. The Rama and Krishna of history often present difficulties which have to be overcome by all manner of arguments." (*Harijan*, 22.6.1947)

In fact, one can hold that Gandhi believed more in the possibility of transforming human nature into something close to the nature of the divine than in the divine or God incarnating into a human form; more in the 'ascent' of man to a realm of divine qualities than in the 'descent' of a personal God into human form. 'To reaffirm that He descends to earth every now and then and

again in the form of a human being is a partial truth which only signifies that such a person lives near to God." (p.52, *Harijan*, 22.6.1947)

Let us now turn to 'Ramanama'. Here we have to take note of: (1) the distinction that Gandhi made between Rama as a historical person and 'Ramanama' or the name of Rama, as a symbolic formula, as well as (2) the power that Gandhi saw in *Namajapa* – or the repetition of the name with devotion and faith.

Firstly, inasmuch as an incarnation is the manifestation of the divine in a context and a specific form, it is a manifestation with limitations (one who believes in a personal God may be self-imposed or self-determined). If the name is considered a symbol of the divine, it does not suffer from limitations of form, time, manifestation, disappearance and the like. This is because, in a sense, the proper name ceases to be a proper name, and becomes a symbol of the one without limitations, of which the person with the proper name is only a part. A symbol stands for something; but the symbol itself is not the 'something' that it symbolizes. Thus Gandhi says he accepts all the names given to God as symbols, and the symbols have a meaning that is not diminished by the limitations of a particular form or time or manifestation.

"But let me put down my view. More potent than Rama is the Name.... I have accepted all the names, and forms attributed to God, *as symbols connoting the formless omnipotent Rama.*" (emphasis author's) (*Harijan*, 2.6.1946) In further explanation he says: "I must repeat for the thousandth time that Ramanama is one of the many names for God.... It is conceived as a mode of addressing the all-pervasive God known to me, as to millions of Hindus, by the familiar name of Ramanama. *Nama at the end of Rama* is the most significant part. It means *Nama* without the Rama of history." (italics - author's) (*Harijan*, 18.8.1946)

Now let us turn to Gandhi's perception of the power of 'Ramanama' or the name of God. He believed that, the repetition of the name with faith and devotion generated a power that protected the mind of the one who recited the name. In this sense, therefore, since the *nama* or name was not the same as the proper name of a historical person, it acquired a quality similar to that of a

'*mantra*' or a symbolic sound used as part of a spiritual exercise or endeavour. Gandhi recalls how he was afraid of ghosts in his childhood, and how his nurse Rambha taught him to recite Ramanama, or the name of Rama as a protection from ghosts and evil spirits. "I was afraid of ghosts. She used to say to me: 'There are no ghosts, but if you are afraid, repeat Ramanama.' What I learnt in my childhood has become a huge thing in my mental firmament.... A Christian may find the same solace from the repetition of the name of Jesus, and a Muslim from the name of Allah. *All these things have the same implications and they produce identical results under identical circumstances.*" (emphasis - author's) (*Harijan*, 5.12.1936)

Two things are clear from this statement of Gandhi's – One, any name of 'God', like Rama, or Allah, depending on which one the mind has accepted as a symbolic word for God, will have the same effect. Two, these have to be looked upon as spiritually symbolic sounds, (symbolic sounds in the realm of spiritual practice). In this sense, they acquire the characteristics of a '*mantra*'. "There are as many names of God as His manifestations, but sages have, as a result of their life long penance, devised names to be uttered by the devotees, in order to be able to commune with the nameless. *There are other mantras than Ramanama, but for me that is Supreme....* (Emphasis author's) (*Harijan*, 17.8.1934)

Now we turn to the significance of the repetition of Ramanama or its equivalent as a *mantra*. Gandhi believed that the power or potential of some of these *mantras* like Ramanama had been identified by spiritual practitioners on the basis of their vision and experience. They were therefore like algebraic formulae arrived at through research and experimentation, and verification of effect. Explaining the effect of *namajapa* (repetition of the name) Gandhi says: "*Namajapa* cleanses the heart thus: A person who repeats the name with a pure heart does so with faith. He begins with the resolve that *namajapa* will purify his heart.... What is on his lips will ultimately possess his heart and purify him. Such experience is universal, and knows no exception. Psychologists are also of opinion that as a man thinks so he becomes. Ramanama conforms to this rule. I

have firm faith in *namajapa*. Discovery of *namajapa* was born out of experience and understanding, and is of utmost importance. The doors of purity should be open even to the unlettered, and *namajapa* will unlock them." (M. K. Gandhi *The Essence of Hinduism*, p. 198)

Gandhi was aware that his faith in *namajapa* might be condemned as superstition. He answered sceptics and said that he was speaking from experience – his own and that of others: "Repetitions when they are not mechanical produce marvellous results. Thus I do not regard the rosary as a superstition." (*Harijan*, 6.4.1940) "Am I propagating a new variety of superstition? ...God is not a person. He is the all pervading, all powerful spirit. Anyone who bears Him in his heart has accession of marvellous force of energy comparable in its results to physical forces like steam or electricity, but much more subtle." "Ramanama was not like black magic. It had to be taken with all that it symbolized. He likened it to a mathematical formula which sums up in brief the results of endless research and experimentation. Mere mechanical repetition of Ramanama could not give strength. For that, one had to understand and live up to the conditions attaching to its recitation. To take God's name one must live a Godly life." (*Harijan*, 14.7.1946) (From weekly letter by Pyarelal)

We have seen Gandhi explain that the effect of *namajapa* is not like black magic. On another occasion Gandhi explained that the effect of Ramanama or *namajapa* was not like that of chemical or medical formulae. To explain the difference, he gave the example of quinine. He pointed out that the effect of quinine would be the same on one who believes in its power, and also on one who did not. That was not the case with Ramanama or *namajapa*. In the case of *namajapa*, the power or effect came from faith, and the power that faith generated in the mind. Explaining this difference at a meeting of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, in 1939, Gandhi says: "Now the *charkha*. For me, the *charkha* is the symbol of non-violence. Its base, as I have already told you is the power of faith (*sankalpa*). It is the same with Ramanama. There is no independent power in Ramanama. It is not a pill of quinine. Whether one believes in it (quinine) or

not, it works equally, whether 'A' is afflicted with malaria or 'B' is afflicted. It destroys the bacteria of malaria, wherever it may be found. Ramanama does not have such independent power. A *mantra* acquires power from the power of *sankalpa* (imagination). For me Gayatri is a *mantra*. I have visualized it as the door to liberation. For the Muslim, his Kalama is *the mantra*. There is difference between my reading the Kalma and a Muslim reading the Kalma. If the Muslim reads the Kalma, he evolves a different person because he has faith that that is the way to his liberation. (Address to Gandhi Seva Sangh, 5.5.1939). What Gandhi calls a fine distinction is also a revolutionary distinction. When one identifies Truth, and Truth alone, as God, many corollaries or implications become evident.

1. God is not a person outside or apart from the system or the Universe. ("I do not regard God as a person" *Harijan*, 23.3.1940) "But God is not a Power residing in the clouds. God is an unseen Power residing within us...." (*Selections from Gandhi*, N. K. Bose, p.7)
2. Truth, which is God, is simultaneously omnipresent.
3. This Truth determines the nature of the Universe and all phenomena.
4. Truth therefore is the Law of the Universe, or the Law that governs the Universe.
5. This Law is not a Law of annihilation or destruction, but one that governs formation, cohesion and transformation. It therefore provides for change and continuity. If it had been one of destruction, the world would have come to an end long ago.<sup>19</sup>
6. The Law is sovereign. "My own experience has led me to the knowledge that the fullest life is impossible without an immovable belief in a Living Law in obedience to which the whole Universe moves." (*Harijan*, 25.4.1936)
7. There cannot be two sovereign Laws that are parallel.
8. It follows that all other laws are subsidiary and supplementary or complementary. They cannot be parallel or contrary to the sovereign Law.

9. The Law that rules in the higher realm must therefore be valid in the lower realm as well.<sup>20</sup> If any law made by man, conflicted with the higher Law he should ignore the lower law to conform to the higher law.
10. Since the realm of the spirit is the highest realm, the Law that governs in the spiritual sphere is equally valid at the lower or mundane level as well. "I do not believe that the spiritual law works in a field of its own. On the contrary, it expresses itself only through the ordinary activities of life. It thus affects the economic, social and political fields."<sup>21</sup>
11. The same sovereign Law therefore rules over the spiritual and mundane spheres; the individual and society; the part and the whole. If separate laws governed the part and the whole, the part would cease to belong to the whole, or and the whole would lose its identity without the part or parts.  
  
All that one sees in the world animate as well as inanimate is subject to the Law. Every part of the universe is subject to the Law even if it is unaware of the Law.
12. Man is a part that is conscious. He, therefore, has the ability, and the duty to understand the symbiotic relationship between the part and the whole. He can also understand that any departure from the conditions of this relationship will be untenable and ruinous.
13. The Law, the law-giver and the executor (the power that enforces the Law) are all one, or 'rolled into'one.<sup>22</sup>
14. There is therefore no question of a revision of the Law or the right of revision being reserved, or exemption or immunity being granted from the Law or its effects.<sup>23</sup>
15. In other words, the law of cause and effect that governs the Universe is inexorable.<sup>24</sup>

As we have seen, Gandhi believed that the higher law revealed itself in all spheres, and governed every sphere. A human being can decipher it if he/she makes the attempt and becomes a fit instrument to perceive it. Gandhi says: "If

any action of mine claimed to be spiritual is proved to be impractical, it must be pronounced to be a failure. I do believe that the most spiritual act is also the most practical act in the true sense of the term." (*Mind of Mahatma Gandhi* Rao & Prabhu, p.8)

Thus it follows that one who seeks Truth or *Dharma* or God (a man of religion) has to seek Truth or *Dharma* in all fields,<sup>25</sup> and work in conformity with it; there is no field that is exempt, or an exception to the law that works in the realm of the spirit. "I believe that from its very nature *Dharma* embraces economic, political and other fields. The *Dharma* that is opposed to economics, is no religion – nor that which is opposed to true politics."<sup>26</sup> Further, "there is no such thing as *Dharma* unrelated to economic and other activities. Individuals and society both survive through *Dharma*, and perish without it."<sup>27</sup> "To a person whose life is dedicated to *Dharma*, politics or economics are all aspects of *Dharma*, and he cannot leave out any of them."<sup>28</sup> Gandhi therefore said that his ambition was to make all aspects of life "*Dharma-maya*."<sup>29</sup> (consistent with or imbued with *Dharma*.)

This takes us to the crucial question: How does one decipher or identify Truth or the Law? Gandhi admits that this is a very difficult question. "But I have solved it for myself by saying that it is what the voice within tells you." Two questions arise. How do you train yourself to hear the voice within? Secondly, how do you decipher truth when the voices that different people hear from within are contradictory or discordant? We will revert to these questions later.

As has been stated earlier Gandhi believed that every human being had the ability to know the Truth. This ability also casts a responsibility on him to endeavour to discover the Truth. The endeavour calls for total dedication and ceaseless effort. One has to be ready to renounce or steer away from all that distracts, to consecrate all one's mental and physical energy to the relentless pursuit of Truth. Truth is a jealous God. As we have already seen, Gandhi believed that the quest for truth had to follow the scientific method. He described religion as the 'science of the soul'. As in the case of other sciences, this science too had its own discipline, and its own system of training for the

seeker. "Just as for conducting scientific experiments there is an indispensable scientific course of instruction, in the same way, strict preliminary discipline is necessary to qualify a person to make experiments in the spiritual realm. Everyone should therefore realize his limitations before he speaks of his inner voice. Therefore, we have the belief based on experience, that those who would make individual search after truth as God, must go through several vows, as for instance the vow of truth, the vow of *brahmacharya*, – for you cannot possibly divide your love for Truth and God with anything else – the vow of nonviolence, of poverty and non-possession. Unless you impose on yourself the five vows, you may not embark on the experiment at all." (*Young India*, 31.12.1931)

In other words, if you want to be able to listen to the voice within, you have to be able to silence the deafening and clamorous voices of the senses and the ego, and the temptations they offer.

Gandhi did not believe in any creed that would not or could not subject itself to scientific investigation and verification through the processes of observation and experimentation, logical analysis or the use of reason, and the clinching test of evidence, – empirical or experiential. He repeatedly declared that he had no ambition to found a religion or sect; that he was no prophet; that he would not allow any external authority, including scriptural texts to supersede his understanding based on "trained reason, conscience and morality". "I accept no authority or no Shastra as an infallible guide. Further, I exercise my judgment about every scripture, including the Gita. I cannot let a scriptural text supersede my reason. Whilst I believe that the principal books are inspired, they suffer from a process of double distillation. Firstly, they come through a human prophet, and then through commentaries of interpreters. I cannot surrender my reason whilst I subscribe to divine revelation...."<sup>30</sup>

But this did not mean that Gandhi believed that reason was 'omnipotent'. He saw the power and role of reason as well as the limitations of reason. It could not function in every field. In the field of enquiry on external phenomena, empirical evidence and reason were supreme, and could not be ignored or

substituted by anyone who wanted to identify Truth. But all fields were not amenable to empirical observation and assessment. In these fields, experiential evidence alone was relevant, and could perform the function that empirical evidence performed in any enquiry into external phenomena. Thus Gandhi saw that even as one sense-organ could not substitute or perform for another sense-organ in its field of experience, reason could not substitute other means or instruments of cognition and verification available to the human being. So he said, "The formula, therefore, I have humbly suggested for guidance is rejection of every demand for faith where a matter is capable of present proof, and unquestioned acceptance on faith of that which is incapable of proof except through personal experience."<sup>31</sup>

Very early in life Gandhi felt the call of Truth. He says he felt the "attraction" of Truth. As the years passed, he realized that his only goal in life was to seek and identify Truth, to live in the light of Truth, and to endeavour to ensure that Truth prevailed in his life and his environment. His devotion to Truth was so complete that he was willing to give up everything else – the dearest and nearest of persons and things – to pursue Truth and seek fulfilment in working and struggling for the prevalence of Truth. And his struggles for Truth made him see that a votary of Truth needed one-pointed devotion, the readiness to sacrifice all else, and the determination to stick to the methods of scientific enquiry. The scientist was a seeker after Truth. So was the Satyagrahi, or one who dedicated himself to Truth in its entirety, in its awesome, all-embracing nature. Like the scientist, the Satyagrahi had therefore to follow the methods of unbiassed observation, experimentation, hypothesis or tentative formulations or glimpses of Truth, verification. Like him, the Satyagrahi had to have the readiness to revise formulations in the light of fresh evidence that necessitated revision or the abandonment of old formulations and beliefs. It is this spirit of the scientist that made Gandhi say that the only consistency that he was concerned with was consistency with Truth as he saw it, and not consistency with what he had said or believed earlier to be Truth.<sup>32</sup>

Some critics have tried to caricature Gandhi as anti-science and anti-technology. But most serious students of Gandhi now accept that he was a man of scientific temper, and was devoted to the values of science, and of technology that served human and wholistic values. Yet, even they are not perhaps aware of Gandhi's claim that he had accepted each of his beliefs only after the severest examination of evidence, and on the basis of reflection, reasoned analysis and verification (and that he was willing to give up any of his cherished beliefs if found untenable in the light of evidence or reason).

"It is wrong to call me an ascetic. The ideals that regulate my life are presented for acceptance by mankind in general. I have arrived at them by gradual evolution. *Every step was thought out, well considered and taken with great deliberation.*" (author's emphasis) (*Mind of Mahatma Gandhi*, Prabhu & Rao, p.5)

There is another line of thinking which too leads Gandhi to the same conclusion. The uniqueness of the human mind, heart and will are what distinguishes human beings from other beings. Mind is the ultimate cognizer of Truth. It is the instrument which enables us to perceive Truth. Our ability to see Truth in its fullness, that is, our ability to have a full and perfect vision of Truth, will depend on the effectiveness of the instrument we use, namely the mind. One has to get rid of whatever adversely affects the efficiency of the mind. The attraction and pursuit of sense-related desires and the imperious and subtle demands of the ego adversely affect the efficiency of one's mind. Emotions like attraction and revulsion, anger and affection affect one's mind and distort one's vision. A seeker after truth therefore has to acquire mastery over his mind by acquiring, and abiding in, equanimity. A person who abides in equanimity is the "*sthitaprajna*" visualized in the Gita. He can achieve this state only if he consecrates himself to the pursuit of truth through the five vows that have already been referred to.

This takes us to the second question we raised earlier. If there are many voices how do we recognize the voice of Truth? If different minds have different perceptions, how do we recognize what is true?

Here again, we have to go back to the nature of the human mind. All minds are not at the same point in the graph of spiritual progress or at the same intellectual level. All minds are not at the same level of freedom from the temptations and distortions arising from the senses and the ego. Moreover, the human mind is fallible. The perception one gains may therefore be incomplete and erroneous, or faulty. The perception at any given moment is conditioned or determined by the effectiveness the mind has acquired or possesses at that moment. Thus, perception at a given moment is related to the effectiveness of the mind at that moment, and the vision of Truth that arises at that moment can therefore be called Relative\* Truth. It need not necessarily be the Absolute and Complete Truth, it may be a Relative and partial vision, a non-Absolute and Incomplete Vision. The human being has to proceed from the Relative vision to the perception of the Ultimate and Absolute Truth. Gandhi believed that the human being suffered limitations as long as he was in the body. The Truth that he perceives is affected by these limitations. Gandhi did not therefore claim that he had an abiding vision of "Absolute Truth". All that he could claim, he said, was that he had fleeting glimpses of "Absolute Truth".<sup>33</sup>

How then can one function in a society in which there are different perceptions of Truth and action based on these different, relative perceptions? Will not differences precipitate conflict? Will licence not lead to the disintegration of society and mutual destruction?

The answer to this question is clear to Gandhi. The very nature of Truth is such that you can reach it only through the scientific method, tolerance and love. Violence cannot determine the validity of different perceptions. Annihilation of one who holds another point of view does not prove that his belief was fallacious. Truth can be reached only through the scientific method. The way to Truth therefore lies through objectivity, freedom from prejudice, tolerance, patience, persuasion, non-violence and love. Intolerance, hatred and physical force or violence cannot help one to establish Truth. Gandhi also believed that there was an inherent force in Truth which enabled it to prevail. But we shall make a more detailed reference to this later.

Now, let us turn to the question of Law, and what Gandhi thought was the way to identify the Law and identify oneself with the Law.

To Gandhi, the Law manifested itself here in this world, and therefore it had to be sought in this world. He did not believe that the Law was laid down from elsewhere. "There is no such thing as the other world. All worlds are one. There is no here and no there."<sup>34</sup> We have already seen that in Gandhi's view the Law and the Law giver are one. "He and His law are one. To observe His law is therefore the best form of worship. A man who becomes one with the Law does not stand in need of vocal recitation of the name." (*Harijan*, 24.3.1946)

One can seek the Law only by identifying oneself with all 'creation'. What does one mean by identification with the Law? If one believes that there is a Sovereign Law, it is the same Law that works in and through all phenomena animate and inanimate. To identify oneself with everything, one cannot become everything at the same time. But one can try to understand, feel the Law as it works in others, firstly by understanding its working in oneself, and secondly by comparing oneself with others, and others with oneself (what the Gita calls *atmaupamya*), in the light of the awareness that the same Law works in all. The next step is to remember, realize that one is not merely like others, but one is interconnected, and in fact present in all, and all represent in one because of interconnectedness or interdependence. The Gita refers to interconnectedness as "*paraspara-sambaddha*" or "*paraspara-sambhuta*". Both the Gita and the Upanishads talk of seeing one in all, and all else in one, and ask how, when one sees oneself in all, and all in oneself, one can feel different or feel repelled from another.<sup>34A</sup> This identification therefore arises from two sources, one, inter-connectedness or "inter- being", and the other, being 'informed' by and subjected to the same Law, or run by the same Law or Force. Being equipped with a superior type of consciousness, the human being is able to be conscious of the state of interconnectedness or inter- being, as well as the identity of the Law that governs all. Being aware of one's presence in all, and the presence of all in one, one feels a sense of identity with all creation.

And what does one mean by the words 'identifying with the Law'? To identify with the Law is to live according to the Law, become an agent of the Law, become a medium or conduit of the Law. And since the Law is Truth, and Truth is God, identifying oneself with the Law is identifying oneself with God or realizing God. "The Law is God." (*Harijan*, 11.2.1934). 'The living force which we call God can be found if we know and follow His Law, leading to the discovery of Him in us.'<sup>35</sup>

It is perhaps easier to acquire an intellectual understanding of the paradigm of interdependence, and its consequences, than to have an instantaneous direct experience or realization of oneness. There are thus two paths that lead us towards the realization of oneness, comprehension through the awareness of similitude (or comparison with oneself) and comprehension through the intellectual and experiential understanding of interdependence. Gandhi uses the metaphor of a chain (at other times, the ocean<sup>35A</sup>) and says that the chain exists because of its links, and is only as strong as the weakest link. Those who want to preserve the chain should therefore be concerned with the strength of the weakest link.

It is this vision and experience of oneness that reinforced Gandhi's faith in *Advaita*. "I believe in *Advaita*. I believe in the essential unity of man, and for that matter, all that lives. It is impossible that the good or bad that happens to me does not affect those around me."<sup>36</sup> And vice versa. The evil in one thus generates or reinforces evil in others, and purity and spiritual advance in one affects and creates similar states in others. (This is one reason why even the unilateral pursuit of higher spiritual or social values by an individual eventually leads to a cumulative effect.)

Gandhi's belief in oneness did not stop with "all human beings" or animate beings. He wanted to identify himself with the meanest or lowliest of all creation including creatures that crawl.<sup>37</sup> It also extended to the oneness of matter and spirit. Since he believed that they were essentially one, he believed that spiritual or mental phenomena affected physical phenomena, and physical phenomena affected spiritual states as well. To him this was a consequence of

his belief in the oneness of all that exists. Thus spiritual phenomena, he believed, could cause physical consequences or effects. When Bihar was rocked by a severe earthquake that resulted in death and destruction, and the loss of thousands of lives, Gandhi argued that the natural calamity was the consequence of the sinful practice of 'untouchability' and inhuman cruelty by the people of Bihar. The great Indian savant, thinker and poet, Rabindranath Tagore, ridiculed this interpretation of Gandhi's, and accused him of spreading and strengthening superstition. In a respectful but forceful rebuttal, Gandhi restated the reasons for his belief: "My profound regard for him (Tagore) would make me listen to him more readily than to any other critic. But in spite of my having read the statement three times, I adhere to what I have written in these columns. When at Tirunelveli I first linked the event with untouchability, I spoke with the greatest deliberation and out of the fullness of my heart. I spoke as I believed. I have believed that physical phenomena produce results both physical and spiritual. The converse I hold to be equally true. To me the earthquake was no caprice of God nor a result of a meeting of mere blind forces. We do not know all the laws of God nor their working. Knowledge of the tallest scientist or the greatest spiritualist is like a particle of dust. If God is not a personal being for me like my earthly father, He is infinitely more. He and His Law are one. The Law is God.... I do believe with Gurudev "in the inexorableness" of the universal law in the working of which God never interferes. For God is the Law.

But I submit that we do not know the Law or the Laws fully, and what appears to us as catastrophes are so only because we do not know the universal law sufficiently. I have not the faith which Gurudev (affectionate and respectful reference to Tagore) has that 'our own sins and errors, however enormous, have not got the force to drag the structure of creation to ruins'. On the contrary I have the faith that our own sins have more force to ruin the structure than any mere physical phenomenon. There is an indissoluble marriage between matter and spirit. Our ignorance of the results of the union makes it a profound mystery and inspires awe in us, but it cannot undo them. But a living recognition of the union has enabled many to use every physical

catastrophe for their own moral uplifting. With me the connection between cosmic phenomena and human behaviour is a living faith that draws me nearer to my God, humbles me and makes me readier for facing Him." (*Harijan*, 16.2.1934, p.4)

Gandhi is not alone in linking spiritual phenomena with physical effects. Lord Buddha refers to the relation as one of the causes of earthquakes.

The Bible records the story of Nineveh and God's warning to the Ruler and people of Nineveh that their sins would attract a rain of fire and brimstone, and describes how the King wore sack cloth and ashes and fasted and prayed, and asked his subjects to do so, and how this act of repentance and expiation saved the people and Ruler of Nineveh from being wiped out by the wrath of God. (Old Testament) The Gita too talks of the calamity that over takes humanity and 'creation' when *a dharma* (unrighteousness or the centrifugal forces) becomes ascendant over *dharma* (righteousness or the centripetal forces or cohesion).

This perception of the relation between spirit and matter or the oneness of spirit and matter may also have contributed to Gandhi's belief that material or physical force could be made to bend before the spiritual force that lay inherent in Truth. "*My purpose in life is to demonstrate that the strongest physical force bends before moral force when it is used in defence of Truth.*" (p.23, CW-16)

To return to the question of identification with the Law, hatred cannot be a means of identification. It is based on a sense of separateness. One who wants to identify himself with all 'creation', therefore discovers that the means of identification lie in love and service. "We may not know God. But we know His creation. Service of His creation is the service of God." (*Harijan*, 22.8.1936)

Thus, we see that in Gandhi's perception, love is the way to Truth as well as the way to identify oneself with the Law. He regarded love as the most active force in the world, the force that flowed from Truth. So, like Truth itself, Love is the foundation of cohesion and transformation. It is compassionate love that can transform the individual and enable the individual to transform others or

society. It is this total and unswerving devotion to truth that made Gandhi claim that he was a Satyagrahi. The word 'Satyagraha' was coined in South Africa to describe the non-violent movement that Indians in South Africa launched against racial discrimination. It was there that Gandhi lighted on this new weapon, or new force. He found that the English description of the movement as Passive Resistance did not describe the real nature of the movement. In fact, the words 'passive resistance' were misleading. Gandhi's movement was active, and not passive, and it was non-violent out of faith in the power and superiority of non-violence, not because circumstances did not permit Gandhi to muster sufficient violent force in support. Gandhi has testified that the thought of violent resistance had never occurred to him.

It is necessary here to examine what distinguishes Satyagraha from Passive Resistance. In the early days of action in South Africa, Gandhi himself described his movement as one of Passive Resistance. He used the words 'Passive Resistance' primarily because they were familiar in Europe, and had been used to describe movements that had not used violent resistance. But he realized very soon that 'Passive Resistance' did not describe the real nature of his movement. His movement was an active, even fiercely active movement. It involved defiance and disobedience of the Government, but it also involved other initiatives of a non-violent character. The resistance that it employed was unarmed. Passive resistance too was unarmed resistance. But the common element that gave an impression of identity stopped there, that is, in the unarmed nature of resistance.

The non-violent resistance of Gandhi eschewed violence not because the resisters did not have adequate or superior physical force or arms, but because they believed that the use of arms would defeat their purpose which was to transform minds, not to overcome physical force or liquidate the lives of those who opposed their views. To the Passive Resister, unarmed resistance might be a tactic that he is forced to adopt in the face of the superior force that the enemy commands or the inadequacy of the force that he might be able to

muster. Since it is a tactic compelled by circumstances, it can be given up when circumstances change in his favour.

In his mind the passive resister may be burning with hatred, and may be jealous of the physical force at the enemy's command. Not so the non-violent resister of Gandhi's conception. To Gandhi, nonviolence is not the negative, non-use of arms. Nonviolence is a positive and active force that arises from Truth and Love. His non-violence cannot coexist with hatred. His non-violence is not a force that can be deployed in the defence of vested (selfish) 'interests'. It flows from the power latent in Truth, and it can therefore be invoked only in the defence of Truth. His unarmed resistance, thus, is based on a spiritual force, and is not a tactic or ploy. The Passive Resister is not using any spiritual force, or force of an alternative genre, when he resorts to unarmed resistance. Consequently, the impact that the Passive Resister creates on the mind of his enemy is different from the impact that Gandhi's non-violent resistance creates on the mind of the adversary.

All these reasons made Gandhi feel that a new word should be coined to describe his 'unarmed resistance'. He asked for suggestions, and the word that was ultimately adopted was 'Satyagraha'.

After adopting this word Gandhi himself explained the difference between Satyagraha and Passive Resistance to European as well as Indian audiences.

1. "While in passive resistance there is scope for the use of arms when a suitable occasion arrives, in Satyagraha physical force is forbidden even in the most favourable circumstances. In passive resistance there is always present an idea of harassing the other party, and there is a simultaneous readiness to undergo any hardship entailed upon us by such activity; while in Satyagraha, there is not the remotest idea of injuring the opponent. Satyagraha postulates the conquest of the adversary by suffering in one's own person." (*Selections from Gandhi*, N. K. Bose, p.221)
2. "While there is no scope for love in passive resistance, hatred has no place in Satyagraha, but is a positive breach of its very principle." (*Selections from Gandhi*, N. K. Bose, p.221)

3. "Passive resistance is a negative thing, it has nothing to do with the active principle of love. Satyagraha proceeds on the active principle of love."  
(*Selections from Gandhi*, N. K. Bose p.221)
4. "Passive resistance, unlike non-violence, has no power to change men's hearts." (*Harijan*, 20.7.1947)

Gandhi described the 'literal meaning of Satyagraha' as 'insistence on truth, and force derivable from such insistence.' We have already referred to Gandhi's belief that, "Every truth is self acting, and possesses an inherent strength, and therefore, I am least perturbed when I am grossly misrepresented."<sup>38</sup>

This force which flows from Truth is a spiritual force. Gandhi called it 'spirit-force' or *dharmabal* (the force of Dharma), as opposed to physical force or 'brute force' or *pashubal*. The equivalent of 'Satyagraha', "rendered into English means Truth Force. I think Tolstoy called it also Soul Force or Love Force."<sup>39</sup>

We thus see four terms being used to describe the force that is deployed in Satyagraha, the force of Dharma, Truth force, Soul Force and Love Force. To Gandhi, Truth force, love force and the force of Dharma were the same because Dharma included Truth and Love. It was soul force since it was distinct from the force that emanated from the body. Since the animal is believed to depend on physical force Gandhi described physical force as *pashubal*, or brute force.

Let us first examine why Gandhi perceives Truth Force as Spirit Force, and then see why he considers love-force to be 'spirit force'. "I feel that the time has now arrived to examine the meaning of Satyagraha. The word was newly coined some years ago, but the principle which it denotes is as ancient as time. This is the literal meaning of Satyagraha insistence on truth, and force derivable from such insistence. force generated by Satyagraha, that is to say, insistence on truth.... One of the axioms of religion is, there is no religion other than truth. Another is, religion is love. And as there can be only one religion it follows that Truth is love, and love is truth. We shall find too, on further reflection, that conduct based on truth is impossible without love. Truth force then is love force." (*Satyagraha Leaflet No. 6*, April 25, 1919)

It is necessary here to have a brief look at Gandhi's perception or theory of force. As we have seen earlier, Gandhi did not see God as a person, but as a living force. *"The force among all Forces. All other forces are material. But God is the vital Force or spirit which is all-pervading, all embracing and therefore beyond human ken."*<sup>40</sup>

Truth that is Gandhi's God is the force of all forces because Truth is what exists and prevails. To exist or prevail it has to overcome forces that may be in conducive or inimical. It can therefore be said that Truth prevails because there is in it a force that overcomes all other forces. Truth or Dharma, according to Gandhi, is a force of cohesion, and not disintegration. What is positive or consistent with the Law leads to cohesion, and what is negative or inconsistent with the Law leads to erosion and disintegration. Thus there are negative and positive forces, the forces of evil and the forces of good.

Gandhi sees and accepts the existence of evil. The question of evil acquires vital importance when we look at the motivations and actions of human beings. Perhaps this situation arises because human beings are endowed with "free will"; the ability to choose among alternative courses of action, and the consequent responsibility for results that are beneficial or harmful, that lead to cohesion or disintegration. Gandhi therefore grants that both the forces of evil and the forces of good exist in the minds and hearts of human beings, and there is a constant duel going on in the minds and hearts of human beings. This is a battle between the forces of good and evil. Gandhi held that the Gita itself was an allegoric portrayal of this struggle between the good and bad forces that exist within. If one does not challenge and resist the forces of evil, they overcome the forces of good albeit temporarily. This casts on us the duty to recognize and resist the forces of evil. One cannot overcome any force by inertia. One can overcome by confronting the evil force with a matching force or a higher quantum and kind of force. This applies not merely to what arises within the minds and lives of individuals, but also to the action one engages in, and the motivations with which one acts individually and collectively for social objectives, and in social institutions.

'The question refers to the eternal duel that is so graphically described in the Mahabharata and that is going on in millions of hearts. Man's destined purpose is to conquer old habits, to overcome the evil in him and to restore good to its rightful place. If religion does not teach us how to achieve this conquest, it teaches us nothing. Christianity and Islam describe the same process as a duel between God and Satan, not outside but within; Zoroastrianism as a duel between Ahurmazd and Ahriman; Hinduism as a duel between forces of good and forces of evil. We have the choice whether we should ally ourselves with the forces of evil or with the forces of good." (*Young India*, 20.12.1928)

"Not until we have reduced ourselves to nothingness can we conquer the evil in us.... And when a man thus loses himself, he immediately finds himself in the service of all that lives...."(*Young India*, 20.12.1928)

To the questions 'who created evil?', 'why does God tolerate evil?' Gandhi says he has no answer, and is not keen to look for an answer. But he is willing to say that if God is held responsible for the good, he should also be held responsible for the evil.

"Why is there evil in the world is a difficult question to answer. I can only give what I may call a villager's answer. If there is good, there must also be evil, just as there is light, there is also darkness, but it is true only so far as we human mortals are concerned. Before God there is nothing good, nothing evil. We poor villagers may talk of His dispensation in human terms, but our language is not God's." (*Mind of Mahatma Gandhi*, p.74)

"I cannot account for the existence of evil by any rational method.... I call God long suffering and patient precisely because He permits evil in the world. I know that He has no evil. He is the author of it, and yet untouched by it." (*MOMG*, p.74)

"In a strictly scientific sense, God is at the bottom of both good and evil." (*MOMG*, p.74)

"To say that God permits evil in this world may not be pleasing to the ear. But if He is held responsible for the good, it follows that He is responsible for the evil too." (MOMG p.74)

Gandhi is painfully aware of the reality or existence of evil, and he knows that it is expected of him to resist evil. "I know too that I shall never know God if I do not wrestle with and against evil even at the cost of life itself. I am fortified in the belief by my own humble and limited experience." {MOMG, p.74) So one must look for a force that is itself not evil, but good, consistent with what is good, and competent to overcome evil.

To Gandhi there is nothing higher than Truth, and therefore no power higher than the Force that inheres in Truth. This force is invisible to the naked eye, but its effect can be experienced. This is not a characteristic that is special to the force that emanates from Truth. All force is all kinds of force are invisible. Their effects are visible or experienced. Thus electricity is invisible. So are other kinds of force that emanate from material objects including the human body.

A little observation or thought will tell us that there are many sources from which force emanates. Some are physical or material. Some are non-material, like the mind or intellect, or the soul or the spirit. Thus there are forces that emanate from gross sources (like matter, the body, etc.), and forces that emanate from sources that are subtle. Gandhi saw that the nature of any kind of force depended on the source which generated it. Forces emanating from gross or material sources were characterized by the nature of the source. They were subject to decline, depletion and extinction (with the rapidity with which material objects suffer attenuation). Forces that emanate from subtler sources like the intellect and the soul or spirit do not suffer such rapid attenuation.

Their force and their effect endure for a much longer period, if not for all time.

Subtle force arises from subtle sources which do not have the weakness of gross or material sources. Gandhi therefore believed that the more subtle the force, the greater its impact in terms of scale, speed and durability.<sup>41</sup> Soul force or

spiritual force (Truth Force) is the highest and most powerful force available to man. Since this force (Soul Force) arises from the higher realm of the spirit, it must be effective in the lower realms as well.<sup>42</sup> Material force, especially when it operates through human beings, can therefore be overcome by spiritual force.

In fact Gandhi was sure of the superior effectiveness of spiritual force even in mundane matters and situations, because, as we have seen earlier, he believed that the sovereign or superior Law was valid in the mundane field as well. The superior Law also held the superior force. He, therefore, said, "My purpose in life is to demonstrate that the strongest physical force bends before moral force when it is used in defence of truth." (*Collected Works*, 16, p. 13). He was equally convinced about the speed with which spiritual or moral forces operate once they are inducted in their unalloyed form. 'The human voice can never reach the distance that is covered by the still small voice of conscience.' (*Satyagraha Leaflet*, No. 9, April 29, 1919). "I would content myself with saying that when once the forces of truth and *ahimsa* are set in motion, the speed as they move becomes so accelerated that they take no time in permeating millions." (*Satyagraha Leaflet*, No. 8, April 28, 1919)

The power of material force may be conditioned by degrees of proximity or the effectiveness of the means instruments of transmission. But spiritual force has no obstructions of the kind that material force has to confront. It can therefore exert its power and achieve results even from a distance, and even without dependence on physical proximity or a material medium (e.g. thought). Spiritual force communicates and operates at the spiritual level. It communicates on a trans-physical, trans-verbal, trans- 'intellectual\* level with another human being. The experience of such communication becomes possible only when ego-centrism declines and fades, when there is perception of identity of interests, when the walls erected by the ego have broken down, when there is a feeling or experience of underlying oneness. Satyagraha or the spiritual force that it deploys therefore is a vehicle that transports or elevates both persons involved to a higher plane above ego-centrism or ego-

consciousness, where differences and intransigence melt in the warmth of the sense of oneness. Nowhere is this aspect or nature of Satyagraha or the use of soul-force more evident than when the Satyagrahi fasts for justice or truth. [For further discussions on this question refer to the author's forthcoming book *The Central Philosophy of Gandhi.*]

Gandhi described a fast as the ultimate weapon in the armoury of a Satyagrahi. A Satyagraha fast is not a hunger-strike. Gandhi has described it as "a yearning of the soul to merge in the divine essence". (*Harijan*, 8.7.1933)

It is an effort to rise above the sense of separateness that the body and the ego related to it, signify, and to ascend to a plane where there can be a trans-verbal, trans-corporal, trans-ego dialogue a mute but mind- or soul-churning dialogue on the root cause of intransigence. A fasting Satyagrahi enters a new realm of communication in which ego-centered self-interest and intransigence melt. "Fasting relates not merely to the palate, but all the senses and organs. Complete absorption in prayer must mean complete exclusion of physical activities till prayer possesses the whole of our being and we rise superior to, and are completely detached from all physical functions. That state can be reached only after continued and voluntary crucifixion of the flesh. Thus all fasting, if it is a spiritual act, is an intense prayer or preparation for it, a yearning of the soul to merge in the divine essence.... How far I have succeeded, how far I am *in tune with the infinite* (emphasis - author's) I do not know." (*Harijan*, 8.7.1933). Here, we may not go deeper into the significance and effect of fasting, since our purpose is only to indicate the spiritual basis of fasting as an instrument of Satyagraha.

Thus when Satyagraha is used to fight injustice or evil, one has to put spiritual force or truth force against material force, and not descend to the plane of the force of the lower realm. Since Satyagraha is a spiritual force, it cannot be used in conjunction with physical force. The effect of one cancels the effect of the other. They are therefore mutually contradictory forces,<sup>43</sup> and a Satyagrahi has to avoid all forms of physical force or violence that would frustrate and

negate the effect of spiritual force, by dragging the confrontation to a physical plane.

As a fighter, Gandhi was well aware that change of the status quo could be brought about only with the use of force (in his case, spiritual). Writing to the Viceroy on the eve of the Salt Satyagraha, Gandhi said: "The matter resolves itself into one of matching forces. Conviction or no conviction, Great Britain would defend her India commerce and interest by all the forces #at her command. India must consequently evolve force enough to free herself from that embrace of death.... My experience, limited though it undoubtedly is, shows that non-violence can be an intensely active force. It is my purpose to set in motion that force as well against the organized violent force of the British Rule as (against) the organized violent force of the growing party of violence. To sit still would be to give in to both the forces above-mentioned. Having an unquestioning and immovable faith in the efficacy of non-violence as I know it, it would be sinful on my part to wait any longer."<sup>44</sup>

This shows that as a strategist, Gandhi was aware of the determinant nature of the parity or superiority of the forces that were in confrontation. To him a 'matching force' did not mean an equal or higher quantum of force of the same kind, but some form of countervailing force powerful enough to overcome the other force.

In operational situations of conflict between Satyagrahi forces and forces that are defending untruth, injustice or evil, there can be action at three levels – physical, intellectual and spiritual. Physical action may include meetings, demonstrations, picketing and so on; intellectual action may include persuasion, joint surveys, offers of mediation or arbitration and so on; spiritual or moral action will include the undergoing of 'voluntary suffering' to induce introspection and transformation in the mind of the person or group on the other side. In every case, however, physical and mental or intellectual activity must be consistent with the code of the spiritual force.

"Carried out to its limit, this force is independent of pecuniary or other material assistance; certainly, even in its elementary form, of physical force or

violence. Indeed, violence is the negation of this great *spiritual force* (emphasis - author's) which can only be cultivated or wielded by those who will entirely eschew violence. It is a force that may be used by individuals as well as communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility. It is totally untrue to say that it is a force to be used, only by the weak so long as they are not capable of meeting violence with violence.... Only those who realize that there is something in man that is superior to the brute nature in him, and that the latter always yields to it, can effectively be passive resisters (*satyagrahis*). This force is to violence, and therefore, to all tyranny, all injustice what light is to darkness." (*Selections from Gandhi*, N. K. Bose, p. 183). "For this exercise, prolonged training of the individual soul is an absolute necessity. Its (*Satyagraha's*) use, therefore, is, I think, indisputable and it is a force, which if it became universal, would revolutionize social ideals and do away with despotisms and the ever-growing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and are being almost crushed to death – that militarism which promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East." (*Selections from Gandhi*, N. K. Bose, p. 184) Two questions have been raised in this area, and it may be useful to examine them here. One is whether the use of any kind of force does not amount to coercion, and whether an aspirant after spiritual progress can engage in coercive activity. The other is whether a spiritual person can engage in action that apparently leads to the division of society into two opposing camps (divisive action).

To deal with the first question, Gandhi did not believe that all force is coercive. Even liberation and growth depend on forms of force. All life, all existence is the play, or display and interplay of force. He was quite clear that Satyagraha was not a force of coercion. ["Non-violence is never a method of coercion. It is a means of conversion." (*Harijan*, 8.7.1939;)]. It was a force that promoted awareness, introspection, self-correction and the purification of oneself and others. "The Satyagrahi's object is to convert, not to coerce the wrong doer." (*Harijan*, 25.3.1939)

There are occasions in which the physical acts undertaken by groups believing in violence and those believing in non-violence seem similar or identical. But they are only seemingly similar. The motivations are different, and the forces that are being invoked or deployed are different. Consequently, the results and reactions too are different. We will examine this at greater length when we look at the difference between Satyagraha meetings and other meetings, and Satyagraha activities and other activities.

The force that promotes growth is not coercive. The force of compassion that is a very active force is not coercive. How can one hold that all use of force is coercion? To coerce someone is to make him act against his will or view, or to make him desist from acting as he wants to act.

The crux of coercion lies in (1) compelling the other person to act against his will; (2) using pressure and duress, physical, economic and the like, to compel; (3) creating a situation in which the person who is subjected to such pressure has no alternative but to yield. It is only when all other avenues of action are closed by the use of force or the threat of the use of force that one can say that one has been coerced, and compelled to act against one's will. If all avenues are not closed, and the option of persisting in his action acting according to his will is open to the person, it cannot be said that he is being compelled. This is so even if any action 'against' him increases difficulties in his way or adds to the odds against him. In non-violent action or Satyagraha, the avenues open to the adversary are not closed by physical force. They are open. All that the other side is 'forced' to do is to take into account his own dependence on the Satyagrahi (the paradigm of interdependence in human society) and to reexamine whether the line of action he is proposing or following is worth the cost to himself and to others.

The second question raised earlier was whether Satyagraha would lead to the division of society, and if so, whether a person who wanted to limit himself to the use of spiritual force could engage in such action. Gandhi's answer is twofold. He points to the example of the Buddha and Christ, and asks whether

they did not resort to direct action<sup>44\*</sup> in which they used their spiritual force; whether their action also did not 'divide' society.

"What was the larger symbiosis that the Buddha and the Christ practised? Gentleness and love. Buddha fearlessly carried the war into the enemy's camp and brought down on its knees an arrogant priesthood. Christ drove out the money changers from the temple of Jerusalem, and drew down curses from Heaven upon the Hypocrites and the Pharisees. Both were intensely direct action. But even as the Buddha and Christ chastised, they showed unmistakable love and gentleness behind every action of theirs."<sup>45</sup>

Secondly, Gandhi points out that every human being has his own responsibility to himself and to society. Even a mendicant or an anchorite, or a monk or *sanyasi* has to repay the debt he owes to his heritage and society, and he can do so only by discharging his social responsibility. In fact, the responsibility that the spiritual aspirant has is all the greater, because he is a person who has overcome the ego and self-interest and fear. He can, and should, set an example. Addressing Buddhist monks in Burma, Gandhi said: "I do not for one moment grant that a *sanyasi* needs to be a recluse caring not for the world. A *sanyasi* is one who cares not for himself, but cares all the time for others. He has renounced all selfishness. But he is full of selfless activity.... Swaraj (self-rule) does not merely stand for National independence, but for the self-rule of the individual. A *sanyasi*, having attained Swaraj in his own person, is the fittest to show us the way...."<sup>46</sup> "To a person whose life is dedicated to Dharma, politics and economics are all aspects of Dharma, and he cannot leave out any of them."

We have seen that Satyagraha is insistence on Truth, and the force that can be derived from Truth. Truth has first to be identified and verified through empirical evidence as well as experiential evidence, where the nature of the subject is such that experiential evidence is the only evidence that can be available. Having identified and verified Truth, albeit Relative Truth, how does one 'draw out' and deploy the force derivable from Truth?

Gandhi believed that ancient India knew the method of 'tapping' the force inherent in Truth. This was the method of *tapashcharya* or penance, and the suffering that one underwent (voluntarily) as part of the penance for Truth. During and after the first fast that he undertook in Ahmedabad in 1918, in support of the struggle of the textile workers, he explained the power that one could generate through suffering for Truth. One may not quote the texts of the speeches here,<sup>47</sup> although they are of immense importance for a full understanding of the relation between voluntary suffering and the method of 'tapping' or deploying the force inherent in Truth. In these speeches Gandhi explained that: (1) The purpose of the fast was to place before the world, not merely India, "one sublime principle of action". (2) This was the principle of soul force. (3) This force could be discovered and deployed through voluntary suffering undergone with a spiritual motive. (4) It was only when suffering was undergone as a penance, and undertaken with a spiritual motivation that it could purify oneself and induce introspection in the person or persons who were deviating from the path of Truth or justice or Dharma. (5) Many of the most respected leaders of the Indian struggle, some among whom were revered scholars and religious men, were not aware of this principle. That was why Gandhi had to use the occasion to demonstrate the power of voluntary suffering to vindicate Truth.

Voluntary suffering is very different from the suffering one undergoes as a helpless victim of injustice. It is an act of supreme courage, and is often undergone in the course of defiance of tyranny or injustice or evil. Voluntary suffering can invoke the power of Truth only when it is undergone exclusively for the vindication of truth, without any motive of personal benefit, or bravado, or ill-feeling for the erring person. It is only such pristine suffering that can purify one and make one an effective conduit of the force of truth or soul force. Such suffering has a gross effect as well as a deeper subtler effect. The gross' effect may be to evoke sympathy in the onlookers or the public, and cause embarrassment to the person who is seen as the cause of the suffering. The subtle or deeper effect is the erosion of intransigence, and the promotion of introspection in the other person. It is only when the other person realizes

that the Satyagrahi does not desire to harm him even involuntarily, but desires his welfare as well, that the Satyagrahi can succeed in promoting introspection, which in turn, leads to a reconsideration of the position the other person had taken. Since the purpose of the Satyagrahi is to transform the mental attitude or beliefs of the other person, his suffering should not be vitiated by the presence of ill-will or hatred, or even annoyance or irritability.

Gandhi says that this ability to invite and undergo voluntary suffering in defence of Truth or justice is a unique power that the human being has. Animals too are subject to suffering. Like human beings they too try to avoid suffering. But animals do not knowingly, invite suffering on themselves. They are not, therefore, aware of the difference between voluntary suffering and extraneously caused suffering. They do not know the power of voluntary suffering to purify oneself or others, or to induce introspection in others. Voluntary suffering entails renunciation. Gandhi believed that animals were incapable of renunciation. He believed that the power or ability to renounce was a unique characteristic of the human being. To him, therefore, voluntary suffering, was a Law that governed the human species.<sup>48</sup>

Even as the human being has the ability to invoke the power of voluntary suffering, he has the ability to make use of the power of love on a massive scale. We have seen that Gandhi described Truth Force as Love Force. "One of the axioms of religion (*dharma*) is, there is no religion other than truth. Another is, religion (*dharma*) is love. And as there can be only one religion (*dharma*), it follows that truth is love and love is truth. We shall find too, on further reflection, that conduct based on truth is impossible without love. Truth-force then is love force." (*Satyagraha Leaflet*, April 25, 1919).

Like Truth, love is a force of cohesion<sup>49</sup> Gandhi has likened love to the force of gravitation, and said that what the force of gravitation is to inanimate objects, love is to the human being and the human species<sup>50</sup> For human beings, love is not confined to the four corners of the instinctual framework. The human heart is capable of infinite love, love which may be unilateral and universal.<sup>51</sup>The human being can love all beings and identify himself with all beings. He can use

love to nourish other beings and transform their attitudes. It has been pointed out that the human being depends on love at every point in his life.<sup>52</sup> Without love it is impossible to overcome anger, hatred, indifference, selfishness and the ego. Love is the antidote for anger.<sup>53</sup> True love enables one to overcome all these divisive and destructive emotions, and to bring about transformation in the most hard-hearted and intransigent persons. Love, thus, is a spiritual force, and a supremely active and constructive force. It is this power that the Satyagrahi employs in disarming and transforming the person who is ranged against him. Love is a means of transformation. Hatred and violence are means of annihilation. "It is my firm belief that it is love that sustains the earth. There only is life where there is love. Life without love is death. Love is the reverse of the coin of which the obverse is truth. It is my firm faith, and it is my experience of forty years that we can conquer the world by truth and love." (*Satyagraha Leaflet*, No. 5, April 17, 1919).

To be able to love all human beings one must overcome one's body-centrism and ego-centrism. To be able to love all sentient beings, one must also overcome one's fear of death, and attraction or revulsion to form.

Thus, as truth force is a spiritual force, love-force too is a spiritual force. Here we must remind ourselves of Gandhi's explanation of why he prefers to say Truth is God rather than Love is God. "You will see the distinction between the two statements, viz. that God is Truth, and Truth is God. And I came to the conclusion after a continuous and relentless search after Truth, which began nearly fifty years ago. I then found out that the nearest approach to Truth was through love. But I also found that love has many meanings in the English language at least, and that human love in the sense of passion could become a degrading thing also. I found too, that love in the sense of Ahimsa had only a limited number of votaries in the world. But I never found a double meaning in connection with truth, and not even the atheists had demurred to the necessity or power of truth. And when you want to find Truth as God the only inevitable means is Love, i.e. non-violence, and since I believe that ultimately means and

ends are convertible terms, I should not hesitate to say that God is Love." (*Young India*, 31.12.1931)

As has been pointed out earlier, the 'love' that Gandhi refers to is not 'love' based on passion or desire. It is not an emotion based on attraction for what is ephemeral or momentary or unreal. It is not "possessive" love which is injurious to both parties.<sup>54</sup> Quite to the contrary, it is based on compassion and identification; the ability to see the similarity between one and others, to see one in others, and others in oneself. It is, therefore, a force that transforms, liberates, frees one from attachment to whatever is harmful, momentary, transient and unreal. It is a force that unites one with all others. It is the force of cohesion or Dharma, which is not selective or restrictive but is universal in its compass. Gandhi therefore described love as the force that unites the animate, and holds the species and nature together.<sup>54A</sup> Since the human being is capable of encompassing the whole animate and inanimate world in the canvass of love, outside the compulsions and inhibitions of the instinctual framework to which animals are confined, Gandhi believed that the law of love is the law of the human species. Referring to Non-Violence, which is the first and immediate aspect of love, Gandhi says, "Nonviolence is the law of the human race, and is infinitely greater than and superior to brute force." (*Mind of Mahatma Gandhi*, p. 113.)

He dismisses the charge that this is the testament of a visionary, and holds: "I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the *rishis* and saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Nonviolence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute, and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law to the strength of the spirit." (*Mind of Mahatma Gandhi* - ed. Prabhu & Rao, p. 112)

Thus true love does not arise from the body or the mind, but from the heart which is the seat of comprehension through compassion, or feeling. True

compassion dissolves the ego, and the dissolution of the ego takes one to a state of consciousness which can be identified only with the realm of the spirit.

Love or Non-violence thus flows from the "spirit" that is awake, and can be fully awakened, in the human being. The force of love is therefore a spiritual force.

1. To summarize, Truth is the law that governs the Universe. This law is the Law of *dharma* or Cohesion or Love. God or Truth can therefore be realized only by living according to the law of love, i.e. by identifying ourselves with all 'creation'. It is only love that can be the means of identification, not hatred. Hatred can arise only where there is a feeling or perception of separateness. It perpetuates separateness. Love, on the other hand, enables one to overcome the sense of separateness and hostility, to realize the oneness of all creation, and live within the paradigms of interdependence on which the cultural heritage and well-being of the human species depend.
2. "Without Ahimsa it is not possible to seek and find Truth. Ahimsa and Truth are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather of a smooth, unstamped, metallic disc. Who can say which is the obverse, and which is the reverse? Nevertheless Ahimsa is the means: Truth is the end." (*Mind of Mahatma Gandhi* -Prabhu & Rao, p. 118)
3. Since love is a force of cohesion [that holds together and promotes transformation, (as distinct from annihilation)], it is the greatest creative force in the Universe. "Love is the strongest force the world possesses." (Y.I., 6.8.1925) It is the source of harmony in the individual, unison in the family which is the basic unit of human society, and harmony in society or the species.
4. In this sense, love or non-violence is the manifestation of the power of cohesion or *dharma*, and is therefore a spiritual force. Thus, since Satyagraha depends solely on love force its base is spiritual.

Some readers may point out that the word Gandhi has used more often is 'Ahimsa' or 'Non-Violence', and not 'Love'. One is not sure whether this contention is borne out in Gandhi's writings. However three observations may be offered. Firstly, as Gandhi himself explained in his speech at Lausanne (1931), the word 'Love' is capable of being used with different meanings, particularly in the English Language. Secondly, non-violence or Ahimsa refers to the first step that has to be taken by anyone who wants to extend his love to "all that exists" (*sarvabhuta*), i.e. to desist from doing harm. Thirdly, it is easier to see what one should desist from if one wants to desist from doing harm, than to see what can and should be done for the positive expression of the plenitude of 'Love'. There may even be difference of opinion on what true love demands. Fourthly, some forms of "violence" or destruction of life are inescapable for a person or body that is alive. Whether that form of inadvertent violence or destruction of life or causing of injury, hurt and pain are consistent with love can be determined only by the motivation behind the act, – whether the act flows from compassion or is unconscious, and does not deny compassion. "*Ahimsa* is a comprehensive principle. We are helpless mortals caught in the conflagration of *himsa*. The saying that life lives on life has a deep meaning in it. Man cannot for a moment live without consciously or unconsciously committing outward *himsa*. The very fact of his living – eating, drinking and moving about necessarily involves some *himsa*, destruction of life, be it ever so minute. A votary of *ahimsa* therefore remains true to his faith *if the spring of all his actions is compassion*, (italics author's) if he shuns to the best of his ability the destruction of the tiniest creature, tries to save it, and thus incessantly strives to be free from the deadly evil of *himsa*. He will be constantly growing in self- restraint and compassion, but he can never become entirely free from outward *himsa*."

'Then again, because underlying *ahimsa* is the unity of all life, the error of one cannot but affect all, and hence man cannot be wholly free from *himsa*. So long as he continues to be a social being, he cannot but participate in the *himsa* that the very existence of society involves." (*My Experiments with Truth*, pp.291-92, Navajivan, edition of Nov. 1995)

Love, to Gandhi, is more than desisting from violence. It is a positive attitude of the mind and heart, and action flowing from the attitude. This attitude does not arise from a moral code laid down by a prophet, or a code that bases itself on the promise of rewards and the threat of retribution. It arises from understanding the true and unalterable paradigms of human existence. At the basic or gross level, it can be seen that one of the paradigms of human existence is inter-dependence. When one's existence and achievements are conditioned by interdependence, one has to have positive concern for all others human beings, other life and the environment on whom or on which one depends, with whom one's life is interwoven. This concern is love; can only be expressed through love. It can neither be expressed through hatred nor indifference. Love is, therefore, the *sine qua non* of human existence. It is, therefore, according to Gandhi, the force that holds human society together, and holds any conscious being (entity) together. Since it is the cohesive force that holds together, it is *Dharma*. It can be seen that 'love' is a state of mind or heart (an emotion) that only sentient beings can experience. Inanimate objects are held together by the force of gravitation. In the case of the animate and the conscious what holds them together is the force of love. So Gandhi holds that 'love is to the animate what gravitation is to the inanimate'.

At the deeper level, Gandhi believed in the oneness of all that exists (*advaita*.) If all that exists is one, there is only one mental attitude that is consistent with the belief in the oneness of all. That is love. Whether one calls it love or compassion, it is a corollary of what the Buddhist would describe as the awareness of "inter-being". As we have observed earlier, the Upanishads refer to one who sees everything in oneself, and one in everything else, and asks from whom or what will such a one recoil? (*Yastu sarvani bhutani atmanyavaanupasyati, savvabhutastham atmanam tato na vijugupasate.*) Gandhi's love thus flows from his firm belief in and awareness of the inter-being of all that exists.

It is equally clear that any harm done to anyone else or anything else is harm done to one's own self.

A metaphor that Gandhi has used to describe the paradigm of oneness is the relation between the drop of water and the ocean. Another as we have seen is that of the chain and the link.

Both these paradigms or perceptions lead to similar or identical corollaries:

1. Whatever one does affects all others and whatever others do similarly affects one.
2. One cannot therefore harm another (animate) being without harming oneself.
3. Since the paradigm of interdependence is unalterable and governs our existence and achievements, there can be no irreconcilability in the basic interests of human beings who constitute a society.
4. It is co-operation therefore that conforms to the unalterable paradigm of nature, not competition. In fact, competition militates against the paradigm of interdependence.
5. The Welfare of one is dependent on the welfare of all. No one can therefore seek or attain his well- being at the cost of others. (Sarvodaya)
6. Since human beings (and other beings) are linked in this manner, one has to realize that the strength of the chain depends on the health of what may be the weakest link.
7. Conscious concern for the weakest link or other links is demanded of the human being because unlike other animals the human being is capable of visualizing alternatives and acting in a manner that ignores or infringes the unalterable law of nature. It is only this concern that can ensure his long-range interest.
8. Since the human being is a conscious part of the 'whole', he has to understand and be mindful of what is necessary to protect and preserve the whole of which he is a part, the whole without which he cannot survive.

9. Since there is much in common in all sentient beings, particularly in beings that belong to the same species, it is easy for one to understand the feelings of another, and the working of another's mind, by watching one's own reactions, how feelings rise within one and take control of one, how these feelings weaken and even disappear, or transform themselves; how the mind arrives at or adopts views, whether it is always preceded by an evaluation of evidence or pros and cons or often times a view that flashes to the surface of the mind, and then gets entrenched through inertia, prejudices, perceptions of self-interest, intransigence and the egoistic reluctance (resistance) to change a position one has taken.

It needs no argument to prove that the mind alone can truthfully and fully observe the mind; the mind alone can trace the path through which it arrived at a conclusion, perhaps identify or recount the inputs that gave shape to the conclusion. The mind alone can therefore spot and correct errors in the process that led to the conclusion. The mind alone can mount vigil on the mind. The mind therefore is not merely an instrument of comprehension but also the instrument that can correct mistaken perceptions. It is only when one mind acts on another that there is a positive response, which can stabilize into a change of opinion.

Here it is necessary to point out that Gandhi's perception of love does not permit him to condone or countenance the wrongs of those whom he loves. His love is not a counsel of indulgence or helpless acquiescence in the demands or acts of the one whom he loves. On the other hand, he believed that his love compelled him to dissociate from or non-cooperate with, and even resist, the wrong acts of those whom he loved. "My goal is friendship with the whole world, and I can combine the greatest love with the greatest opposition to wrong." (Y.I., 10.3.1920) "Civil Disobedience is sometimes a peremptory demand of love." (*Satyagraha*, M.K.G., p. 221, Navajivan). Resistance of unjust acts was a duty imposed on the Satyagrahi both by his love of Truth, and his love, for all those who were suffering as a result of injustice or evil acts and

attitudes. It is only when a fight is motivated by love, and carried on by weapons that are consistent with love, that it becomes Satyagraha.

One has only to watch one's own mind to see how it forms or adopts views, and rushes headlong into perceptions of self-interest or presumed threats to self-interest or the ego; how stubbornness or intransigence arises in the mind, and how experience and introspection lead to revision of views or attitudes. A Satyagrahi is aware that the processes are much the same in others, and so he realizes that he can learn the way to tackle other minds by watching his own mind. He sees thus that mistakes can be corrected, that wrong and untenable notions can be abandoned, that there is a clear distinction between wrong views and the man who entertains them.

If one is to love all human beings, one has to distinguish between the evil and evil-doer. While one resists and fights evil, one can love the evil-doer who is a human being and a victim of a mental attitude that has made him mistake what is evil for what is good or just. In fact, the process of correction or transformation in attitudes can begin only when one distinguishes between the evil and the evil-doer. If one does not distinguish between the two, one acts on the assumption that eliminating the evil-doer is eliminating the evil. No argument is necessary to prove how illogical this assumption is.

Another way of learning the need to distinguish between wrong views and the one who holds wrong views is 'to turn the search light inward', and look at one's own mind and the way one has overcome evil or corrected mistaken beliefs. One then clearly sees the difference between the two. One recalls instances of how one has changed one's own perception or views. When one sees that one's views are incompatible with the "reality" one finds outside, or when one finds that there is no acceptance of one's views, and that this, in turn, is leading to counterproductive situations, one begins to introspect, to look for ingredients of the situation that one might have been ignorant of, or might have overlooked. This sets in motion a process of introspection, and a reappraisal of what had appeared to one earlier as valid or just. One realizes that the first and inevitable step towards reassessment and revision of views is introspection.

Since the nature of the human mind is more or less the same in all human beings one then understands why it is possible to transform views, and how the first step to change another's view is therefore to distinguish between him and his belief, and to induce introspection in him. Satyagraha based on love is thus a process which distinguishes between the evil and evil-doer, and induces introspection.

The family, which is the basic unit of human society, is an institution which proves that the law of love or Satyagraha is the law of the human species. "We cannot remedy evil by harbouring ill-will against the evil-doer. It is easy enough to understand. In thousands of our acts, the propelling power is truth or love. The relations between father and son, husband and wife, indeed our family relations are largely guided by truth or love. And we therefore consciously or unconsciously apply Satyagraha in regulating these relations.... It is only where a conflict of interest arises, there arise the progeny of untruth, viz. anger, ill-will, etc. and then we see nothing but poison in our midst. A little hard thinking will show us that the standard that we apply to the regulation of domestic relations is the standard that should be applied to regulate the relations between rulers and the ruled, and between man and man. Those who recognize the domestic tie and the obligations have to a certain extent gone beyond the brute stage. When men and women have gone a stage further, they would extend the law of love, i.e. Satyagraha, from the family to the village. A still further stage ... to provincial life ... in no part of the earth have the people gone beyond the nation stage in the application of Satyagraha. In reality, however, there need be no reason for the clashing of interest between nation and nation.... We should immediately perceive that to the extent that we bear ill-will towards other nations or show disregard at all for life, to that extent we are still not free from the brute nature ... hence it is that we are taught to consider the whole universe as our family." (*Satyagraha Leaflet*, No. 6, April 25, 1919)

The family thus is a school of the law of life, the law that governs the species and the law that governs co-existence and co-prosperity. It is also a great

school that teaches us the role, rules, methods, and meaning of Satyagraha (Gandhi's own testimony can be found in his statements on what he learned from his confession to his father, his polite refusal to accept the fiat of the leaders of his caste, his struggles with his wife in South Africa, and so on). Satyagraha is the force of truth and love, and these are the forces on which the family is based. The love that governs the family is not carnal love, but the love that harmonizes rights and duties, to oneself and to others, in an interdependent unit of an interdependent society. It is thus the nursery of universal love. Universal love cannot be possessive and suppressive of individuality. It has to be based on human dignity and the needs of existence, growth and fulfilment. Gandhi believes that love is the obverse side of the coin of Truth. Love, therefore, cannot be indulgent, and cannot acquiesce in the violation of Truth. Love needs to defend truth, and it may, therefore, confront situations in which it is forced to fight for Truth or serve the cause of Truth through non-co-operation and even disobedience. (Gandhi cites the instance of Prahlada.) Differences do not make enemies of two members of the family. The Satyagrahi's non-co-operation or disobedience is not based on enmity, but on the dictates of love and truth, the 'compulsion' of love and the need to find agreement on common interest. Gandhi therefore says that the Satyagrahi's action is based 90% on love, and 10% on the need to fight.<sup>53</sup> The Satyagrahi earns the right to non-co-operate and disobey through his love, and through establishing the bona fides of his love, through establishing that his Satyagraha is meant to heal, and not to hurt. Gandhi was perhaps the first person to emphasize the view that love may compel one to resist the beloved, through non-co-operation and disobedience, in order to harmonize and reconcile, not to dominate.

Here one must refer to the Eleven Vows that Gandhi identified as essential for anyone who wanted to conduct experiments in the science and techniques of Satyagraha. They are in fact an elaboration of the five Great Vows that all systems of the Indian spiritual tradition have prescribed, viz. Truth, Love, *Brahmacharya*, Non-possession and Non-stealing. They help the Satyagrahi to

develop the qualities and the strength that he needs for engaging in non-violent conflict.

The need for total dedication to Truth and Love has already been explained.

*Brahmacharya* is not mere celibacy; it stands for the total consecration of all one's energies and one's mind to the pursuit of Truth, that is, God. Anything that distracts, whether its origin is related to the pleasures of the senses or the ego, to possessions, to the pursuit of positions of respect, etc., takes away from one's single-pointed devotion to the pursuit of Truth or God, and has therefore to be renounced as disruptive of one's progress towards the goal. It leads one into the quick sands. There is no satiation, and withdrawal on satiation. Every foray in pursuit of pleasure will only strengthen the attraction of the experience that one seeks. Every recollection of an experience in which one felt titillated will only deepen the ruts into which the mind is pushed by habit and obsession.

Anyone who wants to consecrate his energies for the attainment of a high ideal or Truth or God must therefore steer his mind away from this quagmire. He or she has to choose between self-indulgence and dissipation on the one hand, and self-restraint and total focus or dedication on the other. A Satyagrahi who depends on the power of the mind or spirit cannot therefore allow his mind to lose focus or get distracted and dissipated. He has to choose between the quagmire of self-indulgence and the rungs of the ladder of self-restraint that helps his ascent.

A mind that seeks possessions labours under many illusions. Firstly, it begins to look upon material possessions as the basis of happiness and peace, and the index of a life of high quality. Secondly, it then gets reconciled to the use of force to protect these possessions. Thirdly, it tends to forget that possessions are impermanent, and therefore a mind that depends on them depends on what is impermanent. Fourthly, it tends to shut its eyes to the sorrow or suffering that it will have to undergo when the possessions or what makes the possessions attractive are lost. Fifthly, it becomes a victim of greed and the evil effects that flow from it to oneself and to society. A mind that is in the

grip of such illusions and afflictions cannot generate the power that the mind has to produce for deployment in Satyagraha.

Gandhi's anti-dote to acquisitiveness and the evils that it spawns both in the mind of the individual and in society was the attitude (spirit) of Trusteeship. [For a detailed examination of Trusteeship see author's Gandhi's Theory of Trusteeship] There is hardly anything that one can identify as the exclusive product of one's own effort. Everything that we own or possess or produce has taken shape from interdependent causes and effects natural resources, social institutions, values that support the conditions of production, inheritance, etc. One is, therefore, only one element or factor, and not the sole factor. One has, therefore, to remember that one cannot claim sole ownership, [cf. Gita's *ahamkara vimudhatma kartaham iti manyate.*]. Nor can one claim to be the sole beneficiary. All members of society have to be regarded as beneficiaries, and one is only one of the beneficiaries. One therefore holds all possessions including one's talents and time and material possessions as a trustee for all beneficiaries who include oneself.

To steal is not merely to take away some one else's possessions, but also to appropriate what one has not produced, or what has not been given to one. To appropriate the fruits of someone else's labour is theft. To take away more than one needs, or to sequester is to steal from the needy, even though the one who is thus deprived is not physically in one's presence. A man who can connive at such theft is a poor instrument for the pursuit of Truth.

The other six vows that Gandhi prescribed include control over the palate, respect for the equality of all human beings, equal respect for all religions, commitment to serve the proximate (neighbour) and not ignore him in the name of the distant, respect for physical labour as a means of repaying one's debt to the environment and society, and fearlessness. Each of these vows was prescribed not merely to purify the mind of the Satyagrahi and to increase its efficiency as an instrument for the identification of Truth, but also to increase the '*Dharmabal*' or spiritual force at the command of the Satyagrahi. The vows

were meant to enable the Satyagrahi to be a fitter instrument in the cause of cohesion, justice and harmony in society.

We have already pointed out that Satyagraha is based on the identification and verification of Truth, and the commitment to ensure that Truth prevails. We have also pointed out that since truth is cognized by the mind, and all minds may not be alike, there can be different perceptions of Truth. These perceptions are arrived at through processes of the mind. Where one arrives at a perception that is later proved to be wrong, it is clear that the error was due to faulty processes or faults in the instrument of cognition. Gandhi points out that errors in mental processes cannot be corrected by the application of physical force which belongs to another realm. They can be corrected only through appropriate mental processes. Satyagraha therefore is a method or technique for the correction of mental processes or untenable perceptions or attitudes of the mind. It is a technique in which the mind and heart of a human being are used to work on the mind and heart of another human being or a group of human beings. Thus it is an instrument or 'weapon' of the human mind. Since Satyagraha uses the mind as an instrument, the Satyagrahi has to ensure that the instrument he uses is functioning at the highest level of effectiveness.

It has already been pointed out that the mind can reach the maximum level of effectiveness only when it overcomes passions, prejudices, preconceived notions, ego-centrism and the like, and reaches the state of abiding equanimity, (as exemplified in the concept of the *sthitaprajna* in the Gita) following the vows of Truth, Non-Violence or Love, total consecration (*brahmacharya*), non-possession, non-acquisitiveness and the like.

Here we must refer to the spiritual aspect of the vows that Gandhi invoked as part of Satyagraha. One is generally inclined to look upon a vow as a religious or spiritual commitment entered into in the name of God, or an equally sacrosanct article of faith, in the presence of God or a Guru, or a spiritual assembly, to carry out or desist from specific acts or attitudes. It is, therefore, looked upon as something belonging to the religious or spiritual realm. But Gandhi inducted the vow into the sphere of public activity in pursuit of social,

political or economic causes. He could do so because to him all social, ' political and economic activity had to be a pursuit of Dharma.

A vow enjoys a sanctity that an ordinary pledge or resolution does not, – partly because it invokes a sacrosanct and inviolable witness (God, or an equivalent) in support of the declaration or acceptance of an irrevocable commitment (See Gandhi's analysis in *Satyagraha in South Africa*.)

The irrevocability fortified or underwritten by the reference or appeal to an immutable, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent witness that also presided over the inevitable consequences of violation or infringement of the commitment invested the vow with an awesome sacredness that was more characteristic of spiritual life than of mundane life.

Gandhi could use the vow as an index of irrevocable commitment and consecration because Satyagraha was conceived as a spiritual exercise, and could not be used for anything that militated against Truth, universal love and self-realization. From the very first Satyagraha struggle in South Africa, therefore, one finds Gandhi prescribing a vow as an essential preparation for a Satyagraha struggle. It is a shield for the Satyagrahi, and a warning to the opposing side to take the Satyagraha movement with the irrevocability and gravity that characterize it. The vow is the symbol of the 'Will' which is the highest force or instrument that the human being uses to ascend from lower to higher planes of the spiritual realm or consciousness, or even to attain mundane objectives.

It is now time for us to look briefly at what happens when Satyagraha becomes an operational force in the struggle for Truth or justice. Satyagraha, as defined by Gandhi is not merely the desire to see Truth, but insistence on Truth. Thus it includes seeking and identifying Truth; living in accordance with Truth, and endeavouring to see that Truth prevails. The first relates to an internal quest, the second to one's way of life or everyday life (observance), and the third to society or the environment, or the conditions and institutions that affect one's life. The insistence is on the observance of Truth in one's life and the commitment to action. A Satyagrahi therefore is not an academic or a

philosopher concerned merely with identifying Truth. His search for Truth and commitment to Truth are to be revealed in his action. He cannot withdraw from the activities of the world. Action therefore becomes an integral or inescapable part of Satyagraha, and to Gandhi, the *sannyasi* or monk who has "renounced" the world has a greater "social responsibility".

We have already seen that there can be many perceptions of Truth because of differences in the levels and attitudes of the mind, and also because of the fact that human perceptions or visions may be partial and erroneous. The human being is neither perfect nor infallible. The differences of views or opinions that arise as a consequence of these factors can be solved only through corrective mental processes, and Satyagraha offers, such a corrective mental process.

The Satyagrahi therefore has to start with a review of the mental processes through which one arrives at conclusions. Where there is difference of opinion one has to start with the first step that is, establishing facts, the facts on which conclusions are based. The Satyagrahi has to be meticulous, thorough and dispassionate in verifying the facts on which his conclusions are based. He should not allow prejudices to determine the choice of data. Such care in the collection of data or evidence not only ensures the correctness of his conclusions or inferences but also enables the 'opponent' to verify the facts for himself, and to examine whether his own conclusions or opinions are valid in the face of the facts or evidence that the Satyagrahi has collected, has based his opinions on. Thus, the Satyagrahi wants to place his cards on the table at the very first stage.

Since the opponent may contest the 'facts' collected by the Satyagrahi, the Satyagrahi must be willing to submit his evidence or facts to impartial scrutiny by a third party. The Satyagrahi is so sure of his facts and the conclusion that can be drawn from them that he might even offer 'arbitration'. He is not afraid of arbitration since he has based himself on truth, and his demand is only that the Truth be accepted and acted upon.

If the 'opponent' agrees with the Satyagrahi on facts, but differs on the conclusions that have been drawn on the basis of the facts, both sides should

review the steps in their reasoning. They should play back the 'tape' that records the mental processes or logical steps to find out where the divergence of opinion arises. They should then examine whether the divergence arises from a distorted view of self-interest or ego, and look for ways of correcting the distortion, in the light of the paradigm of inter-dependence, reminding themselves of the demands and consequences of interdependence. This process of joint introspection must enable both parties to distinguish between self-interest and self-aggrandizement.

It may be quite illuminating here to look at what Gandhi himself recalls of the Satyagrahi's dialogue with the one whom he is compelled to resist:

"We would carry on this struggle on the lines of strict non-violence, i.e. by suffering in our own persons. That is the meaning of Satyagraha. The question is whether you are capable of every suffering that may be imposed upon you or may be your lot in the journey towards the goal. Even whilst you are suffering you may have no bitterness no trace of it against your opponents. And I tell you it is not a mechanical act at all. On the contrary I want you to feel like loving your opponent; and the way to do it is to give them the same credit for honesty of purpose which you would claim for yourself. I know that it is a difficult task.

"I confess that it was a difficult task for me yesterday whilst I was talking to these friends who insisted on their right to exclude the "unapproachables" from the temple roads. I confess their selfishness behind their talk. How then was I to credit them with honesty of purpose? I was thinking of this thing yesterday and also this morning, and this is what I did. I asked myself: 'Wherein was their selfishness or self-interest? It is true that they have their ends to serve. But so have we our ends to serve. Only we consider our ends to be pure and, therefore, selfless. But who is to determine where selflessness ends and selfishness begins? Selflessness may be the purest form of selfishness.' I do not say this for the sake of argument.

"But that is what I really feel. I am considering this condition of mind from their point of view, and not my own. And immediately we begin to think of things as our opponents think of them, we shall be able to do them full justice. I know

that this requires a detached state of mind, and it is a state very difficult to reach. Nevertheless for a Satyagrahi it is absolutely essential. Three-fourths of the miseries and misunderstandings in the world will disappear, if we step into the shoes of our adversaries and understand their standpoint. We will then agree with our adversaries quickly or think of them charitably. In our case there is no question of our agreeing with them quickly as our ideals are radically different. But we may be charitable to them and believe that they actually mean what they say. Now whether it is their self-interest or ignorance that tells them to do so, we really believe that it is wrong of them to say so. Our business, therefore, is to show them that they are in the wrong, and we should do so by our suffering. I have found that mere appeal to reason does not answer where prejudices are age-long and based on supposed religious authority. Reason has to be strengthened by suffering; and suffering opens the eyes of understanding." (*Satyagraha* by MKG. Navajivan. pp, 193-94)

If the 'opponent' is still adamant and intransigent, what does the Satyagrahi do? If his efforts at persuasion fail, and matters reach a deadlock, does the Satyagrahi accept helplessness and reconcile himself to the continuation of the injustice? No. The Satyagrahi is not content with petitioning. If petitions and efforts at persuasion fail, he is ready for 'Direct Action'. He resorts to Direct Action because "Never has anything been done on this earth without direct action. I reject the word 'passive resistance' because of its insufficiency, and its being interpreted as a weapon of the weak." (p. 159, N. K. Bose - *Selections from Gandhi*). 'The aim of the non-violent worker must ever be to convert. He may not however wait endlessly. When, therefore, the limit is reached he takes risks and conceives plans of active Satyagraha.'<sup>56</sup>

He does so because, "A man cannot claim to be non-violent, and yet fail to fight against injustice."<sup>57</sup> If violence on one's part is wrong, connivance at the violence perpetrated by another is wrong too. Silence and inaction in the face of injustice is acquiescence in injustice, and one who acquiesces cannot escape his share of the guilt of injustice. Gandhi, therefore, believes that a Satyagrahi has no escape from Direct Action in support of his steps in the direction of

persuasion. Inasmuch as the Satyagrahi believes in Direct Action to change the status quo, he is a revolutionary.

But the Satyagrahi's Direct Action has to be nonviolent, since he believes that truth-force or spirit force is the only means by which one can vindicate Truth or bring about true or enduring transformation. Though both the Satyagrahi and the violent revolutionary believe in Direct Action, the Satyagrahi's Direct Action is based on the distinction between the evil and the evil-doer. It is not meant to overpower or annihilate the evil-doer. It is meant to transform the mind of the evil doer. What then is the process through which the Satyagrahi seeks to end injustice, or evil and transform the mind of the evildoer?

In violent Direct Action, the objective may be to suppress or annihilate the opponent. But the objective in non-violent Direct Action or Satyagraha Direct Action is to change or transform the opinions or mental attitudes of those who differ.-The immediate objectives are: (1) to prevent the continuation of injustice or 'sterilize'<sup>58</sup> injustice; and, (2) to promote introspection in the mind of the 'opponent'. The motivation of the Satyagrahi is not to achieve his own dominance, but to see that Truth prevails. The ' Satyagrahi is, therefore, motivated by his commitment to Truth and love, love for the victims of injustice, for the one who is guilty of perpetrating or supporting injustice, and for society which is the theatre of the conflict. The method that the Satyagrahi uses to achieve his objective is based on: (1) non-co-operation, and (2) voluntary suffering.

Since the Satyagrahi is against evil, non-cooperation with evil becomes a moral imperative. "Non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as cooperation with good."<sup>59</sup> "We must refuse to wait for the wrong to be righted till the wrong-doer has been roused to a sense of his inequity. But we must combat the wrong by ceasing to assist the wrongdoer directly or indirectly." (Pyarelal: *A Pilgrimage for Peace*, p.203)

On a grosser plane, it also becomes a tactical necessity, to 'sterilize' injustice. Here one must point to one of the fundamental beliefs on which Satyagraha is based. Wherever evil or injustice prevails, there is an element of co-operation

that evil receives from its own victim. The co-operation may be voluntary, unconscious or extorted. It may be only silence and inaction. These too constitute acquiescence or silent co-operation. Acquiescence may be the result of inertia, or fear about the consequences of dissociating from evil, or the suffering that may be inflicted on one as a penalty for the withdrawal of co-operation. But if a victim does not openly identify evil and dissociate from it, he is co-operating with evil, .in other words, cooperating in his own undoing.

In many instances, the power that the wrong-doer enjoys or the benefit that he derives is based on the co-operation he receives from the victims, and the 'recognition' on which the co-operation is based. In such cases, the withdrawal of co-operation may lead to the 'sterilization' or temporary paralysis of the evil. If the non-co-operation is total and permanent, it has to result in the total withering or disappearance of the evil. When non-co-operation is used against a government or an institution or an employer, it is based on the withdrawal of the recognition of the moral right of the government or employer to claim and receive co-operation.

As we have seen earlier, the need for and the process of non-co-operation become clear when one looks at what happens in one's own mind when one wants to change or abandon habits or attitudes. One has to identify the cause, and non-cooperate with the weakness in one's mind that promotes what one wants to give up.

Non-co-operation results in the paralysis of institutions or processes on which the evil doer depends. Such a termination or moratorium imposed on the process, inevitably becomes a point of commencement for introspection on the utility of the views on which the process is based. It thus opens the door for a reappraisal in the mind of the evil or wrong-doer. Since the effort of the Satyagrahi is to promote introspection that leads to reappraisal he should desist from anything that hardens the attitude of the 'opponent' and makes him intransigent. His action and words should be such as 'soften' the mind of the opponent.<sup>60</sup> He has therefore to avoid injury to the person of the opponent and even avoid language that leads to 'hardening' of the mind, language and other

forms of expression that do not create conditions conducive to introspection and reappraisal.

This should not be difficult for a true Satyagrahi since he believes in the inherent possibility of changing the opinions or the 'heart' of the 'opponent'. The Satyagrahi is motivated by love, and this love includes love for the 'opponent', since what he wants to eliminate is the evil, and not the evildoer. In other words, the Satyagrahi is aware that the wrong-doer is himself a victim of mistaken attitudes that are "curable". The love of the Satyagrahi must be such that the evil doer himself recognizes the fact that the Satyagrahi has no ill-will against him, and that the Satyagrahi is not therefore attempting to extinguish his (the opponent's) legitimate interests. ... "A Satyagrahi never desires to reach the goal by harbouring or increasing ill-will or hatred against his opponent. He will look upon him as a friend and yet ever resist the wrong done by him without bearing malice towards him, ill-will can only damage the movement. For, obsessed by it, we refuse to understand or weigh the opponent's anguish. We thus disable ourselves from producing the necessary impression upon the opponent and to that extent retard victory if we do not make it impossible." (*Satyagraha Leaflet* No. 13, May 3, -1919)

The introspection that the Satyagrahi's direct action causes and promotes is on the very question of the legitimacy of the interests or the position the opponent is defending, whether his views are based on facts and logic, or whether his notion of the 'legitimacy' of the interests he is defending is an offshoot of his greed or his desire for domination and aggrandizement. The 'paralysis' caused by non-co-operation should make him realize his dependence on the co-operation of the exploited. It should make him disentangle or separate legitimate self-interest from the interest and rights of others that he has usurped in establishing or defending the position that he has taken. As His Holiness the Dalai Lama has often pointed out, one has to distinguish between false perceptions of self-interest and genuine and 'enlightened self-interest'.

Satyagraha causes and promotes this self-introspection in two ways: one, through the shock of the paralysis that follows effective non-co-operation, and

the other, in response to the voluntary suffering that the Satyagrahi undergoes to vindicate his perception.

The paralysis and the suffering together manage to erode or undermine the wrong perceptions and intransigence of the wrong-doer, and set the processes of introspection in motion.

Doubt or uncertainty about one's perception and introspection in the midst of a combat adversely affect the morale of the Satyagrahi's opponent. In a gross sense, they have the effect of planting a 'fifth column' in the mind of the opponent. In the subtle realm, it succeeds in arousing the 'still small voice' in the 'opponent' that he had managed to keep muffled.

Non-co-operation, therefore, is a very active and powerful weapon. "Non-co-operation is not a passive state, it is an intensely active state, more active than physical resistance to violence." *{Selections from Gandhi - N. K. Bose, p. 185}* In a struggle with the government, "non-co-operation predominantly implies withdrawing of co-operation from the state that in the non-co-operator's view has been corrupt, and excludes civil disobedience of the fierce type. By its very nature, non-co-operation is even open to children of understanding and can be safely practised by the masses. Non-co-operation too, like civil disobedience, is a branch of Satyagraha which includes all non-violent resistance for the vindication of Truth.... Non-co-operation is intended so far to paralyse the government as to compel justice from it. If it is carried to the extreme point, it can bring the government to a stand still." (Quoted by Pyarelal: *A Pilgrimage for Peace*, p.204)

No one should think that Satyagrahi non-cooperation is a weapon that can be used only against a foreigner or a foreign adversary. Let us look at the evidence Gandhi tendered before the Hunter Commission:

*Lord Hunter:* I take it, Mr. Gandhi, that you are the author of the Satyagraha Movement. *Answer:* Yes, sir.

*Question:* Will you explain briefly? *Answer:* It is a movement intended to replace methods of violence and a movement based entirely upon Truth.

It is, as I have conceived it, an extension of the domestic law on the political field, and my experience has led me to the conclusion that the movement, and that alone, can rid India of the possibility of violence spreading throughout the length and breadth of the land, for the redress of grievances.... *Question:* People differ as to the justice or injustice of particular laws?

*Answer:* That is the main reason why violence is eliminated and a Satyagrahi gives his opponent the same right of independence and feelings of liberty that he reserves to himself, and he will fight by inflicting injuries on his person....

*Question:* Is it not a rather drastic way of attempting it (satisfying a man who differs) by refusing to obey the law?

*Answer:* I respectfully beg to differ from your Lordship. If I find that even my father has imposed upon me a law which is repugnant to my conscience(emphasis author's), I think it is the least drastic course that I should adopt, to respectfully tell him that I cannot obey it. By that course I do nothing but justice to my father, and I say so without any disrespect to the Committee, I have myself followed that course with the greatest advantage, and I have preached that ever since. If it is not disrespectful to say so to my father, it is not so to a friend and for that matter, so to my government. (*Young India*, 21.2.192)

*Sir Chamanlal:* With regard to your Satyagraha doctrine, so far as I understand it, it involves the pursuit of truth, and in that pursuit you invite suffering on yourself, and do not cause violence on anybody else. *Gandhi:* Yes, sir.

*Question:* However honestly a man may strive in his search for Truth, his notions of Truth may be different from the notions of others. Who then is to determine the Truth?

*Answer:* The individual himself would determine that. *Question:* Different individuals would have different views as to Truth. Would that not lead to confusion? *Answer:* I do not think so.... That is why the nonviolence part was a necessary corollary. *Pandit Jagatnarain:* You can resort to no other remedy to oppose the irresponsible foreign officials, and that is why you have started this movement. Is it not?

*Answer:* I cannot say that with certainty. I can conceive the necessity of Satyagraha in opposition to the would-be fully responsible self-government.

[Note: Also see "But I know how to offer Satyagraha against ourselves as against the rulers." p. 212 CW Vol. 31]

To recapitulate, "When we are firmly of the opinion that grave wrong has been done to us and when after an appeal to the highest authority, we fail to secure redress, there must be some power available to us for undoing the wrong." (Quoted by Pyarelal: *A Pilgrimage for Peace*, p. 203). "Our business therefore is to show them that they are in the wrong, and we should do so by our suffering. I have found that mere appeal to reason does not answer where prejudices are age long.... Reason has to be strengthened by suffering, and suffering opens the eyes of understanding." (*Selections from Gandhi* - N. K. Bose, p. 187). We have seen that the way to strengthen reason and promote introspection lies through non-co-operation and voluntary suffering. "I have come to the fundamental conclusion that if you want something really important to be done, you must not merely satisfy reason, you must move the heart also. The appeal of reason is more to the head, but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering that opens up the inner understanding in man." (*Young India*, 5.11.1931)

(Note: "But one thing to be remembered is that we should learn how to observe perfect peace and how to undergo intelligent suffering. Without this there is no Satyagraha." - p. 212 CW Vol. 31) (Mark that Gandhi calls this "intelligent suffering".)

Now, one may ask, "Why should non-co-operation be non-violent?" Here one need not enter into a detailed discussion of the relation between truth and non-violence or spirit force and love force, since we have already discussed this question. We will therefore content ourselves with pointing out the reasons that rule at the practical and tactical level.

1. If the objective of one's non-co-operation is to bring about a transformation of mind or change of heart in the 'opponent', one cannot do so with

violence. It is only non-violence and love that can dissolve intransigence and promote introspection.

2. Non-violence enables the Satyagrahi to carry on non-co-operation and yet persist with the efforts at persuasion. It is not possible to combine these efforts once one embarks upon violent combat.
3. Non-violence alone can enable one to exert the maximum degree of "force" without
  - i. Obliterating the distinction between the evil and evil doer, and
  - ii. Providing justification for the use of force or escalation of force from the other side.
4. Non-violent non-co-operation can be a fundamental right or duty. But 'violent non-co-operation' cannot be accepted as a fundamental right if society is to avoid permanent or incipient civil war.
5. Non-violent non-co-operation is the furthest limit of resistance that is consistent with cohesion in a society, consistent with the commitment to transform or convert, and not annihilate.
6. Non-violence liberates the common man from dependence on an armed elite of militants.
7. Non-violence therefore leads to an equal distribution of power in society including the power to defend the gains of the revolution.

On the contrary, –

1. Violence does not ensure the victory of truth or justice. It only ensures the victory of the one who has superior destructive force at his command.
2. This compels both parties to the dispute to endeavour to acquire and retain superiority in the quantum and 'quality' of the destructive force at their command. Where the dispute is between nations, it leads to a relentless arms race that ends up with the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction like nuclear weapons.

When the dispute is between groups within nations, or between the state and a group of reformists or revolutionaries, it leads to terrorism, guerrilla warfare and the possibility of the induction of nuclear weapons even in civil strife.

3. The result obtained through violent means is only temporary. "Victory attained by violence is tantamount to a defeat, for it is momentary. Then there is increase of ill-will between both the parties and each prepares to give battle to the other. " When the force that achieved victory wanes or is overcome by the amassing of increased force on the other side, the earlier result is overturned. Violence therefore leads us into a vicious cycle.
4. Those who depend on violence therefore have to be- perpetually vigilant, suspicious against 'infiltrators' and the designs of infiltrators.
5. Violent direct action can succeed only when designs and plan of action are kept secret. Violence cannot succeed without secrecy. Violence and secrecy are like twins. "A policy of secrecy may appear beneficial to start with, but ultimately, it is bound to harm the country. We can never reach our goal of mass revolution through secret methods. I have no doubt in my mind that secrecy carries with it the seeds of its failure." (To Pyarelal, March 29, 1943 - Aga Khan Palace Diary)
6. "Secrecy is opposed to truth, and therefore it is based on violence. In my scheme of things, there can be no place for secrecy." (To Devadas Gandhi, February 20, Aga Khan Palace Diary)

Secrecy and the proneness to suspicion create a situation in which authority gets concentrated in the hands of a few, often in the hands of one person. He becomes the sole person to determine orthodoxy, strategy and tactics, and plans for action.

The base of consent shrinks.<sup>61</sup> Democracy suffers atrophy. Fear takes over, even in the ranks of revolutionaries, and as has been said, the violent revolution devours its children.<sup>62</sup>

Up to now, we have been looking at non-cooperation, and enquiring why non-cooperation has to be non-violent. We have seen that non-violent non-cooperation is a moral and tactical necessity for the Satyagrahi. But with partial or total non-cooperation as the base, the Satyagrahi can resort to more intense and fiercer forms of action like Civil Disobedience.

From what has been stated in earlier paragraphs, it is clear that Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience can manifest themselves at many levels and through many kinds of actions, speeches, silence, music, meetings, processions, picketing, boycott, strikes, defiance of laws, no-tax campaigns, taking over of buildings and stocks, and the like. At the physical level some of these acts may not look dissimilar to what happens in a violent struggle. But a deeper analysis enables one to see that similar acts can be performed with different motivations, and the response or impact on the minds of those involved vary, depending on the motivation with which the act was done. One kind of motivation can lead to intransigence and aggressive self-justification or an attitude of vengeance, while another may lead to willingness to entertain the other point of view, and may even promote introspection. One may provoke retaliation, the other may promote introspection that leads to change of heart and transformation of mind. Gandhi was aware of this, and so he distinguished between Satyagrahi and non-Satyagrahi meetings, Satyagrahi strikes and non-Satyagrahi strikes, Satyagrahi picketing and non-Satyagrahi picketing, and so on.

'The agitation hitherto adopted in this country is as different from Satyagraha as the North Pole is from the South. An appreciation of this fact will of itself remove many of our perplexities. We have seen that there is a difference between Satyagrahi meetings and others. Satyagraha is based upon religion (*dharma*). In it only truth, calmness, serenity, patience, fearlessness, etc. should be seen. A Satyagrahi strike must differ from the others. I have already quoted an occasion when a Satyagrahi strike had to be suspended when a different, strike was declared." (Mahadev Desai, *Day to Day with Gandhi* (in South Africa), Vol. II, p. 341)

It is not necessary here to list and describe the various forms that Satyagraha may take. In fact, one cannot anticipate and make an exhaustive list of the forms that the Satyagrahi's action may take. One should however point out that they may include individual Satyagraha 'against' another individual, individual Satyagraha against the state or society; and mass or group Satyagraha against another group, an individual or the state.

In all cases of Satyagraha, the common and basic element is non-co-operation with evil, and non-violent action calculated to bring about a 'change of heart', or transformation of the mind in the wrong doer.

Satyagraha is, therefore, aimed solely at the mind and heart of another individual or group or those who are responsible for the policies and actions of the group including the state or the government. Since its objective is to bring about a transformation of the mind, every single act and the mental attitude behind every act, should be such as helps to bring about transformation, not to intensify intransigence, or unwillingness to listen to what one wants to urge for consideration. Nothing should be done, therefore, to insult or humiliate the 'adversary'. As has been stated earlier, even the language that one uses or one's demeanour, and the way in which one presents his arguments should be such as relaxes, not stiffens the mind of the people on the other side, makes them ready to listen to the other point of view. If one does not even listen, how can there be introspection and transformation? The process of Satyagraha is meant to purify the mind of the 'adversary', so that he overcomes ignorance, prejudices and the desire for aggrandizement at the cost of another. In fact, Satyagraha commences when one purifies one's own mind to ensure that it becomes an effective instrument to purify the mind of another.

Gandhi points out that purification can never be achieved through coercion or abuse: "No man can be purified against his will. Therefore there can be no force directly or indirectly used against the orthodox. I should also remind correspondents that the word Satyagraha is often most loosely used, and is made to cover veiled violence. But as the author of the word, I may be allowed to say that it excludes every form of violence, direct or indirect, veiled or

unveiled, and whether in thought, word or deed. It is breach of Satyagraha to wish ill to an opponent or to say a harsh word to him or of him, with the intention of harming him. And often the evil thought or word may, in terms of Satyagraha, be more dangerous than actual violence used in the heat of the moment and perhaps repented and forgotten the next moment. Satyagraha is gentle, it never wounds. It must not be the result of anger or malice. It is never fussy, never impatient, never vociferous. It is the direct opposite of compulsion. It was conceived as a complete substitute for violence." (*Harijan*, 15.4.1933)

No form of Satyagraha should be aimed at creating situations of duress in which agreements or concessions are extracted from an '*adversary*' or wrong-doer. Such an agreement is the result of coercion, not transformation of the mind or change of heart. It is *Duragraha*, not Satyagraha, and the agreement might well be repudiated when the situation of duress passes.

Those who resort to Satyagraha should therefore be scrupulously careful about the conditions they create through their action. The wrong effect on the mind, from the point of view of the Satyagrahi, may lead to the defeat of the Satyagraha. It is, therefore, necessary for the Satyagrahi to ensure that all the ingredients of his programmes, all mental attitudes and all the actions of those who form part of his 'forces' or 'army' scrupulously conform to the mental and physical discipline of the Satyagrahi action, at least the physical discipline. If the mental discipline is also observed in its totality, the Satyagraha will be pure, and therefore its effect too will be pure and lasting. The effect will be less if the Satyagrahi action is carried out without the purest adherence to truth and love.

Thus Gandhi distinguished between Satyagrahi *hartal* (stoppages of work) and non Satyagrahi *hartal*. In Gandhi's days the '*Bandh*' which is currently used to bring about a stoppage of all work, had not come into vogue. But whenever threats or violence was used to intimidate people into closing shops or bringing traffic to a halt or stopping their normal work, Gandhi condemned them as contrary to the principles of Satyagraha and non-violence. A stoppage of work

or traffic brought about by such means did not demonstrate popular support. It only demonstrated the effect of violence and terror. It was the result of fear, and not support. "Some of us, believe that we can obtain our rights by such acts of terrorism, violence or arson. Satyagraha, on the contrary, holds that the rights so obtained should be rejected.... Expediency tells us that there is one and only one recourse for us and that is Satyagraha or dharmabal (i.e; Soul Force). Now dharmabal can spring only from suffering. Oppressing, harassing or assaulting others cannot add to our spiritual strength. The events in Ahmedabad would have been impossible, had we but a true sense of *dharm*. The only result of our attempt to obtain rights through association and co-operation with such hooligans can be that if such attempts succeed, the rights so obtained could be enjoyed only on conditions imposed by the hooligans. Rights so obtained are not rights at all, they are rather the signs of our enslavement. The events of Ahmedabad and Viramgam are no indication of our heroism; they do not in any way prove our manliness; they have simply disgraced us; our movement has received a setback, Satyagraha has had to be restricted. In giving you this bare picture, my purpose is to show how thousands of people, who disliked such violence, put up with it as helpless and powerless creatures. It indicates that at this moment, we do not possess the true force of *dharm* and truth. It is, therefore, that I have said that there is no salvation for India except through Satyagraha..." (MKG – Horniman pamphlets issued on the agitation after the arrest of B. G. Horniman 16.4.1919)

Gandhi was equally keen to outline the difference between Satyagrahi picketing and non-Satyagrahi picketing. Let us look at the instructions he gave to picketers.

1. "At least ten women are required for picketing a liquor or foreign cloth shop. They must choose a leader from among themselves.
2. They should all first go, in a deputation to the dealer and appeal to him to desist from carrying on the traffic and present him with leaflets setting forth facts and figures regarding drinks or foreign cloth, as the case may be.

3. If the dealer refuses to suspend traffic, the volunteers should guard the shop leaving the passage free and make a personal appeal to the would-be purchasers.
4. The volunteers should carry banners or light boards bearing warnings in bold letters against buying foreign cloth or indulging in intoxicating drinks, as the case may be.
5. Volunteers should be as far as possible in uniforms.
6. Volunteers should at frequent intervals sing suitable *bhajans* (devotional songs) bearing on the subject.
7. Volunteers should prevent compulsion or interference by men.
8. On no account should vulgarity, abuse, threat or unbecoming language be used.
9. The appeal should always be to the head and the heart, never to fear or force.
10. Men should on no account congregate near the place of picketing, nor block the traffic...." (*Young India* 24.4.1930)

A closer look at Gandhi's instructions to Satyagrahi picketers will further illustrate the difference:

"In picketing foreign cloth or intoxicating drinks and drugs, let it be remembered, that the aim is to convert the addict or the buyer. Our object is moral and economic reform. The political consequence is but a bye-product....

The following rules, therefore, must be read in that light:

1. In picketing shops your attention must be rivetted on the buyer.
2. You should never be rude to the buyer or the seller.
3. You may not attract crowds or form cordons.
4. Yours must be a silent effort.
5. You must seek to win over the buyer or the seller by your gentleness, not by the awe of numbers.

6. You may not obstruct traffic.
7. You may not cry '*haihai*' (shame, shame) or other expressions of shame.
8. You should try to understand the difficulties of buyers and sellers, and where you cannot remove them you should report them to your superiors...."

*(Young India, 19.3.1931)*

If the aim of the programme of action is not merely to demonstrate one's opposition or indignation, or to paralyze, but to bring about a transformation of mind which results in withdrawal of support to the status quo and the building up of an alternative system – the motivation must be appropriate and conducive to the aim. Physical action shorn of this motivation will not have the effect on the mind, heart and conscience of the "adversary". It will therefore be a partial and incomplete utilization of the armoury of weapons that truly non-violent action motivated by Love (Satyagraha) has at its command. In other words, its effect will be physical, only at the gross level, and not at the more subtle level where one can create an enduring impact on the mind and the conscience. If the effect is only physical, it is likely to subside; and the evil is likely to relapse.

Thus we can see the difference between passive resistance and unarmed resistance on the one hand, and Satyagrahi action or Satyagrahi resistance on the other. Abjuring the use of arms that cause destruction is certainly an advance on methods that depend on the use of weapons of destruction. But that weapons of destruction are not used in a struggle does not mean that the struggle is waged on the strength that comes from the creative and transformative force of Love or the force that is inherent in Truth, a force that is invincible and enduring as Truth itself is.

Since the main thrust of this essay is on the spiritual basis of Satyagraha, one need not embark on a description of the different forms that Satyagraha can take, the training that a Satyagrahi soldier has to undergo, the qualities of a

soldier and of a leader in Satyagraha struggles, the dynamics of programmes of non-co-operation and civil disobedience, and so on.

There are two more areas to which one should draw attention. One is the Satyagrahi's perception of the relation between ends and means. The Satyagrahi does not believe that any means can take one to any end. There is an inexorable relation between means and ends, as there is an inexorable relationship between cause and effect. In the light of this relationship Gandhi looked upon means and ends as convertible,<sup>63</sup> like two sides of the same coin. One can reach an end only through means consistent with the end; conversely, the end that one reaches will depend on the means one adopts. Means determine the nature of what we achieve. Wrong means therefore can lead us astray or result in the distortion of our ends. To illustrate, if one wants to create a fearless society, one cannot do so by maintaining a reign of terror; equality cannot be created by deepening inequality. An open and transparent society cannot be created by making secrecy all-pervasive. Satyagraha, therefore, believes that a peaceful and non-violent society can be created only through peaceful and non-violent means, and there is no greater guarantee of democracy and equality than a regime of non-violence.<sup>64</sup>

Moreover, actions and situations *cause* an effect on the mind, the mind of the one who acts, as well as that of the one who reacts or is affected by the act. Hatred cannot generate love. Deceit cannot generate trust. Indulgence cannot promote self-restraint. The nature of the seed determines what grows out of it.

The seed of a mango tree will produce only a mango tree, and not a peepul tree or an oak. Anyone who wants to generate love and mutual trust and caring concern, and build a society that is based on love, cooperation and equality, will therefore have to employ methods that generate love and trust and concern. In other words, the method or means that one adopts will have to have within it, the seeds of what can grow into the desired tree.

Secondly, in the physical world one sees that a force can only be overcome by its antidote. Fire burns. Fire cannot put out fire. Only water can. Water cannot stem a flood. Only an embankment or a formation of rock can. A force can be

subdued or nullified only by its antidote. In the same way, as spiritual leaders like the Buddha have pointed out, it is only love or non-anger that can overcome anger.

The means that one adopts are therefore important. They determine where we go and what we achieve. They affect and shape, and if chosen without concern about the cumulative and inter-related effects that they occasion, distort the end result or the resultant state.

Since the objective of the Satyagrahi is Truth which is also love he has to adopt means that are consistent with Truth at every stage; and he has to depend on no force other than what flows from Truth, i.e. Truth force or Love force or *Dharmabalas* distinct from *Pashubal* or Brute force.

A non-violent society will be a non-exploitative society. A non-exploitative society has to be a non-acquisitive society, and since the ownership of material possessions is not the only source of power or exploitation, Gandhi believed in the concept of Trusteeship. He believed that everything that generate power and all possessions including the body itself and the time one has at one's disposal should be held as a Trust. He also believed that such a non-violent society could not be created through the capture of power, but only by taming power and equipping everyone with the capacity to resist the abuse of power, if and when power was abused. He looked upon Satyagraha as the only means that could empower every human being to fight injustice, exploitation or the abuse of power, since Satyagraha depended on spiritual power which is latent in everyone.

This takes us to the second area. If Satyagraha and weapons like non-violent non-co-operation are within the reach of every human being, why is it that people find it difficult to resort to such an apparently simple and universal remedy? The answer is not difficult. People find it difficult to resort to non-co-operation because they fear the consequences of non-co-operation or the disobedience of authority. The main consequences are the physical suffering and the economic suffering that result from non-co-operation and defiance. Gandhi, therefore, wanted the Satyagrahi, in fact, every citizen, to overcome

fear. One cannot overcome the fear of physical suffering as long as one is body-centric (considers the body as the ultimate value); and one cannot overcome the fear of economic consequences as long as one is not self-reliant.

It is easier to be self-reliant if one's wants are not many. A Satyagrahi therefore has to minimize his wants and his desire for material goods, and maximize his self-reliance in order that he may maximize his revolutionary power. This concern for self-reliance and freedom from obsession with material goods have therefore to be reflected in the life-style of the Satyagrahi.

It has not been possible for one, in this essay, to discuss the dynamics of non-violent mass action, or the way non-violent action by individuals or groups acts on the minds and hearts of participants, and in the case of mass action on the people on the other side, and on those who at least in the beginning, are only on-lookers; how it works for the removal of attitudes and beliefs which generate and harbour injustice, exploitation and violence, and develops in their place attitudes and beliefs that are essential for a non-exploitative society where there is genuine equality, compassion and concern for all. But, whatever has been written in the foregoing paragraphs does throw some light on the spiritual elevation that results from Satyagraha, both for the one who practises it, and the one who occasions Satyagraha.

To conclude, then, one can identify the perceptions that provide the spiritual basis of Satyagraha: 1. Truth, and Truth alone is God. 2. God, or Truth, is the Supreme, Sovereign Force, the Force of all forces. ("Great as other forces are, if there is such a thing as God, soul force is the greatest of all." (*Harijan*, 22.8.1936). 3. There is an inherent force in Truth, which, when deployed, can overcome any force that defies it. 4. To the extent that one gains access to Truth, internalizes Truth, becomes a medium of Truth, one gains access to this force that is inherent in Truth. The insistence on Truth and the uncompromising quest for Truth, the exclusive dependence on Truth and the force that resides in Truth, and the deployment of this force in its unalloyed form is Satyagraha. Thus, the basis of Satyagraha as a way of life or as a way of the penance or struggle for Truth is spiritual. The force that it depends on is

spiritual. The ends for which one uses it arise from unswerving commitment to the reign of Truth that Gandhi described as God. Satyagraha is a way of purification, of one's self, of opposing forces (through the alchemy of love and voluntary suffering or penance) and of the social environment in which one lives. Thus it can be said that the base of Satyagraha is spiritual,<sup>65</sup> and the result that it produces is the spiritual elevation of those who use it as well as those who occasion or witness it.

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5. cf. Nikhil Chakravarti. *Gandhi Marg* – Jan.-Mar. 1995
6. p.7. *Mind of Mahatma Gandhi* – Prabhu & Rao
- 6A. "If I could persuade myself that I should find Him in a Himalayan cave, I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find Him apart from humanity." (p. 52. *Mind of Mahatma Gandhi* – Prabhu & Rao)
7. *Harijan*, 26.7.1942
8. *Harijan*, 26.7.1942. Also *Young India*, 7.5.1924. "Religion which takes no account of practical affairs and does not help to solve them is no religion."
- 8A. p. 43, *Indian Home Rule or Hind Swaraj*
- 8B. *Young India*, 24.11.1927
9. For Gandhi's views on *Karma* and Action, see *Gita According to Gandhi* (Navajivan)
10. *Young India*, 3.9.1925
11. *Young India*, 7.5.1924 and letter to Dadachanji (1933)
12. *Harijan*, 29.2.1936
- 12A. "But as I have all along believed that what is possible for one is possible for all, my experiments have not been conducted in the closet, but in the open; and I do not think that fact detracts from their spiritual value." (M. K. Gandhi Introduction to *My Autobiography*)
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14. *Young India*, 31.12.1931

15. *Young India*, 26.2.1925
16. *Young India*, 12.5.1920
17. M. K. Gandhi: *My Religion* (Navajivan) pp.57-58
18. *Young India*, 5.3.1925; *Young India*, 31.12.1931; *Young India*, 11.10.1928
19. *Young India*, 1.10.1931. "I have found that life persists in the midst of destruction, and therefore, there must be a higher Law than that of destruction.... And if there is the Law of life, we have to work it out in our daily life."
20. *Young India*, 11.9.1924
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22. "He is the Law-maker, the Law and the Executor." *Harijan*, 24.2.1946. "He and His Law are one. There is nothing outside His Law." *Harijan*, 7.4.1946. "He and His Law are one. The Law is God." *Harijan*, 16.2.1934. "God may be called by any name so long as it connotes the living Law of life in other words, the Law and the Lawgiver rolled into one." *Harijan*, 14.4." 1946
23. M. K. Gandhi, *In Search of the Supreme*, Vol. I, p.273
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31. *Young India*, 14.4.1927
32. "I am not at all concerned with appearing to be consistent. In my pursuit after Truth I have discarded many ideas and learnt many new things...." *Harijan*, 27.4.1933. "I have never made a fetish of consistency. I am a votary of

Truth and I must say what I feel and think at a given moment. On the question, without regard to what I may have said before on it.... As my vision gets clearer, my views must grow clearer with daily practice." *Harijan*, 28.9.1934. "My aim is not to be consistent with my previous statements as a given question, but to be consistent with Truth as it may present itself to me as a given moment." (*Harijan*, 30.9.1939)

33. *Harijan*, 7.4.1946 ; *Young India*, 7.2.1929

34. *Harijan*, 26.7.1942

34A. cf. *Isavasyopanishad*.

35. *Harijan*, 22.6.1947

35A. *Harijan*, 25.4.1936

36. Also *Young India*, 4.12.1924

37. *Mind of Mahatma Gandhi – Prabhu & Rao*, p.44

38. *Satyagraha Leaflet*, April 25, 1919

39. *Selections from Gandhi: N. K. Bose*, pp. 182-83

40. *Harijan*, 18.8.1946

41. "Great as other forces of the world are, if there is such a thing as God, soul force is the greatest force of all. We know as a matter of fact that the great the force the finer it is." Also see *Satyagraha Leaflets*.

42. *Young India*, 11.9.1924

43. p. 430, *Mahatma Gandhi Last Phase*

44. *Young India*, 12.5.1920

44A. *MM*, 165-67, 12.5/20 (3)

45. *Ibid*

46. *Harijan*, 22.6.1947

47. cf. "We all have the seeds of love and compassion in us, and we can develop these fine and wonderful sources of energy. *Maitri* and *Karuna* are not

the kinds of love which try to possess and appropriate, to dictate and bring about suffering for ourselves and those we love. *Maitri* and *Karuna* are the kind of unconditional love that does not expect anything in return." – *Thick Nhat Hanh* in transformation and Healing", pp.91-92: Full Circle, New Delhi, pp.91-92

48. "His Holiness the Dalai Lama": *Gandhi Marg*. Apr.-Jun., 1991

49. *Young India*, 2.3.1922

50. "We practise in this way until we see clearly that our love is not contingent upon the other person apologizing or being loveable...." p.93 – *Thick Nhat Hanh* 'Transformation and Healing' – Full Circle, New Delhi, Also see pp.83-97

51. *Young India*, 21.4/27, p. 128

52. *Satyagraha Leaflet*, No. 5, 17.4'19

53. *Harijan*, 24.2.1941

54. "Love and exclusive possession can never go together. Theoretically when there is perfect love, there must be perfect non-possession." *From Yervada Mandir*

54A. 'There are many powers lying hidden within us, and we discover them by constant struggle. Even so we may find this Supreme Power if we make diligent search with the fixed determination to find Him. One such way is the ways of Ahimsa.

It is so very necessary because God is in everyone of us, and therefore, we have to identify ourselves with every human being, without exception. This is called cohesion or attraction in scientific language. In the popular language it is called love. It binds us to one another, and to God. Ahimsa and love are one and the same thing. I hope this is clear to all of you." (From private letter dated 1.6.1942, quoted on p.7, *Selections from Gandhi* – ed. N. K. Bose)

55. *Young India*, 5.8.1929

56. *Harijan*, 8.7.1939

57. *Harijan*, 20.4.1940

58. *Anatomy of Revolution*

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65. *Young India*, 26.12.1924

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX - I

#### SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO.3

April 11, 1919

#### **Mahatma Gandhi's Warning to Satyagrahis and Sympathizers,**

[On Friday evening the 12th day of April 1919, on the Chowpati sea beach, Mahatma Gandhi sounded the following note of warning to Satyagrahis and sympathizers assembled in a mass meeting:]

This is not the moment for me to enter into the near past. I must refer to what has just happened. As you see I have been set free by the Government. The two days' detention was no detention for me. It was like heavenly bliss. The officials in charge of me were all attention and all kindness to me. Whatever I needed was supplied to me, and I was afforded greater comforts than I am used to when free. I have not been able to understand so much excitement and disturbance that followed my detention. It is not Satyagraha. It is worse than *duragraha*.

*Those who join Satyagraha demonstration are bound at all hazards to refrain from violence, not to throw stones or in any way whatsoever to injure anybody. But in Bombay, we have been throwing stones. We have obstructed tram-cars by putting obstacles in the way. This is not Satyagraha.*

We have demanded the release of about 50 men who have been arrested for committing deeds of violence. Our duty is quietly to submit to being arrested. *It is a breach of religion or duty to endeavour to secure the release of those who have committed deeds of violence.* We are not therefore justified on any grounds whatsoever for demanding the release of those who have been arrested.

I have been asked whether a Satyagrahi is liable for the results that follow from that movement. I have replied that they are. I therefore wish to suggest that if

we cannot conduct this movement without the slightest violence from our side, the movement might have to be abandoned or it may be necessary to give it a different and will more restricted shape. *The time may come for me to offer Satyagraha against ourselves.*

#### **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 4**

April 16, 1919

My Sisters and Brothers,

I could not speak to you at length in my address at the Satyagrahashram on Monday last; but I wish to place my thoughts before the public through a few leaflets. Let me first render accounts. I had received till yesterday Rs.770 towards the fund suggested by me. I request that there should be no delay with regard to this fund, and that none in Ahmedabad should be found wanting in his duty. This fund has had its origin in the idea of penance, but its public utility is no less than its penitential value. I visited the Civil Hospital yesterday in company with Behn Anasuya and Mr. Krishnalal Desai, and spoke to all the patients there. I see that we shall have to get pecuniary help to the families of the many of the wounded. I learnt on the spot that 22 of the men brought there had died of the wounds. There is no doubt, there have been many more deaths. A clear duty, therefore, lies upon us, as citizens, to find out the families of the deceased and to give them what help we can. I have been asked as to who will be the beneficiaries of these moneys. I am afraid that we could not compensate those who have sustained loss of property; we can render some little help only to the families of the dead and wounded. These include two or three Englishmen (now ascertained to be one); our first duty is to render help to their families since we are responsible for their deaths. We had no excuse whatsoever for killing them. They have been killed simply out of animosity. If we do really repent for what we have done, it is our duty to aid their families. That is the least penance we can do. I have been able to see that most of our brethren, too, who have died were altogether innocent. I saw amongst the wounded several boys of 10 or 11. Our next duty is to help all these. A man

from Viramgam came to me complaining that he- had lost two of his brothers. Very likely many more such cases will be forthcoming. If Viramgam also pays its quota to the fund, we might be able to extend our help to them. If it fails, I am afraid, we shall not be able to render that assistance.

Some of us believe that we can obtain our rights by such acts of terrorization, violence and arson. Satyagraha, on the contrary, holds that the rights so obtained should be rejected. I admit that of the two parties using brute force, the one possessing more of it than the other apparently gains its ends. My 40 years' experience tells me that objects so attained do not permanently benefit the winner. There may well be two opinions on this point. But there can be no difference of opinion on the fact that so far as brute force is concerned, we are no match for the Government. Our physical force is as nought before theirs. I would dare say, therefore, that those who advise us to use physical force are sadly mistaken, and we should never listen to their advice. Expediency tells us that there is one and only one recourse for us and that is Satyagraha or *dharmabal* (i.e. spirit-force). Now *dharmabal* can spring only from suffering. Oppressing, harassing, or assaulting others cannot add to our spiritual strength. The events in Ahmedabad would have been impossible, had we but a true sense of *dharma*. It is one of our duties to prevent mischief.

If the men and women of Ahmedabad could be brave, all mischief would cease. It is obviously a far greater thing to overcome mischief by spirit-force, than to do so by brute force. We have seen that violent outbreaks have not benefited us at all. I have already said that they had nothing to do with my release. The outbreaks commenced on the 10th. The decision to release me in Bombay was arrived at on the 9th. It cannot therefore have been in any way the result of those outbreaks. Moreover, those who have faith in Satyagraha should be the last men to resort to violence to secure my release.

Let us now consider what further loss we have sustained. I reminded you on Monday that the offices which were burnt down belonged to ourselves. But we have an indirect ownership therein, and the fact that the expenses of re-building them may perhaps not fall directly on us may make us indifferent to

the mischief done. The loss to our commerce by the closing of the Telegraph Office may also fail to affect us. But consider the consequences of burning down the University Examination Pandal. I understand that it was erected by a contractor, it was his property and was worth about Rs. 18,000. Who will compensate the contractor? Can we imagine the soreness of his feelings? Surely the incendiaries must never have thought of making up for the loss. I am informed that there were many ornaments deposited in the District Court Treasury as being matter of dispute in Civil cases and otherwise. Some estimate their value at Rs.50,000, while others value them at a higher figure still. We know nothing about the owners of these ornaments. They have lost them for good. Government may not compensate them; and even if they do, it will be from our money. The poor innocent people, who have thus lost their ornaments, will not perhaps so much as approach the Government to demand them. Where was the justice of our ferreting out from Rao Bahadur Bulakhidas' house all the things therein and making a bonfire of them? I have been told the Rao Bahadur's career has been far from good; that he harasses the people.

Granting that this is so, may we, therefore, burn the property of such officers? If people were thus to take the law into their own hands, there would be an end of peace and public safety and a perpetual reign of terror would prevail. If any and every person, aggrieved by an officer's conduct were to be regarded as within his rights to violate the person and property of that officer, no officer would be safe. A country, where such a state of affairs prevails, is not considered to be civilized, and the people there live in constant fear. Consider the hideous barbarity of burning alive the *Aval Karkun* of Viramgam. What offence had he committed? Or, if he had committed any, why had we not the courage to obtain his dismissal? Sergeant Fraser, an innocent Englishman who had sought refuge in an Indian house, was marched out of the house and hacked to pieces. What can India gain out of such a piece of brutality? One direct result we have already had, and that is, the bitterness of feeling between the English and ourselves has been augmented, and several innocent lives have been lost. The only result to obtain rights through association and co-operation with such hooligans can be that if such attempts succeed, the

rights so obtained could be enjoyed only on conditions imposed by the hooligans. Rights so obtained are not rights at all, they are rather the signs of our enslavement. The events of Ahmedabad and Viramgam are no indication of our heroism; they do not in any way prove our manliness; they have simply disgraced us; our movement has received a set-back; Satyagraha has had to be restricted. In giving you this bare picture, my purpose is to show how thousands of people, who disliked such violence, put up with it as helpless and powerless creatures.

It indicates that at this moment, we do not possess the true force of *dharma* and truth. It is therefore that I have said that there is no salvation for India except through Satyagraha. I shall endeavour as best as I can to explain what this Satyagraha is in later leaflets, which I entreat my sisters and brothers to carefully read and understand and ponder upon and carry out the suggestions made therein.

### **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 5**

April 17, 1919

Characteristics of Mahatma Gandhi's Writings,

There are two poems published and being distributed entitled "*Mahatma Gandhino Satyagraha*" and "*Mahatma Gandhina Udgar*". They bear the signature of Labhshanker Haijiwandas Dihorkar. The ideas expressed in these verses are not mine. Some of them are poisonous, calculated to promote ill will and excite passions. They are, therefore, opposed to Satyagraha. I therefore advise all brothers and sisters not to accept anything as written by me unless it is signed by me. The present times are so critical that one cannot be too cautious about anything lest one might be led astray.

My writings cannot be poisonous, they must be free from anger, for it is my special religious conviction that we cannot truly attain our goal by promoting ill will against the rulers or anyone else. There can be no room for untruth in my writings, because it is my unshakable belief that there is no religion other than

truth and because I am capable of rejecting aught obtained at the cost of truth. My writings cannot but be free from hatred towards any individual because it is my firm belief that it is love that sustains the earth. There only is life where there is love. Life without love is death. Love is the reverse of the coin of which the obverse is truth. It is my firm faith and it is my experience of forty years that we can conquer the world by truth and love. I believe that we can remedy the mistakes of our rulers by means of truth and love and my writings can therefore have no incitement to violence to person or property. It is obviously not possible for me to read everything that is written or printed in my name and I would therefore ask everyone to apply the above-mentioned test to all that purports to be published in my name and I further wish and pray that everyone should reject anything that has the slightest trace of untruth, disaffection, hatred, violence and the like. I do not know the author of the poems mentioned above, but should he see this leaflet I advise him that it is necessary for him before attributing any words or statements to anyone to show them to him and obtain his permission to publish them as his. This is the least that prudence and self-restraint demand.

### **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 6**

April 25, 1919

#### **Satyagraha : Its Significance**

In the first Leaflet, I hinted that I would consider the meaning of Satyagraha in a later number of this series. I feel that the time has now arrived to examine the meaning of Satyagraha. The word was newly coined some years ago, but the principle which it denotes is as ancient as time. This is the literal meaning of Satyagraha insistence on truth, and force derivable from such insistence. In the present movement, we are making use of Satyagraha as a force: that is to say, in order to cure the evil in the shape of the Rowlatt legislation, we have been making use of the force generated by Satyagraha, that is, insistence on truth. One of the axioms of religion is, there is no religion other than truth. Another is, religion is love. And as there can be only one religion, it follows

that truth is love and love is truth. We shall find too, on further reflection, that conduct based on truth is impossible without love. Truth-force then is love-force. We cannot remedy evil by harbouring ill will against the evil-doer. This is not difficult of comprehension. It is easy enough to understand. In thousands of our acts, the propelling power is truth or love. The relations between father and son, husband and wife, indeed our family relations are largely guided by truth or love. And we therefore consciously or unconsciously apply Satyagraha in regulating these relations.

If we were to cast a retrospective glance over our past life, we would find that out of a thousand of our acts affecting our families, in nine hundred and ninety-nine we were dominated by truth, that in our deeds, it is not right to say we generally resort to untruth or ill will. It is only where a conflict of interests arises, then arise the progeny of untruth, viz., anger, ill will, etc., and then we see nothing but poison in our midst. A little hard thinking will show us that the standard that we apply to the regulation of domestic relations is the standard that should be applied to regulate the relations between rulers and the ruled, and between man and man. Those men and women who do not recognize the domestic tie are considered to be very like brutes or barbarous, even though they in form have the human body. They have never known the law of Satyagraha. Those who recognize the domestic tie and its obligations have to a certain extent gone beyond that brute stage. But if challenged, they would say "what do we care though the whole universe may perish so long as we guard the family interest?" The measure of their Satyagraha, therefore, is less than that of a drop in the ocean.

When men and women have gone a stage further, they would extend the law of love, i.e., Satyagraha, from the family to the village. A still further stage away from the brute life is reached when the law of Satyagraha is applied to provincial life, and the people inhabiting a province regulate their relations by love rather than by hatred. And when as in Hindustan we recognize the law of Satyagraha as a binding force even between province and province and the

millions of Hindustan treat one another as brothers and sisters, we have advanced a stage further still from the brute nature.

In modern times, in no part of the earth have the people gone beyond the nation stage in the application of Satyagraha. In reality, however, there need be no reason for the clashing of interest between nation and nation, thus arresting the operation of the great law. If we were not in the habit generally of giving no thought to our daily conduct, if we did not accept local custom and habit as matters of course, as we accept the current coin, we would immediately perceive that to the extent that we bear ill will towards other nations or show disregard at all for life, to that extent we disregard the law of Satyagraha or love, and to that extent we are still not free from the brute nature. But there is no religion apart from that which enables us entirely to rid ourselves of the brute nature. All religious sects and divisions, all churches and temples, are useful only so long as they serve as a means towards enabling us to recognize the universality of Satyagraha. In India we have been trained from ages past in this teaching and hence it is that we are taught to consider the whole universe as one family. I do wish to submit as a matter of experience that it is not only possible to live the full national life, by rendering obedience to the law of Satyagraha, but that the fullness of national life is impossible without Satyagraha, i.e., without a life of true religion. That nation which wars against another has to an extent disregarded the great law of life. I shall never abandon the faith I have that India is capable of delivering this truth to the whole world, and I wish that all Indians, men and women whether they are Hindus or Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians or Jews will share with me this unquenchable faith.

## **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 7**

April 26, 1919

Brothers and Sisters,

With great sorrow and equal pleasure I have to inform you that the Government have today removed Mr. Horniman from Bombay and he has been placed on board a steamer bound for England. Mr. Horniman is a very brave and generous Englishman. He has given us the *mantra* of liberty, he has fearlessly exposed wrong wherever he has seen it and thus been an ornament to the race to which he belongs, and rendered it a great service. Every Indian knows his services to India. I am sorry for the event because a brave Satyagrahi has been deported while I retain my physical liberty. I am glad because Mr. Horniman has been given the occasion of fulfilling his Pledge.

The publication of the *Chronicle* will for the time being be discontinued, because the Directors have wisely decided not to accede to the improper demands of the Government. In reality, however, the continuance of the *Chronicle* without Mr. Horniman would be like an attempt to sustain a body when the soul has departed.

The condition I have described is truly serious. Satyagraha is on the anvil. At the same time, this is a fine opportunity for demonstrating its purity and its invincibility. It will rest with Satyagrahis and other inhabitants of India to take advantage of the opportunity. I can fully appreciate the deep wound that will be caused to every Satyagrahi by the separation of a dear comrade. The nation will certainly feel hurt to find that the one who presented it with a daily draught of liberty is no more in its midst. At a time like this Satyagrahis and others will, in my opinion, demonstrate their true affection for Mr. Horniman only by remaining perfectly calm. It will be sheer thoughtlessness to break the peace. Modern civilization challenges the ancient. Satyagraha now going on is based upon the teachings of the ancient civilization and if India accepts Satyagraha the superiority of the ancient civilization will be indicated. The

world will see modern civilization in its nakedness and there is no doubt that its votaries will retrace their steps.

The following are the practical suggestions I venture to place before you. There should be no stoppage of business anywhere in Hindustan, there should be no large public meeting of protests, no processions, no violence of any kind whatsoever and every effort should be made to stop any tendency thereto. I ask Satyagrahis and the sympathizers not to lose faith in the efficacy of Satyagraha and firmly to believe that the Satyagraha Pledge will be carried in its entirety.

### **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 8**

April 28, 1919

It is a good omen for Satyagraha that Bombay has preserved peace in spite of the unendurable separation of Mr. Horniman from us. I hope that it will be preserved whenever our other friends are arrested and even if I am arrested. The Government are entitled to arrest those whom they suspect. Moreover, in our movement we consider it the proper thing to be arrested and imprisoned, when before our conscience we are found guiltless. How can we therefore be angry when any Satyagrahi is arrested? We ought to know that the sooner innocent men are arrested, the sooner will this struggle end. I have heard some people say that in Satyagraha also the end is achieved by violence. They argue that when Satyagrahis are arrested, people become excited, resort to violence and thus get their demands acceded to. I held this to be a dreadful superstition. The reverse is the truth. By the arrest of Satyagrahis, violence ensued in Ahmedabad and we have experienced the results of that violence. The people there are cowed down. Gujarat which never had the military in its midst has had an experience of it. It is my firm conviction that the victory of Satyagraha is attainable only by adherence to truth, avoidance of violence and by suffering. My experience in South Africa, Champaran, Kaira and other places fully bears out the truth of my statement. So long as we do not appreciate this truth, we are in no way fitted for Satyagraha. The question arises: "What then

ought we to do? Are we to sit with folded hands in spite of Mr. Horniman's deportation?" I reply that the observance of perfect calm is itself a demonstration of our grief over the separation, and of our intense activity along Satyagraha lines and by maintaining the same calmness of spirit we shall be better able to reach our goal and to welcome back our friend. When Hindustan (is) accustomed in the course of this struggle to rely only upon truth and non-violence, we shall be able to begin civil disobedience. Some say that it will take years before India recognizes the supremacy of truth and non-violence and therefore it must take years to bring this struggle to a successful end.

I would content myself with saying that when once the forces of truth and *ahimsa* are set in motion, the speed as they move becomes so accelerated that they take no time in permeating millions. For what is needful is to produce an impression of truth and nonviolence upon their hearts and to infect them with faith in the efficacy of these two forces. [If] the Satyagrahis are true, it need not take longer than a month or two to bring about this result.

I venture to tender the following advice in order that as suggested above truth and non-violence may permeate the masses with an ever-increasing velocity. Great movements all the world over depend for their success largely upon the mercantile class. Bombay is a great emporium of trade in Hindustan, indeed in the world. With what rapidity would the force of truth move if the merchants of Bombay were to avoid untruth and all the faults flowing from it even though introduction of truth in their business may mean smaller profits or even loss. What greater honour can we pay to Mr. Horniman than by adopting honesty as our watch-word in our mercantile transactions? The foundation of our success rests in truth and if it pervades mercantile affairs it will be a plaything to pull down the other citadels of untruth. Feel convinced that it is not difficult for those merchants of Bombay who have regard for Mr. Horniman to act according to the advice tendered by me that if we can impress the Government with the truth in us and by strictly observing the principle of non-violence assure them of their harmlessness, it may not be necessary for us to resume civil disobedience.

## **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 9**

April 28, 1919

Brothers and Sisters,

Friends have been incessantly telling me, a strong feeling prevails that some way ought to be found to give expression to popular feeling in the matter of Mr. Horniman's deportation. The - desire is quite natural. But as I have already observed, the fact that we have preserved peace is itself an eloquent demonstration of our feelings. It is my special opinion that such preservation of peace is only possible where Satyagraha is going on. I believe that the authorities have also been amazed at the profound peace prevailing throughout the city. And no wonder. The Government know that popular feeling regarding Mr. Horniman runs high. In order that a demonstration of this feeling may not run in undesirable channels, the Government have made elaborate military dispositions. But it is highly creditable to Bombay that the military have had to remain idle. It is a worthy achievement for Satyagraha. I have no doubt that if people could thus restrain themselves on all occasions, the nation would occupy a much higher status. No one need assume that we have not been taking or that we shall no longer take measures for getting Mr. Horniman back in our midst. Of all measures, the present calmness is the greatest. Yet I suggest that those who are keen on suspension of business may devote a day's profits to some public activity. But the chief thing I am desirous of in this Leaflet is the following: The agitation hitherto adopted in this country is as different from Satyagraha as the North Pole is from the South.

An appreciation of this fact will of itself remove many of our perplexities. We have seen that there is a difference between Satyagraha meetings and others. Satyagraha is based upon religion. In it only truth, calmness, serenity, patience, fearlessness, etc. should alone be seen. A Satyagraha strike must differ from the others. I have already quoted an occasion when a Satyagraha strike had to be suspended when a different strike was declared. What we expect to attain by acclamations in ordinary movements, we often gain by

silence in Satyagraha. The human voice can never reach the distance that is covered by the still small voice of conscience. Instances to show the unique character of Satyagraha can easily be multiplied and we ought not to be surprised to see things not going in the orthodox fashion. And I therefore beseech all not to be agitated because they see no outward demonstration over Mr. Horniman's deportation. I ask them' to be patient and to have full faith that by going along the path of Satyagraha, we shall meet our brother all the sooner for it.

**SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 10**

April 30, 1919

Sisters and Brothers,

I have two letters from Mr. Horniman which I expect you must all be anxious to read. The one addressed to me reads:

My Dear Mahatmaji,

They are taking me away at last. I have been rushed off without notice. This is only to say *au revoir* and to ask your blessings. God speed you in your work for the Indian people. I shall do what I can wherever I am.

*Ever yours affectionately,*

B. G. Horniman

That to Mr. Jamnadas is as follows

My Dear Jamnadas,

I hope whatever happens, Bombay will remain quiet.

I don't know whether this letter will reach you, but if it does, give my love to everybody. In the meanwhile, I shall work for India wherever I may be.

*Ever yours,*

B. G. Horniman,

Both these letters were written by him from *S. S. Takada*. Further news is that his health is all right, that he is being well looked after and that the officers have treated him with all courtesy. The order of deportation means that Mr. Horniman will be absolutely free on reaching England, that there will be no restrictions whatsoever on his liberty, and as he is resolved to work for India, wherever he is, it is likely that he will render great service to India while in England. This, however, is but a poor consolation for the people. They would be satisfied only if the order of deportation is withdrawn, and we cannot sit still till we find him back in our midst. We know how we can get him back in our midst. The first and the foremost thing is to observe self-restraint and to learn to keep peace. If we break the peace, we shall only be delaying Mr. Horniman's return and paining him.

### **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 11**

May 1, 1919

Brothers and Sisters,

Letters continue to pour in containing complaints about the so-called inactivity regarding Mr. Horniman's deportation. Most of these letters are anonymous. One of them states that it does not matter even if violence be the result of our holding large meetings, etc. It adds that we shall gain nothing without violence and that without it we shall not be able to bring Mr. Horniman back to India.

It is simple enough to give a reply to the foregoing along the lines of Satyagraha: If violence be the condition of Mr. Horniman's return to India, then Satyagrahis have to be content with separation. But there is absolutely no fear of any such result from non-violence. We can certainly bring about his return by Satyagraha. Indeed we can hasten it by Satyagraha alone — Satyagraha consists at times in civil disobedience and other times in civil obedience. It consists at times in declaring *hartal*, or holding large public meetings or arranging processions and other times in refraining from any one or all of these things. Satyagrahis may not do a single thing that would bring about or

encourage violence. At the present moment people are in a ferment, they are angry and it is likely that large meetings, processions, *hartals* may increase excitement and even end in violence. Both the people and the police are liable to err and both may have to suffer for the mistake of either. It is, therefore, clear that Satyagrahis ought to prevent such untoward results by every means at their disposal. Therein lies their Satyagraha. The nation can only rise higher by reasons of the effort to be put forth, the discipline to be undergone and the soul-force to be exerted for the attainment of such an end. When the people have disciplined themselves to remain calm, to curb anger, to handle processions with self-restraint, to bring about *hartals* without threat or violence, when volunteers are so trained that the people listen to and act according to their instructions, we are in a position to hold meetings, declare *hartals* and arrange processions. It is enough to see that the just demands of a people so trained become irresistible. The present activity is directed towards the attainment of that end and I urge all to read this Leaflet and those who are able to help, to go to the Satyagraha Sabha offices and have their names registered as; helpers.

Now let us for a moment examine, not from the Satyagraha but from the ordinary standpoint the proposition that we can by violence bring about Mr. Horniman's early return or accomplish our other objects. I believe that what is true and possible in other countries is not necessarily true and possible in Hindustan. India has from time immemorial received a different training. In India one cannot recall a time when the whole people were engaged in the use of brute force. It is my belief that India deliberately abandoned universal use of brute-force. We have noted the results of violence in the Punjab. Ahmedabad is still suffering. We shall hereafter be able to measure the full dreadful effect of violence. One such effect is the suspension of civil disobedience. We ought, therefore, to consider as erroneous the belief that by violence we can hasten Mr. Horniman's return or gain other objects.

In one of the letters received by me it is argued that Satyagrahis have no right to advise others to refrain from demonstrations, etc. even if they choose to do

so. But we observe at the present moment in Hindustan a vast number of people desirous of taking part in all Satyagraha activities other than civil disobedience. This state of things causes as much anxiety as pleasure. It throws a tremendous responsibility upon Satyagrahis. One of them is this: If the people are interested in Satyagraha and are desirous of experiencing its wonderful results, Satyagrahis have to so act that the people may become trained to participate in the movement in strict accordance with its principles and its fundamental principle is adherence to truth and nonviolence to person or property and when the people have accepted this principle the whole world will have a demonstration of the efficacy of Satyagraha.

### **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 12**

May 2, 1919

When is Satyagraha Going to be resumed?

"When is satyagraha going to be resumed?" is the question many have been asking me. There are two answers. One is that Satyagraha has not at all ceased. As long as we practise truth, and ask others to do so, so long Satyagraha can never be said to have ceased. And if all practise truth, and refrain from violence to person and property, we would immediately get what we want. But when all are not prepared to do so, when Satyagrahis are only a handful then we have to devise other methods deducible from Satyagraha. One such method is Civil Disobedience. I have already explained the reason why this civil disobedience has been for the time being suspended. As long as we know that there is every likelihood, bordering on certainty, of rioting and violence following civil disobedience, so long disobedience of laws cannot be regarded as civil disobedience, but it is disobedience that is thoughtless, uncivil and devoid of truth. Satyagrahis may never commit such disobedience. The resumption of civil disobedience can, however, be hastened by the Satyagrahis completely fulfilling their duty. My confidence in Satyagrahis has led me to assume that we shall be fitted for resuming civil disobedience in about two months, i.e., if the Rowlatt legislation is not withdrawn in the meantime, we

may resume civil disobedience by the beginning of July next. In provisionally fixing this period, I am guided by the following considerations: One of them is that we shall have by that time spread our message throughout the country, viz., that during the pendency of civil disobedience, no one, under cover of Satyagraha, or the pretence of helping it, should resort to rioting or violence. It may be hoped that the people being convinced that the true interest of the country will be served by acting in accordance with the message will preserve peace. And peace thus voluntarily sustained will materially contribute towards India's progress. But it is possible that India may not understand Satyagraha to this extent. In that case, there is one more hope of the non-recurrence of violence, though the condition upon which the hope is based is humiliating for us. It is open to the Satyagrahis, however, to avail of this condition. Indeed, it becomes their duty to resume Satyagraha under such conditions. The military dispositions that are now going on will naturally ensure non-recurrence of violence that is so detrimental to the country. The recent outbreaks were all so sudden that the Government were not prepared to cope with them there and then. But the Government arrangements are quite likely to be completed in two months' time and breach of public peace will then be well-nigh impossible, and therefore also conscious or unconscious abuse of Satyagraha. Under such a state of things, the Satyagrahis may, without any fear of disturbance, commit civil disobedience and thereby demonstrate that no violence but Satyagraha alone can help us to secure justice.

### **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 13**

May 3, 1919

Satyagraha Movement Brothers and Sisters,

A proper understanding of two things in Satyagraha enables one to solve without effort many doubts. One of them is that a Satyagrahi never does anything out of fear from without. He should fear only God. By bearing this thing in mind, we shall clearly see why we have suspended civil disobedience, why over Mr. Horniman's deportation we have not declared *hartal*, not held

large meetings and not arranged processions. In so refraining we have not been actuated, if we are true Satyagrahis, by fear, but purely by a sense of duty. The more a Satyagrahi fulfils his duty as such, the nearer he brings victory. The other thing to be remembered and which is at the present moment perhaps of greater importance than the first is that a Satyagrahi never desires to reach the goal by harbouring or increasing ill will or hatred against his opponent. He will look upon him even as a friend and yet ever resist the wrong done by him without bearing malice towards him. By such conduct worthy of a Satyagrahi, causes conducing to enmity will decrease and both parties will acknowledge and avoid mistakes. We know the Rowlatt legislation to be altogether bad, but that is no reason for harbouring ill will against the Government. The harbouring of it will in no way enable us the better to assess that evil legislation, or to advance the movement against it. On the contrary, such ill will can only damage the movement. For, obsessed by it, we refuse to understand or weigh the opponent's argument. We thus disable ourselves from producing the necessary impression upon the opponent and to that extent retard victory if we do not make it' impossible. We are aware that the questions regarding Turkey, etc., have caused greater hurt to our Mahomedan brethren than has been caused to Hindus, Mahomedans and others by the Rowlatt legislation. But they cannot solve their difficulties by ill will. These difficulties can only be solved by proper deliberation, by properly framing and publishing their demands and by firm adherence thereto. So doing, they can enlist the help of the Hindus, Parsis, Christians, in fact, the whole world, and thus make their demands irresistible. If we harbour anger or ill will against the Government on account of the Rowlatt legislation, or Islamic or other questions, and therefore resort to violence, we shall be powerless even to consolidate Indian opinion, let alone the world's opinion. The gulf between the English and ourselves will widen and we shall be no nearer the goal. Victory attained by violence is tantamount to a defeat, for it is momentary. Then there is increase of ill will between both the parties and each prepares to give battle to the other. There is no such untoward end to Satyagraha. A Satyagrahi by reason of suffering for his principles draws towards himself universal sympathy and even melts the heart

of the so-called enemy. Had we not erred in Ahmedabad and Viramgam, the history of the movement would have been written differently. There would have been no increase of ill will between the English and ourselves, no military dispositions such as we see about us and yet our determination to get rid of the Rowlatt legislation would have remained just as firm, the movement against it would have gone much further forward, probably by this time it might have been crowned with success, resulting at the same time in a bridging of the gulf between the English and ourselves. It is, however, never too late to mend. We can retrace our steps. The retracing consists in curbing anger and ill will against the English and therefore refraining from violence. As a matter of fact, the mistake in passing the Rowlatt legislation is not of the English nation, nor of the English in India. It is purely of those in authority. Nations are often ignorant of what is done in their names. The powers that be do not make deliberate mistakes, they act as they think fit. That fact, however, does not cause the people any the less harm and therefore, whilst we harbour no ill will against those in authority, we spare no pains in taking effective steps for mending the mistake, but regarding it only as such and no more, we refrain from violence and secure its reversal by self-suffering.

#### **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 14**

May 4, 1919

#### **Satyagraha is Impossible so Long as There is Ill Will**

Brothers and Sisters,

We have seen in our last leaflet that the actions of a Satyagrahi should not be prompted by fear from without but by the voice from within, and that a Satyagrahi should not think of attaining his objects by harbouring ill will towards his opponent but should win him over by his friendliness. I see that many hesitate to accept the second proposition. They argue: "How can we help being angry with wrongdoers? It is against human nature to do otherwise. How can we separate the wrong from the wrongdoer? How is it possible to direct our

anger against the wrong without directing it against the wrongdoer?" A father, far from getting angry with his son, often expresses his disapproval of wrong action by taking suffering on his own person. Only on such mutual conduct is continuance of friendly relations between father and son possible. These relations cease with the ceasing of such conduct. It is our daily lot to go through these experiences and hence the proverb, "Let quarrels perish." We can live in peace and be free from our fearful position only if we apply the domestic law to our relations with the Government. The doubt need not be raised whether the domestic law can at all be extended to our relations with the Government, and whether the law of love does not for its operation require reciprocity. In Satyagraha, both the parties need not be Satyagrahis. Where both the parties are Satyagrahis, there is no play for Satyagraha, no opportunity for the test of love. Insistence on truth can come into play only when one party practises untruth or injustice. Only then can love be tested. True friendship is put to the test only when one party disregards the obligations of friendship. We stand to lose everything when we are angry against the Government. Mutual distrust and mutual ill will are thereby augmented. But if we act without in the least being angry with the Government, but also without being cowed down by their armed force, and without submitting to what we believe to be injustice, injustice would of itself be removed and we would easily attain the equality which is our goal. This equality does not depend on our power to answer their brute force with brute force, and real fearlessness is not possible without love. A clear victory for Satyagraha is impossible so long as there is ill will. But those who believe themselves to be weak are incapable of loving. Let then our first act every morning be to make the following resolve for the day: "I shall not fear anyone on earth. I shall fear only God; I shall not bear ill will towards anyone. I shall not submit to injustice from anyone. I shall conquer untruth by truth and in resisting untruth I shall put up with all suffering."

**SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 15**

May 5, 1919

Satyagraha Hartal Next Sunday Fasting for 24 Hours and Religious Devotion in Every Home Brothers and Sisters,

Bombay has borne with great calmness the separation of Mr. Horniman. The long-sustained calmness observed by Bombay under unendurable circumstances had demonstrated its capacity for self-restraint. But the discussions at the meetings of the Satyagraha Sabha and reports of popular discussions show that the minds of the people are by no means appeased. They are desirous of publicly expressing their grief and feelings in some way or other. The desire is and must be irrepressible. The people will never forget what Mr. Horniman has done for them. He has given them a new life, a new hope and there is no doubt that they have remained calm in the hope that an occasion would be provided for them to mark their pure affection for Mr. Horniman. The Satyagraha Sabha last night decided after mature deliberation that next Sunday, 11th instant, should be the day of observance of *hartal*, fasting for 24 hours reckoning from previous evening, and private religious devotion in every home.

The first suggestion, i.e., *hartal*, is applicable to the city of Bombay. In time of unrest, such as we are passing through, it does not seem proper to declare *hartal* in other places. Not to observe it in other places is for the people thereof an act of self-restraint and in the city of Bombay, too, it is to be confined to independent businessmen. Those who are employed in public or private offices are in no way to suspend business unless they obtain leave. There should be no pressure exerted upon anybody, no force used against anyone with a view to inducing suspension. For suspension brought about by force is no suspension, for a mind acted upon by force continues to contemplate the act from which it is restrained by force. We are bound not only not to interfere with a man who wants to open a shop or a *ghariwalla* who wishes to ply for hire, but to afford him every protection. I hope that both men and women in Bombay and elsewhere who have no religious or medical

objection will observe the fast and devote the day to religious contemplation and try to understand the true nature of Satyagraha by recalling the illustrations of Satyagraha from their own scriptures. We shall consider hereafter the efficacy of fasting as an aid to national progress, to the development of national ideals and to the attainment of restraint over our passions such as hunger, etc. For the time being, it is enough that we observe an absolutely voluntary Satyagraha *hartal* next Sunday in the city of Bombay; we observe a fast everywhere and engage in private religious devotion in a spirit of calmness and love. We shall thereby add to our honour and speed Mr. Horniman's return.

### **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 16**

May 6, 1919

#### **Sunday's Hartal: Its Religious Spirit**

Brothers and Sisters,

To declare a hartal is no small matter. It requires strong reasons to support it. Let us therefore examine the justification for it. The citizens of Bombay are impatient to give some outward evidence of their deep affection for Mr. Horniman. They can provide it in a striking manner by means of *hartal*. Everybody's feelings will be tested thereby. Moreover, *hartal* is an ancient Indian institution for expressing national sorrow and we can therefore demonstrate through *hartal* our grief over the deportation and *hartal* is the best method of marking our strong disapproval of the action of the Government. It is a means, more powerful than monster meetings, of expressing national opinion. Thus, we serve three purposes by *hartal* and all of them are so great that we do not expose ourselves to the charge of exaggeration in declaring *hartal*.

This much is clear that none of the purposes above-named will be served if suspension of business is brought about through fear of public opprobrium or physical pressure. If suspension were to be brought about by terrorism and if

Mr. Horniman came to know [of] it, he could not but be displeased and grieved by the knowledge, and such artificial hartal would fail to produce any effect upon the Government. Hartal forcibly brought about cannot be considered Satyagrahi *hartal*. In anything Satyagrahi, there should be purity of motive, means and end. I, therefore, hope that no man or woman who is unwilling to suspend business will in any way be interfered with, but that he or she will be guaranteed protection from any harm whatsoever. *I would far rather wish that people did not suspend business on Sunday in the city of Bombay and that the organizers were exposed to ridicule than that force was used upon a single person in order to make him suspend business.* In order to avoid all risk of commotion in Bombay on Sunday, the idea of holding public meetings has been discountenanced and all have been advised to remain indoors. As all Satyagraha activity should be guided by the religious spirit, I have suggested that we should fast for twenty-four hours and devote the day to religious contemplation, and it is to be hoped that all the members of families including children and servants will take part in the religious observance. Hindus may have the Bhagavad Gita read to them. It takes four hours to read through it with clear pronunciation and other Hindu religious books might be read in addition [to] or in place of it. The Mahomedans and others may have their own scriptures read to them. It will be a proper way of spending the day to read the stories of great Satyagrahis such as Prahlad, Harischandra, Mirabai, Imams Hasan and Hoosein, Socrates and others. It will be opportune also to explain to family gatherings Mr. Horniman's title to our affection. The chief thing to be remembered is that we may not fritter away next Sunday in playing cards, chowpat, gambling or in sheer laziness, but that it should be so spent as to make us better men and women for national service. Better-placed and well-to-do families will, I hope, invite such of their neighbours as may be poor, solitary or ignorant, to participate in the religious devotion. A brotherly spirit is cultivated not by words but only deeds.

Mr. Motilal Dahyabhai Zaveri of Kalbadevi Road has just dropped in and informed me that before the news of the declaration of hartal next Sunday, he had issued invitations for a wedding party on that day. He also said there were

many such parties to be given on the same day. Mr. Motilal was most anxious that he and his friends should take part in the observance. I venture to advise that so far as the religious part of the wedding ceremonial was concerned, it should be gone through without disturbance, but that dinner parties and other rejoicings might be postponed to Monday. His patriotic affection for Mr. Horniman was such that he immediately accepted the advice and I tender it for the acceptance of those who may be similarly situated.

### **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 17**

May 7, 1919

#### **Sunday's Hartal and Fasting**

Brothers and Sisters,

By hartal, fasting and religious devotion on Sunday next, the people propose to demonstrate to the Government in terms of Satyagraha that it is not possible for them to bring about true contentment by force of arms. So long as the Rowlatt legislation is not withdrawn, so long as the Government continue to suppress men like Mr. Horniman who carry on innocent agitations against such acts of the Government not only is true contentment impossible, but discontent must increase. All the world over a true peace depends not upon gunpowder but upon pure justice. When Government perpetrate injustice, and fortify it by the use of arms, such acts are a sign of anger and they add injustice to injustice. If people also become angry by reason of such acts on the part of the Government, they resort to violence and the result is bad for both, mutual ill will increases. But whenever people regard particular acts of the Government as unjust and express their strong disapproval by self-suffering, the Government cannot help granting redress. This is the way of Satyagraha and the people of Bombay will have an opportunity on Sunday next of giving expression in a clean manner to such disapproval.

A *hartal* brought about voluntarily and without pressure is a powerful means of showing popular disapproval, but fasting is even more so. When people fast in a

religious spirit and thus demonstrate their grief before God, it receives a certain response. Hardest hearts are impressed by it. Fasting is regarded by all religions as a great discipline. Those who voluntarily fast become gentle and purified by it. A pure fast is a very powerful prayer. It is no small thing for lakhs of people voluntarily to abstain from food and such a fast is a Satyagrahi fast. It ennobles individuals and nations. In it there should be no intention of exercising undue pressure upon the Government. But we do observe that like so many other good acts, this one of fasting too is sometimes abused. In India we often see beggars threatening to fast, fasting, or pretending to fast, until they receive what they ask for. This is duragrahi fasting and the person so fasting degrades himself and it will be the proper thing to let such people fast. It is false kindness to give anything under pressure of such fasting. If it were to be otherwise, fasting may be resorted to even for securing unlawful demands. Where it is a question of determining the justice or otherwise of a particular act, there is no room for any other force but that of reason regulated by the voice of conscience. The coming fast is thus in no way to be interpreted as designed to put pressure upon the Government.

### **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 18**

May 8, 1919

#### **Sunday's Hartal**

#### **True Meaning of "Bhagavad Gita's Teachings**

Brothers and Sisters,

Even The Times of India, which is ordinarily regarded as the impartial newspaper, has seen fit to ridicule the forthcoming hartal and to distrust the religious character of fasting. It is our duty patiently to endure the ridicule and distrust. We can turn both into repentance by our own action, i.e., by observing the hartal in a Satyagrahi spirit and by true religious devotion. But the more grievous criticism of this well-known newspaper consists in misinterpreting our calmness and inferring from it that we have felt no grief

over Mr. Homiman's separation. By observing full hartal on Sunday in a quiet manner and by devoting the day to sincere religious contemplation, we can demonstrate the mistake made by The Times of India.

I shall now endeavour to consider in all humility a doubt raised by some Hindu friends regarding the meaning of the Bhagavad Gita. They say that in the Bhagavad Gita Shri Krishna has encouraged Arjuna to slay his relations and they therefore argue that there is warrant in that work for violence and that there is no Satyagraha in it. Now the Bhagavad Gita is not a historical work, it is a great religious book, summing up the teaching of all religions. The poet has seized the occasion of the war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas on the field of Kurukshetra for drawing attention to the war going on in our bodies between the forces of Good (Pandavas) and the forces of Evil (Kauravas) and has shown that the latter should be destroyed and there should be no remissness in carrying on the battle against the forces of Evil, mistaking them through ignorance for forces of Good. In Islam, Christianity, Judaism, it is a war between God and Satan, in Zoroastrianism between Aurmazd and Ahriman. To confuse the description of this universally acknowledged spiritual war with a momentary world strife is to call holy unholy. We, who are saturated with the teachings of the Bhagavad Gita' but who do not pretend to any special spiritual qualifications, do not draw out sword against our relations whenever they perpetrate injustice but we win them over by our affection for them. If the physical interpretation alluded to of the Bhagavad Gita be correct, we sin against it in not inflicting physical punishment upon our relatives whom we consider to have done us injustice. Everywhere in that Divine Song, we note the following advice given to Arjuna: Fight without anger, conquer the two great enemies, desire and anger; be the same to friend and foe; physical objects cause pleasure and pain, they are fleeting; endure them. That one cannot strike down an adversary without anger is universal experience. Only an Arjuna who destroys the devil within him can live without attachment. It was Ramdas brought up in the teaching of the Bhagavad Gita who not only endured the lashes of a wrong-doer by actually produced for him a *jagir*.

Narsinh Mehta, the first poet of Gujarat and the prince among bhaktas, was nurtured in the Bhagavad Gita teaching. He conquered his enemies only by love and has given through one single poem of matchless beauty the great text of their conduct to his fellow Vaishnavas. That encouragement from violence can be deduced from the Bhagavad Gita demonstrates the deadliness of Kaliyuga. It is only too true that we often find an echo of our sentiments in what we read and see. If it is true that God made men in his own image, it is equally true that man makes God also in his own image. I have found nothing but love in every page of the Gita and I hope and pray that everyone will have similar experience of Sunday.

### **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 19**

May 9, 1919

#### **Bombay Will be Tested on Sunday**

Brothers and Sisters,

Bombay will be tested on Sunday. To observe hartal, fast [and] religious contemplation are easy enough for sensible people. Bombay will prove her sensibility on Sunday. In England, more especially in Scotland, business is suspended every Sunday for religious reasons. Trains too are running most sparingly. Even in India, public offices are closed on Sundays. There would, therefore, generally be no occasion for anxiety over hartal. There is just a little anxiety about our hartal because of the present unrest and because ours is intended to be an expression of our grief and respect. From the news received from different quarters and from the impression gathered from meetings that have been held to explain the reasons for the Sunday observance, there is every reason to hope that Bombay will do credit to herself and India by observing perfect calm on Sunday.

It is to be wished that in every mosque, church and temple and in every assembly, visitors will be told to suspend business and advised to fast, and devote the day to religious contemplation and observe peace.

I have stated in the first Leaflet on the hartal that employees may only suspend work in receiving permission from their employers. But those who are working in hospitals, or in connection with the sanitation of the town, dock labourers handling the grain to be dispatched to Famine areas ought not to suspend work at all. In a Satyagrahi hartal, we are bound to give the first place to public weal, more especially the requirements of the poor. And when we use the sense of discrimination fully in all our activities, our difficulties will disappear even as the mist before the morning sun.

### ***SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 20***

May 10, 1919

#### **Hatred Ever Kills - Love Never Dies**

Brothers and Sisters,

My one request to Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians and Jews is that by our conduct tomorrow we may demonstrate to the Government our absolutely harmless intentions and show that nobody in Bombay wishes to commit a breach of the peace, and further show that Bombay is capable of discharging heavy responsibilities with patient calmness. We should at the same time demonstrate that we are capable of acting in perfect unity and determined to secure a fulfilment of our cherished will. But we do not desire to obtain justice by harbouring ill will against the Government but by goodwill. Hatred ever kills, love never dies. Such is the vast difference between the two. What is obtained by love is retained for all time. What is obtained by hatred proves a burden in reality, for it increases hatred. The duty of human beings is to diminish hatred and to promote love. I pray that Bombay will observe full hartal, fast and pray and do all this in a loving spirit.

## **SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 21**

May 12, 1919

### **Peaceful Hartal Bombay's Worthy Example**

Brothers and Sisters,

Bombay covered itself with glory by preserving perfect calm, and the citizens have shown by their peaceful *hartal* [that] they have understood a portion of Satyagraha. They have done true honour to Mr. Horniman and demonstrated to the Government that they disapprove of his deportation. Bombay has set a worthy example to the whole of India. It is a matter of pride for Bombay from the Satyagraha standpoint, that some shops were open. This fact proved the voluntary character of the *hartal*. Many causes contributed to the success of this remarkable demonstration, but the chief among them was the performance of their duty by volunteers under Mr. Vithaldas Jerajani. They had commenced operations from the commencement of the talk of *hartal*, and we had the results of their efforts yesterday. Our thanks are due also to the police. If aggressive military dispositions had been made, the people would have become excited and the task of preserving peace would have been much more difficult.

A nation enjoying or desiring to enjoy swaraj must possess the following four attributes:

1. The police should be the least needed for self- protection and there should be concord between them and the people;
2. Jails should be the least patronized;
3. The hospitals should have few cases; and
4. The law courts should have the least work. Where people do violence, commit crimes, and not exercising control over their senses and committing a breach of nature's laws become diseased and engage in perpetual quarrels resulting in law-suits, they are not free but in bondage.

We shall learn the first chapter of swaraj and liberty when India adopts the example of Bombay as a permanent way of life.

## **APPENDIX - II**

[The following cullings made by Shri Pyarelal Nayyar from Gandhiji's writings give in a connected form a complete outline of the Science of Satyagraha in theory and practice which Gandhiji expounded to the warlike Pathans. These appear as an Appendix under the title "Quintessence of Satyagraha" in Shri Pyarelal's book Pilgrimage of Peace]

### **I. PREFATORY**

#### **Rights and Duties**

I learned from my illiterate but wise mother that all rights to be deserved and preserved came from duty well done. Thus the very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of the citizenship of the world. From this one fundamental statement perhaps it is easy enough to define the duties of Man and Woman and correlate every right to some corresponding duty to be first performed. Every other right can be shown to be a usurpation hardly worth fighting for.

Every man has an equal right to the necessaries of life even as birds and beasts have. And since every right carries with it a corresponding duty and the corresponding remedy for resisting an attack upon it, it is merely a matter of finding out the corresponding duties and remedies to vindicate the elementary equality. The corresponding duty is to labour with my limbs and the corresponding remedy is to non-co-operate with him who deprives me of the fruit of my labour.

#### **Ahimsa - The Supreme Duty**

3. Ahimsa is the means; Truth is the end. Means to be means must always be within our reach, and so ahimsa is our supreme duty.

### **II. Ahimsa - ITS NATURE**

#### **Ahimsa (Non-violence) A Positive Virtue**

4. In its positive form ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity. If I am a follower of ahimsa, I must love my enemy. I must apply the same rules to the wrong-doer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrongdoing father or son. This active ahimsa necessarily includes truth and fearlessness. As man cannot deceive the loved one, he does not fear or frighten him or her. Gift of life is the greatest of all gifts; a man who gives it in reality, disarms all hostility. He has paved the way for an honourable understanding. And none who is himself subject to fear can bestow that gift. He must therefore be himself fearless. A man cannot then practice ahimsa and be a coward at the same time. The practice of ahimsa calls forth the greatest courage.

### **Power of Non-violence**

5. With satya combined with ahimsa, you can bring the world to your feet.

6. Ahimsa, truly understood, is panacea for all evils mundane and extramundane.

7. Non-violence in its dynamic condition does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honour, his religion, his soul and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration.

8. It is a profound error to suppose that whilst the law is good enough for individuals, it is not for masses of mankind.

9. It is the acid test of non-violence that in a nonviolent conflict there is no rancour left behind, and in the end the enemies are converted into friends.

### **Non-violence in Individual and Collective Life**

10. I hold that non-violence is not merely a personal virtue. It is also a social virtue to be cultivated like the other virtues. Surely society is largely regulated by the expression of non-violence in its mutual dealings. What I ask for is an extension of it on a larger, national and international scale.

### **Non-violence The Law of the Human Race**

11. Non-violence is the law of the human race and is infinitely greater than and superior to brute force.

12. The only condition of a successful use of this force is a recognition of the existence of the soul as apart from the body and its permanent nature. And this recognition must amount to a living faith and not mere intellectual grasp.

13. In the last resort it does not avail to those who do not possess a living faith in the God of Love.

14. Non-violence affords the fullest protection to one's self-respect and sense of honour, but not always to possession of land or movable property, though its habitual practice does prove a better bulwark than the possession of armed men to defend them. Nonviolence in the very nature of things is of no assistance in the defence of ill-gotten gains and immoral acts.

15. Individuals and nations who would practise non-violence must be prepared to sacrifice (nations to the last man) their all except honour. It is therefore inconsistent with the possession of other people's countries, i.e., modern imperialism which is frankly based on force for its defence.

16. Non-violence is a power which can be wielded equally by all children, young men and women or grown up people, provided they have a living faith in the God of Love and have therefore equal love for all mankind. When non-violence is accepted as the law of life it must pervade the whole being and not be applied to isolated acts.

### **Non-violence and Politics Basic Principle**

17. I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity.

18. No man could be actively non-violent and not rise against social injustice no matter where it occurred.

19. To practise non-violence in mundane matters is to know its true value. It is to bring heaven upon earth. There is no such thing as the other world. All worlds are one. I hold it therefore to be wrong to limit the use of non-violence to cave-dwellers and for acquiring merit for a favoured position in the other world. All virtue ceases to have use if it serves no purpose in every walk of life.

### **Non-violence - Virtue of the Strong**

20. I do believe that where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence.

21. My creed of non-violence is an extremely active force. It has no room for cowardice or even weakness. There is hope for a violent man to be some day non-violent, but there is none for a coward.

22. Non-violence presupposes ability to strike. It is a conscious, deliberate restraint put upon one's desire for vengeance. But vengeance is any day superior to passive, effeminate and helpless submission, Forgiveness is higher still.

23. Forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns the soldier. But abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature.

24. Non-violence is without exception superior to violence, i.e., the power at the disposal of a nonviolent person is always greater than he would have if we were violent.

25. Man for man, the strength of non-violence is in exact proportion to the ability, not the will, of the non-violent person to inflict violence.

### **III. SOUL FORCE IN ACTION**

#### **Satyagraha or Soul Force The Law of Truth**

26. The term Satyagraha was coined by me in South Africa to express the force that the Indians there used for full eight years. Its root meaning is holding on to Truth. I have also called it Love-force or Soul-force.

27. In the application of Satyagraha, I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of Truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent.

28. For what appears to be Truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of Truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's self.

29. But on the political field, the struggle on behalf of the people mostly consists in opposing error in the shape of unjust laws. When you have failed to bring the error home to the law-giver by way of petitions and the like, the only remedy open to you, if you do not wish to submit to error, is to compel him by physical force to yield to you or by suffering in your own person by inviting the penalty for the breach of the law. Hence Satyagraha appears to the public as Civil Disobedience or Civil Resistance. It is civil in the sense that it is not criminal.

30. It is a force that works silently and apparently slowly. In reality, there is no force in the world that is so direct or so swift in working.

31. The hardest heart and the grossest ignorance must disappear before the rising sun of suffering without anger and without malice.

32. And when once it is set in motion, its effect, if it is intensive enough, can overtake the whole universe. It is the greatest force because it is the highest expression of the soul.

33. Since Satyagraha is one of the most powerful methods of direct action, a Satyagrahi exhausts all other means before he resorts to Satyagraha. He will therefore constantly and continually approach the constituted authority, he will appeal to public opinion, educate public opinion, state his case calmly and coolly before everybody who wants to listen to him, and only after he has exhausted all these avenues will he resort to Satyagraha. But when he has

found the impelling call of the inner voice within him and launches out upon Satyagraha he has burnt his boats and there is no receding.

### **Ten Commandments of Satyagraha**

34. Satyagraha is utter self-effacement, greatest humility, greatest patience and brightest faith. It is its own reward.

35. As a Satyagrahi I must always allow my cards to be examined and reexamined at all times and make reparation if any error is discovered.

36. Satyagraha is gently, it never wounds. It must not be the result of anger or malice. It is never fussy, never impatient, never vociferous. It is the direct opposite of compulsion.

37. A Satyagrahi may not even ascend to heaven on the wings of Satan.

38. He must believe in truth and non-violence as his creed and therefore have faith in the inherent goodness of human nature which he expects to evoke by his truth and love expressed through his suffering.

39. A Satyagrahi never misses, can never miss, a chance of compromise on honourable terms, it being always assumed that in the event of failure he is ever ready to offer battle. He needs no previous preparation; his cards are always on the table.

40. A Satyagrahi bids goodbye to fear. He is, therefore, never afraid of trusting the opponent. Even if the opponent plays him false twenty times, the Satyagrahi is ready to trust him the twenty-first time, for an implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed.

41. It is never the intention of a Satyagrahi to embarrass the wrong-doer. The appeal is never to his fear; it is, must be, always to his heart. The Satyagrahi's object is to convert, not to coerce, the wrong-doer. He should avoid artificiality in all his doings. He acts naturally and from inward conviction.

42. The very nature of the science of Satyagraha precludes the student from seeing more than the step immediately in front of him.

43. A Satyagrahi must never forget the distinction between evil and the evil-doer. He must not harbour ill will or bitterness against the latter. He may not even employ needlessly offensive language against the evil person, however unrelieved his evil might be. For it is an article of faith with every Satyagrahi that there is no one so fallen in this world but can be converted by love. A Satyagrahi will always try to overcome evil by good, anger by love, untruth by truth, himsa by ahimsa. There is no other way of purging the world of evil.

### **Weapon of Non-co-operation**

44. Non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as co-operation with good.

45. When we are firmly of opinion that grave wrong has been done to us and when after an appeal to the highest authority we fail to secure redress, there must be some power available to us for undoing the wrong.

46. We must refuse to wait for the wrong to be righted till the wrong-doer has been roused to a sense of his iniquity. But we must combat the wrong by ceasing to assist the wrong-doer directly or indirectly.

47. The business of every God-fearing man is to dissociate himself from evil in total disregard of consequences.

48. Non-co-operation predominantly implies withdrawing of co-operation from the State that in the non-co-operator's view has become corrupt, and excludes Civil Disobedience of the fierce type. By its very nature, non-co-operation is even open to children of understanding and can be safely practised by the masses. Non-co-operation too, like Civil Disobedience, is a branch of Satyagraha which includes all non-violent resistance for the vindication of Truth. Non-co-operation in itself is more harmless than Civil Disobedience but in its effect it is far more dangerous for the Government than Civil Disobedience. Non-co-operation is intended so far to paralyse the Government as to compel justice from it. If it is carried to the extreme point, it can bring the Government to a standstill.

49. Non-co-operation is not a passive state, it is an intensely active state. Passive resistance is a misnomer.

50. My non-co-operation is with methods and systems, never with men.

51. Behind my non-co-operation there is always the keenest desire to co-operate on the slightest pretext even with the worst of opponents. To me, a very imperfect mortal, ever in need of God's grace, no one is beyond redemption.

### **Civil Disobedience A Constitutional Weapon**

52. Civil Disobedience is civil breach of unmoral statutory enactments. The expression was, so far as I am aware, coined by Thoreau. Civil Disobedience is not a state of lawlessness and licence, but presupposes a law-abiding spirit combined with self-restraint. Satyagraha consists at times in Civil Disobedience and other times in Civil Obedience.

53. Nor is it necessary for voluntary obedience that the laws to be observed must be good. There are many unjust laws which a good citizen obeys so long as they do not hurt his self-respect or the moral being.

54. A Government that is evil has no room for good men and women except in its prisons. As no government in the world can possibly put a whole nation in prison it must yield to its demand or abdicate in favour of a government suited to that nation.

55. Disobedience to the law of the State becomes a peremptory duty when it comes in conflict with the law of God.

56. A Satyagrahi is nothing if not instinctively law-abiding, and it is his law-abiding nature which exacts from him implicit obedience to the highest law, that is, the voice of conscience which overrides all other laws.

57. A Satyagrahi sometimes appears momentarily to disobey laws and the constituted authority only to prove in the end his regard for both.

58. Civil Disobedience is the purest type of constitutional agitation. Of course, it becomes degrading and despicable if its civil, i.e., non-violent character is a mere camouflage.

### **Civil Disobedience Inherent Right of a Citizen**

59. Civil Disobedience is the inherent right of a citizen. He dare not give it up without ceasing to be a man. Civil Disobedience is never followed by anarchy. Criminal Disobedience can lead to it. Every State puts down Criminal Disobedience by force. It perishes if it does not. But to put down Civil Disobedience is to attempt to imprison conscience.

60. Complete Civil Disobedience is rebellion without the element of violence in it. An out and out civil resister simply ignores the authority of the State. He becomes an outlaw claiming to disregard every unmoral State law.... Submission to the State law is the price a citizen pays for his personal liberty. Submission therefore to a State law wholly or largely unjust is an immoral barter for liberty. A citizen who thus realizes the evil nature of a State is not satisfied to live on its sufferance and therefor he invites imprisonment and other uses of force against himself. This he does because and when he finds the bodily freedom he seemingly enjoys to be an intolerable burden....

Thus considered, Civil Resistance is a most powerful expression of a soul's anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of an evil State.

### **Requisites of Civil Disobedience - Discipline, Non-violence, Truth, Justice and Purity**

61. A born democrat is a born disciplinarian. Democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated normally to yield willing obedience to all laws, human or divine. I claim to be a democrat both by instinct and training. Let those who are ambitious to serve democracy qualify themselves by satisfying first this acid test of democracy. A democrat must be utterly selfless. He must think and dream not in terms of self or party but only of democracy. Only then does he acquire the right of Civil Disobedience.

62. Disobedience to be civil must be sincere, respectful, restrained, never defiant; must be based upon some well understood principle; must not be capricious and above all, must have no ill will or hatred behind it.

63. For my movement I do not need believers in the theory on non-violence, full or imperfect. It is enough if people carry out the rules of non-violent action.

64. The first indispensable condition precedent to any Civil Resistance is that there should be surety against any outbreak of violence whether on the part of those who are identified with Civil Resistance or on the part of the general public. It would be no answer in the case of an outbreak of violence that it was instigated by the State or other agencies hostile to civil resisters. It should be obvious that Civil Resistance cannot flourish in an atmosphere of violence.

This does not mean that the resources of a Satyagrahi have come to an end. Ways other than Civil Disobedience should be found out.

65. The beauty of Satyagraha, of which non-cooperation is but a chapter, is that it is available to either side in a fight; that it has checks that automatically work for the vindication of truth and justice in preponderating measures. It is as powerful and faithful a weapon in the hand of the capitalist as in that of the labourer. It is as powerful in the hands of the Government as in that of the people, and will bring victory to the government, if people are misguided or unjust, as it will win the battle for the people if the Government be in the wrong.

66. In Satyagraha it is never the numbers that count; it is always the quality, more so when the forces of violence are uppermost.

67. Indeed one PERFECT civil resister is enough to win the battle of Right against Wrong.

## APPENDIX - III

### PRAYER DISCOURSE IN ASHRAM

March 17, 1918

The step I have just now taken is a very grave one, but at the back of it there stands a great idea. It is grave because, on hearing of this all those who know me in India will be very much pained, be almost in an agony of grief. But, at the same time, I have here an opportunity to convey to them a beautiful idea, and I should not miss it. This is the motive behind my action. I have been getting quite impatient for the last two days to explain it to you but I could not get enough quiet time for that. It would make me very unhappy to miss the morning and evening prayers in the Ashram. And, besides, yesterday the music maestro dropped in and so I just would not forgo the pleasure of hearing his strains. I have swum past many a lure but many hungers still persist in me. At present I get here all that I long for by way of music and, therefore, although it was Anasuyabehn's express wish yesterday that I should stay on there, I insisted on coming over to the Ashram. At a time like this, the music here has a very soothing effect on me. This is indeed the best occasion for me to unburden my soul to you. At other hours, you are likely to be busy with your work and to make you leave that and assemble here that won't be proper either.

From the ancient culture of India, I have gleaned a truth which, even if it is mastered by the few persons here at the moment, would give these few a mastery over the world. Before telling you of it, however, I should like to say another thing. At present, there is only one person in India over whom millions are crazy, for whom millions of our countrymen would lay down their lives. That person is Tilak Maharaj. I often feel that this is a great asset of his, his great treasure. He has written on the inner meaning of the Gita. But I have always felt that he has not understood the age-old spirit of India, has not understood her soul and that is the reason why the nation has come to this pass. Deep down in his heart, he would like us all to be what the Europeans are. As Europe stands on top at present, as it seems, that is, to those whose

minds are steeped in European nations he wants India to be in the same position. He underwent six years' internment but only to display a courage of the European variety, with the idea that these people who are tyrannizing over us now may learn how, if it came to that, we too could stand such long terms of internment, be it five years or twenty-five. In the prisons of Siberia, many great men of Russia are wasting their whole lives, but these men did not go to prison in obedience to any spiritual promptings. To be this prodigal of one's life is to expend our highest treasure to no purpose. If Tilakji had undergone the sufferings of internment with a spiritual motive, things would not have been as they are and the results of his internment would have been far different. This is what I should like to explain to him. I have often, with great respect, spoken about this to him, as much as I could, though I have not put the thing in so many words orally or in writing.

I might have, in what I wrote, watered down my meaning, but Tilak Maharaj has so penetrating an intellect that he would understand. This is, however, no matter to be explained orally or in writing. To give him first-hand experience of it, I must furnish a living example. Indirectly, I have spoken to him often enough but, should I get an opportunity of providing a direct demonstration, I should not miss it, and here is one.

Another such person is Madan Mohan Malaviya. Amongst the present leaders of India, he is a man of the holiest character that is, amongst political personages and amongst those whom we know. Unknown to us, there may be many such indeed. But although he is so holy in his life and so well informed on points of dharma, he has not, it seems to me, properly understood the soul of India in all its grandeur. I am afraid I have said too much. If he were to hear this, Malaviyaji might get angry with me, even think of me as a swollen-headed man and take a dislike to me. But I feel no hesitation in saying what I do because it is quite true. I have spoken to him many times. I am bound to him by ties of affection and hence I have even indulged in frequent wranglings with him. At the end of all my arguments, however, he would merely say that all I had said might be true but that he was not convinced of it. I have this opportunity to

provide him, too, with a direct demonstration. I owe it to both to show now what India's soul is.

For the last twenty days, I have been mixing with ten thousand mill-hands. In my presence, they took a pledge in the name of God. At the time, they did so with great enthusiasm. Whatever type of people they are, they all believe at any rate that God exists.

They thought that, when they had observed the pledge for twenty days, God was bound to come to their help. When that did not happen and God prolonged the test, their faith faltered. They felt that, led by this one man, they had suffered all these days but gained nothing whatever, that if they had not allowed themselves to be prevailed upon by him but had turned militant, they would have had their 35 per cent, or even more, in a much shorter time. This is my analysis of how their minds work. I can never bear to be in such a situation. That a pledge once taken, at my instance, should be so lightly broken and that faith in God should decline means certain annihilation of dharma. I simply cannot live to be a witness to this in any activity to which I am a party. I must impress upon the minds of the mill-hands what it is to take a pledge. I must show to them what I can do for a pledge; if I did not, I would be a coward. For a man who brags of clearing seven feet, not to clear even one is impotence. Well, then, to keep those ten thousand men from falling, I took this step. This was why I took the vow and its impact was electrifying. I had never expected this. The thousands of men present there shed tears from their eyes. They awoke to the reality of their soul, a new consciousness stirred in them and they got strength to stand by their pledge. I was instantly persuaded that dharma had not vanished from India that people do respond to an appeal to their soul. If Tilak Maharaj and Malaviyaji would but see this, great things could be done in India.

I am at present overflowing with joy. When, on a former occasion, I took such a vow, my mind did not enjoy the peace it does today. I also felt at that time the pull of the body. This time I experience nothing of the kind. My mind is filled

with profound peace. I feel like pouring forth my soul to you all but I am beside myself with joy.

My pledge is directed to making the mill-hands honour theirs and teaching them what value to attach to a pledge. For people in our country to take pledge whenever they fancy and break them at any moment betrays their degraded state. And for ten thousand mill-hands to break faith with themselves would spell ruin for the nation. It would never again be possible to raise the worker's issues. At every turn they would quote this as an example and say that ten thousand mill-hands endured suffering for twenty days with a man like Gandhi to lead them and still they did not win. I was thus forced to consider by what means the mill-hands could be made to remain firm. How could I do this without suffering myself? I saw that it was necessary to show them by example how, for the sake of one's pledge, one had to undergo suffering. So it was that I took this pledge. I am aware that it carries a taint. It is likely that, because of my vow, the mill-owners may be moved by consideration for me and come to grant the workers' [demand for] thirty-five per cent increase. My desire is that they should grant the demand only if they see its justice and not out of charity. But the natural result would be that they would do so out of charity and to that extent this pledge is one which cannot but fill me with shame. I weighed the two things, however, against each other: my sense of shame and the mill-hands' pledge. The balance tilted in favour of the latter and I resolved, for the sake of the mill-hands, to take no thought of my shame. In doing public work, a man must be prepared to put up even with such loss of face. Thus, my pledge is not at all by way of a threat to the mill-owners; on the contrary, I wish they clearly understand this and grant the 35 per cent to the mill-hands only if they think it just to do so. The mill hands, too, I would say that they should go to the owners and tell them as much.

## APPENDIX - IV

[Excerpts from presentation made by Shri Ravindra Varma on the 6th of October 1999 in 'The International Seminar on Non-violent Struggles in the 20th Century and Their Lessons for the 21st'.]

The first half of the century witnessed a series of spectacular and thrilling non-violent struggles led by Gandhi. These struggles demonstrated the power of non-violent action. Gandhi overcame skepticism and ridicule, and established the efficacy and viability or superiority of non-violent methods of action.

He made people aware of the power that lay latent within them. He applied and experimented with nonviolence on an unprecedented scale involving millions of people, inspiring them to embark on militant and revolutionary action in many fields and on many issues.

The struggles that Gandhi led or inspired spanned a period of nearly four decades. It is impossible to describe or even review each of these struggles in the time at our disposal. Nor is it perhaps necessary to do so since most or all of these struggles are well-known and perhaps familiar in detail to those who have gathered here. What I will attempt to do therefore is only to look at the basic ideas, techniques and forms of action that were evolved and used in these struggles.

Gandhi described the form of non-violent struggle that he forged and used as Satyagraha.

He defined Satyagraha as the insistence on Truth, and dependence on the force inherent in Truth. He often referred to it as Truth Force and therefore Love Force. He did not claim that he was the first Satyagrahi in the world. Truth and Non-violence were as old as the hills, and Satyagraha is a new word, but is as old as time. He often cited the names of many who, according to him, had resorted to the methods of Satyagraha (from all traditions).

The term Satyagraha was coined in South Africa because he felt that the current term Passive Resistance did not present a correct or full description of

the motivation method that he was employing. To him Satyagraha was not mere abstention from physical violence but the positive use of the power of love, love and non-co-operation in the active transformation of minds, institutions and societies.

It would be wrong to say that it was in South Africa that Gandhi first to use the method, which was later christened Satyagraha.

He says that the first time he used this method of resistance or defiance was when he decided not to yield to the fiat of the elders of his community, forbidding him from going to the U.K. to qualify for the Bar. He could not agree; politely declined to oblige; declined to submit; declared his intention to act in defiance offered to bear the consequences, with no ill will, with deference. There was no ill will but also no recognition of authority no fear of sanction.

In South Africa he did not start with mass struggles. There were many occasions when the personal choice to reconcile, reconcile with injustice, discrimination, indignity, denial of Human Right or to resist revolt confronted him. He decided that it was unworthy of a human being to the field of battle or surrender. One had to fight and pay the price of one's values. Many of these instances are well known Maritzburg the coach. The court where he was asked to remove his head-dress and so on. It was only later, after he read about the Asiatic Bill or the Government's intention to introduce further restrictions on the franchise and rights of the Indians that he decided to stay on in South Africa and organize the people to resist the Bill.

To call to the people and the commitment to struggle lay in his exhortation to the meeting.

If you acquiesce, if you do not resist, you will be digging the grave of the aspirations of the Indian community for equality.

He wanted them to discover the duty to resist, and pay the price for what they valued. He believed that the ultimate solution lay in removing prejudice, in transforming the mind of the rulers. He believed that this could not be done

through the force of arms. In fact, he says that the use of force never occurred to him.

At this point, one may as well recount recall the basic beliefs that emerged and evolved in his mind during the ensuing struggle in South Africa.

1. There is a force behind the status quo: that sustains the status quo: that will be deployed to defend the status quo.
2. Those who want to alter, dismantle or substitute the status quo will have to depend on some countervailing force to resist the onslaught of the status quo, to overcome it, and to provide the basis on which a new order could be established or sustained.
3. Any conflict therefore boils down to a confrontation or combative engagement of these forces.
4. The parity of superiority of these forces does not depend only on the degree of force of the same variety, but also on the ability to deploy other forms of force in a commensurate and requisite degree.
5. If one succeeds in overcoming the force used in defence of the status quo, but does not succeed in transforming the beliefs (on which the status quo is based) that upheld the status quo, the duration of the resultant victory will have to depend on ensuring the continuing superiority of the physical force at the command of the challengers. This leads to an endless dependence on force, an endless competition in accumulating and deploying destructive power. The results of a revolution cannot endure unless there is a change in beliefs and opinions and values or a reconciliation of views that is sealed by consent.
6. The test of victory is the transformation of the mind that sanctifies the status quo.
7. The force that we use should therefore be one that leads to transformation of the mind and hearts.

8. Annihilation of the adversary or a reign of terror cannot achieve this transformation.
9. The force that one uses has therefore to be one that promotes introspection that leads to a change of mind.
10. The attempt to transform is based on belief in the distinction between the evil and the evildoer.
11. The attempt to transform the mind or institutions cannot afford to ignore the law of cause and effect, and therefore the relation between ends and means.
12. Differences arise because of the nature of the human mind inertia, ignorance, fallacious methods, perception of self-interest, propensity for aggrandizement, the ego and so forth.
13. What is the process by which we can convince each other or establish Truth or the justice of a claim?

Gandhi believed in the scientific method of

- i. accumulation and presentation of evidence;
- ii. review of the logical process employed for arriving at a conclusion;
- iii. joint examination of these processes and evidence;
- iv. replaying the tape by which one has arrived at a conclusion so that one may detect the point where divergence commenced;
- v. investigating whether the refusal to see evidence and logic is the result of ego-centric attitudes and perceptions and if it is found that this is what leads to intransigence;
- vi. divesting oneself of ego-based considerations that have only a limited place within the unalterable paradigms of interdependence that rules humanity;

- vii. To reassure the 'adversary' that the effort is not to extinguish his interests and promoting introspection in the adversary through love and the readiness to suffer (voluntary suffering).
14. But in spite of all these efforts on one's part, one may not be able to dissolve intransigence as the other side. Such a situation where all efforts at persuasion seem to have failed would demand Direct Action.
15. Direct Action is the deployment of some kind of force.
16. The Direct Action of Satyagraha is different from that of Passive Resistance. It is active, intense and can be fierce.
17. At that point the superiority of the force that the Satyagrahi can command becomes very important.
18. The forces available to human kind is not merely physical force that it shares with the animal, nor even the augmented force that it can muster because of its intellect by way of arms and weapons but it includes the force of the mind and spiritual force that touches the heart and conscience.
19. There are gross forces and subtle forces that the human being has access to. Gandhi believed that the highest force at the command of the human being was the force of the mind and spirit. He had no hesitation to say the subtler the force the more powerful it is. Subtle force can overcome obstruction; can move with a speed higher than that of light. It has more enduring impact and can melt egocentric attitude.
20. This subtle force is the force that is inherent in Truth, or Love. Gandhi believed that this force was mightier than the force of the atom bomb.
21. But if one wants to deploy this force, one has to become an effective medium or conduit for this force through the removal of whatever obstructs the flow of this force.

22. Gandhi was so sure of the power of this force that he said his purpose in life was to demonstrate that the mightiest material force could be made to bend before this spiritual force (or force of the spirit).

The question then is how to employ this force or enable people to use this force in their struggle for social justice and to build a new society? The ultimate objective of the Satyagrahi, or the social revolutionary, is transformation through the promotion of introspection and the immediate objective is that of paralyzing injustice through non-co-operation.

The processes then involve

- a. making people conscious of the nature of the injustice, the cause of the injustice. The respective responsibilities of oneself : others : institutions;
- b. create belief in one's ability and duty to resist;
- c. enable people to realize that acquiescence is cooperation, that one has the duty and the power to resist both as an individual, and as a member of an organized group which is affected;
- d. that this power lies within us, and it has to be employed to paralyse an evil system.

The first step in overcoming evil or an evil system is non-co-operation with evil.

It is as much a moral imperative as a tactical necessity. This Non-co-operation is based on the withdrawal of the recognition of the authority to rule or enforce its values and fiats. It is the repudiation of the legitimacy claimed by the authority. This non-cooperation can be total or partial, and can be the basis of Civil Disobedience. Civil Disobedience too can be selective or total. To Gandhi, Civil Disobedience is the inherent right of a citizen. He dare not give it up without ceasing to be a man. Civil Disobedience is never followed up by anarchy, Criminal Disobedience can lead to it. Every state puts down criminal disobedience by force. It perishes if it does not. But to put down Civil Disobedience is to attempt to imprison conscience. It can be aimed at paralyzing and substituting an impugned system to make it wither through non-

recognition, non-co-operation, Civil Disobedience, creation of substitutes or parallel centres of authority and action or and finally taking over all the functions exercised by the impugned authority, and all the stocks that it held in the name of the people since the former rulers had become usurpers, on the withdrawal of the recognition.

Non-violent non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience can be effective only if operational conditions are controlled to prevent the outbreak of violence, and loss of control by the leadership of a struggle. Gandhi firmly believed that two antagonistic forces could not work to supplement each other. [Since one's attempt is not merely to paralyse or create anarchy but to transform and shape a substitute.]

The techniques or means of struggle that Gandhi employed therefore included  
Surveys to marshal evidence and establish Truth

Petitions: Demonstrations including –

Meetings and processions

Open declaration: Pledges or Vows

Picketing: *Hartal* or stoppage of work

Defying prohibitory orders

Defying bans on manufacture and sale of goods

No Tax campaigns

Civil Disobedience and Fasting