CHAPTER II

Satyagraha—It’s Meaning, Purpose, Scope and Methods

Introduction:

Before plunging into the details of Satyagraha Movements, it is quite necessary to answer some of the basic queries regarding the concept of Satyagraha. Its terminology, its working area, under what situations it is used and what are its different techniques etc., are answered in this part of the study. Early acquaintance with the Satyagraha concept helps in understanding the actual happenings of the Satyagraha movements. Thus the present part of the study introduces the basic ingredients of Satyagraha concept.

Meaning of Satyagraha:

Gandhi initiated a mass movement against the apartheid policy of the rulers of South African colonies in 1906. He styled the movement, provisionally, as "Passive Resistance" for want of a proper term. However, he believed that "Passive Resistance" was a "misnomer" as it did not signify the meaning he had in mind. Having failed to find an appropriate term, he invited suggestions of the readers of ‘Indian Opinion’. The most suitable one came from Magan Lal Gandhi, who suggested the word "Sadagraha", meaning
firmness in a good cause. Gandhi appreciated the term, but as it conveyed only part of the idea, he corrected it to "Satyagraha". ¹

Gandhi elucidated the term "Satyagraha" from various viewpoints. Once, distinguishing Satyagraha from passive resistance (the nearest English equivalent of Satyagraha), he pointed out that the former involves resistance but not passivity. Like passive resistance, Satyagraha is not the weapon of the weak, the coward, the unarmed and the helpless. It is a weapon of the morally attentive and active.

Gandhi's Satyagraha involves active confrontation with evil. But it is not the traditional resistance of evil by evil. It is resistance of evil by its opposite, i.e., good. He maintained that evil could be destroyed only by good, just as fire can be extinguished only by water, not by fire. Fight of evil-by-evil multiplies evil. Fight of violence by violence merely intensifies violence. Satyagraha, on the other hand, is a fight between contrary forces, not between alike ones. The conformation of these views Gandhi first found in the New Testament which states: Resist evil not by evil. The Geeta deepened the thought and the essays of Tolstoy and Thoreau further conformed it.²

In its origin, the term "Satyagraha" is a compound Sanskrit word formed by satya and agraha. 'Satya' means truth and 'agraha' means holding fast, firmness, adherence or insistence. The compound word "Satyagraha" means sticking to truth, holding fast to truth, insistence on truth or firm adherence to truth. Defining the term Satyagraha, Gandhi once wrote: "Truth (Satya) implies love and firmness (agraha) engenders and therefore serves as a synonym for
force. I thus began to call the Indian movement Satyagraha, i.e., the force that is born of truth and love or non-violence and gave up the phrase 'passive resistance' in connection with it."

In Indian Opinion, he described Satyagraha as "firmness in a good cause". In Young India, he pointed out that Satyagraha was just a new name for "the law of self suffering". In Hind Swaraj, he proclaimed that "Sacrifice of self is infinitely superior to sacrifice of others", and that a self-sufferer does not make others suffer for his mistakes. Self-suffering brings the desired relief quicker and with greater certainty than does the imposition of suffering on the opponent.3

Gandhi's concept of Satyagraha does not involve passivity, weakness, and helplessness. It stands for greatest courage man is capable of. It is essentially an approach of mind and a way of life based on the firm desire for vindicating just causes, correcting wrongs and converting wrong doers by voluntary self-suffering and by patient and active use of the means which are non-violent and essentially just.

The opposite of Satyagraha is duragraha. Joan Bondurant has clearly distinguished Gandhi's Satyagraha from its obverse, the duragraha. She points out that, in contradiction to the former, the latter means stubborn resistance of the opponent's policy of action. The duragrahi regards truth, justice, rightness his monopoly and does not allow the possibility of the opponent also being in the right. In duragraha, the opponent is regarded as the embodiment of evil. He is, therefore, blackmailed, harassed and humiliated. He is not allowed to
explain his standpoint. Even the distinction between the wrong and the wrongdoer is not maintained. The duragrahi first destroys his opponent's position in order to destroy his misdeeds. The later is subjected to maximum suffering. As a matter of fact, there is no meeting ground between the duragrahi and his challenger. The duragrahi forces his opponent to accept defeat and to grant the desired concessions. The Satyagrahi, on the other hand, enables the so-called evildoer to prove his point and allows fair chance of its acceptance.

**Purpose of Satyagraha:**

Gandhi as a substitute to rebellion and war for solving human conflicts, political, social or economic, evolved Satyagraha as a method. He was convinced of the uselessness of violence, both in organized and unorganized forms, for solving conflicts and deadlocks on a strong basis. He conceived Satyagraha as one of the suitable methods for seeking correction of wrongs perpetrated or unnoticed by the political authority. He regarded it as a way, which the obedient citizens could adopt for seeking rectify of their grievances. In South Africa, Gandhi used it against the apartheid policy of the government. In India, he offered it for seeking redress of particular grievances, and for the wider purpose of attaining independence. It can, in general be used for the vindication of just, clear, unequivocal and impersonal public causes. It can also be engaged as an instrument of self-education and self-perfection.  

The distinct contribution of Gandhi was to differentiate between the action and its author, the doer and the deed. Satyagraha shifts the emphasis
from the doer to the deed, so that both the Satyagrahi and his opponent may address themselves to the solution of the problem, rather than look for destruction of each other. Gandhi aimed at the destruction of the evil, but not of the evildoer. He would hate the sin, but not the sinner. In Satyagraha, the opponent is not an enemy to be destroyed or defeated. He is a person who has to co-exist with the Satyagrahi. He should, therefore, be helped to become a better man for himself and for the society. Satyagrahi has a special responsibility to enter into reason and discussion with his opponent with a view to stimulate the sense of justice and fairness in him.

Should the opponent be stubborn or unsympathetic, the Satyagrahi is expected to undertake self-suffering instead of inflicting suffering on the former. The Satyagrahi should be ready to give up his life, rather than take the opponent's life. Voluntary self-suffering evokes the sense of justice in the wrongdoer by enabling him to reconsider his position vis-à-vis that of the Satyagrahi. Satyagraha, thus, aims at the destruction of evil not through the destruction of the evildoer, but by changing his frame of mind to appreciate uprightness. In Harijan, Gandhi observed: 'The idea underlying Satyagraha is to convert the wrong-doer, to awaken the sense of justice in him, to show him also that without the co-operation, direct or indirect, of the wronged the wrong-doer cannot do the wrong intended by him'. He went to the extent of calling Satyagraha as "a solvent strong enough to melt the stoniest heart". Satyagraha helps the enemy to become other than an enemy-a friend.
Satyagraha, in brief, is a process of conflict-resolution by shared understanding, by educating public opinion and by reason, discussion and self-suffering. It aims at the purification of the whole atmosphere and voluntary change of heart and mentality of all the parties to a conflict.

**Scope of Satyagraha:**

Gandhi's concept of Satyagraha is comprehensive and universal. It crosses the barriers of time, place and person. It can be offered at any time and at any place, and is effective in all state of affairs. Any person who possesses the various qualifications prescribed by Gandhi, or follows the leader who possesses them can employ it. Both, men and women can use it. The latter, he believed, were rather better at it. Satyagraha can be practised by a single individual or by a group. Minority group can offer it against the majority group and vice versa.

About the persons or agencies against whom Satyagraha can be employed, Gandhi had an open mind. He thought it could be directed against any person or body of persons, including the ones who are nearest and dearest. In the latter case, Satyagraha would be of great advantage to the Satyagrahi, for the adversary would be more enthusiastic to arrive at an agreement than loose a relation, friend or neighbour.

Satyagraha can be practised not only against a government, but also against society as a whole, for the latter may happen to be as wrong as the former. Looking at the fairly long list of Gandhi's Satyagraha adversaries, we find that as many as nineteen of his Satyagraha movements were directed
against various governmental agencies. The Champaran Satyagraha was
directed against the British Indigo Planter, where as the opponents in the
Ahmedabad Satyagraha were the Mill-owners with whom Gandhi had very
friendly and cordial relations. The object of repentant Fasts were the erring
inmates of his Ashrams, of Anti-violence Fasts the anarchists, and those of
Hindu-Muslim Unity Fasts the communal fanatics.7

Gandhi's Satyagraha must, however, be offered only on impersonal
issues, for "selfishness and Satyagraha can never go together". He required his
coworkers to offer Satyagraha in the spirit of promoting a common cause,
without even being conscious of their selfish interests.

Gandhi's Satyagraha is a substitute for violence and cowardice, but not
for democracy. It cannot, and should not, be used in lieu of democracy.
Democracy would become a farce when every individual begins to take the
laws in his hands as and when it suits his ends. All the same, Satyagraha has a
place in democracy. It can, and should, be used to make up the deficiencies of
democracy. It can, and should be resorted to only if and when constitutionalism
finally fails to fulfill the aspirations of the people. As a supplement to
constitutionalism, and not as its substitute, it has a definite place in democracy.
It can as such, be employed for the elimination of the injustices, inequalities,
ignorance and poverty. In this way it can help in the establishment of an
equalitarian society guided by an attitude of mutual love, respect, co-operation,
non-violence, charity and tolerance. It will have to become almost a way of life
in democracy, as much as under totalitarian and imperial regimes.8
An Ideal Satyagrahi of Gandhi's Concept:

The long series of Satyagraha experiments made Gandhi almost an ideal Satyagrahi. He offered Satyagraha as regularly as the occasions arose, concurrently trying to understand its deeper implications. Sometimes he succeeded in obtaining the desired goal, sometimes he failed and sometimes the success came not at the time and in the way he had expected it. He strove to discover his own faults and those of his co-workers. He not only improved the technique of Satyagraha, but also determined the qualities, which ideal Satyagrahi must possess.

The very first qualification that Gandhi prescribed for an ideal Satyagrahi was that the latter must be an actual sufferer. In Harijan (10-12-1938), he observed: "It is the essence of Satyagraha that those who are suffering should alone offer it". Young India also records his similar statements. Gandhi wanted an ideal Satyagrahi to subscribe to Truth and non-violence as his creed, as Satyagraha can be offered only by the person who understands Truth and who has justice on his side. Moreover, a Satyagrahi must be pledged to non-violence in thought, word and deed, without which Satyagraha cannot be launched. In other words, a Satyagrahi must cultivate a living faith in God, i.e., a living faith in his inner voice.9

Gandhi conceived Satyagraha as a method only of the spiritually strong and not of the weak. He was certain that a Satyagrahi must be strong in mind and soul, for a weak-minded man can never be a Satyagrahi. Satyagraha is a weapon of a man of steady wisdom, an sthitapradnya (balanced mind) of the
Gita's conception. It is not merely a matter of mind. It is also a matter of the soul. Satyagraha seeks to convert, not to pressurize, the opponent. A Satyagrahi is required, therefore, neither to retaliate nor to submit to the opposite party. He must strive through reason, discussion and self-suffering to arrive at a solution agreeable to all.

Gandhi conceived Satyagraha only as a weapon of the law-abiding citizens and not of those who come in conflict with law due to their criminal traits. Hence, the following statement in his autobiography: "Before one can be fit for the practice of Civil Disobedience, one must have rendered a willing and respectful obedience to the state laws". 10 He thought that only those who are disciplined and watchful, and who possess qualities like compassion and civility could accept Satyagraha as a way of life. He also required the Satyagrahis not to take any unlawful advantage of the opponent's weak points. Nor would he like them to take a single step not acceptable by the principles of Satyagraha.

Gandhi wanted Satyagrahis to be above suspicion. He, therefore, was eager that they should not touch opium, liquor or any other intoxicant. They should regard every woman, other than his wife, as mother, sister or daughter according to her age. They should never lust after women in their heart. In short, they must lead a chaste life and must be teetotallers.11 He expected them not to maintain confidentiality about anything, for Satyagraha is a public cause publicly undertaken.
It seems that Gandhi's description of Satyagraha is his own description. One such person was enough for involving the whole nation in their fight for freedom. Finally, the discipline of Satyagraha requires that the wishes of the leader must be respected. Differences of opinion there may be within the group, but once the group takes a decision, it is final and binding on all concerned.

**Situations Where Violence is Unavoidable:**

Gandhi's theory of complete non-violence is "like Euclid's point or straight line". In actual practice, untouched violence is an impossibility. The best that man can do is to avoid the use of violence as much as he can. He permitted the use of unavoidable violence as a matter of sheer necessity, as an exception to the general rule of non-violence. In the first place, he allowed the use of violence if it is employed for "the benefit of the person against whom it is used". For example, a surgeon using a knife in the interest of his patient, a person using violence to prevent a child from rushing towards fire, a social worker using violence to protect a woman from her attacker.

He also allowed the use of violence for the protection of society against the violent and harmful acts of the lower animals. He did not object to the killing of animals that devour or cause hurt to man, e.g., monkeys, birds and insects who eat up the crops, and the stray dogs who often become a trouble to the people. His permission to kill the harmful animal was, however, not without exceptions. 12
In the circumstances then prevailing in India, Gandhi did not object to the use of violent methods by the Government for protection of society from the misdeeds of the anti-social elements. He, therefore, allowed the government to use violence against the goondas, robbers, dacoits, thieves, kidnappers, and even aggressors. The use of violence for fighting the aggressor found special mention in the context of Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir. He justified the action of the Indian Government to rush troops to Srinagar in order to fight the Pakistani aggressors. He said: "If there was no other way of securing justice from Pakistan, if Pakistan persistently refused to see its proved error and continued to minimize it, the Indian Union Government would have to go to war against it."  

This was an allowance to the weakness of the Government, which did not subscribe to the creed of non-violence in thought, word and deed.

Gandhi also tolerated egg eating and meat eating by those who believe in it. To force them not to eat these things would have amounted to undue interference with their freedom. It would have been contrary to the creed of non-violence, which allows everyone to adhere to his own conscience. Moreover, there was a considerable risk of his losing those co-workers who would never persuade themselves to change to vegetarianism.

Gandhi insisted that the methods adopted for the correction of wrongs and conversion of wrongs and conversion of wrongdoers must not merely be consistent and non-violent. These must also be in tune with time and circumstances.
**Satyagraha Methods:**

The Satyagraha methods that Gandhi adopted and advocated during his movements were the following:

1) Banned Meetings: Demonstrations and Processions;
2) Ceremonial March;
3) National 'Days' and 'Weeks';
4) Pamphlets and Views-papers;
5) Hartals (closing of shops and suspension of business);
6) Strikes;
7) Civil Disobedience;
8) Non-violent Non-cooperation;
9) No-tax Campaign;
10) Courting Imprisonment;
11) Boycott;
12) Peaceful Picketing;
13) Peaceful Raids;
14) Protest Resignations;
15) Fasting (even unto death);
16) Non-possession;
17) Constructive Programme;
18) Deshtyaga or Sthantyaga (leaving one's country or place); and
19) Satyagrahi-Sahayog (co-operation with the peaceful resisters).
1) Banned Meetings: Demonstrations and Processions:

Holding of banned meetings, demonstrations and processions occupied a definite place in Gandhi's mass Satyagraha movements. He organized public-meetings, staged demonstrations and took out processions in order to lodge peoples' protest against unnecessary and unreasonable prohibitory orders of the Government and to frustrate the official policy of unprovoked repression of the masses.

The Indian National Congress announced its decision to hold a session on 23rd April 1932. The Government banned the Session. Despite the ban, the session was held as per schedule under the Clock Tower in Delhi. About 500 delegates attended the Session amidst arrests and lathi charges. Again on 4th January 1933, banned meetings were held all over India to celebrate the first anniversary of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Gandhi's Quit India Movement also faced unprovoked official repression. In the course of this movement also banned meetings were held and demonstrations staged all over India in August, 1942.15

2) Ceremonial March:

Undertaking a Ceremonial March in disobedience of the prohibitory orders and, thus, courting imprisonment became a very powerful and extreme method of resisting injustices carried out by the alien Government. It also dramatized the issues and attracted more and more people for resisting the misdeeds of officials.
Gandhi adopted this method in the course of his South-African Satyagraha Movement. He led a ceremonial March on 6th November 1913 from Charlestown to cross into Transvaal without the requisite permits. The purpose of the march was to Court arrest in order to register the people’s protest against General Smut's refusal to repeal £-3 tax. The Transvaal March was successful inasmuch as all those who crossed the Transvaal-border without permits were arrested.16 Gandhi himself was put under arrest three times on 6th, 8th and 9th November 1913.

The second occasion arose during his Salt-Satyagraha of 1930. He started his Dandi March with 78 Satyagrahis from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi on the seacoast on 12th March 1930. He reached Dandi on 5th April 1930, covering a 241 mile-long route.

3) National 'Days' and 'Weeks':

Observance of National 'Days' and 'Weeks' was a common and wonderful feature of Gandhi's mass Satyagraha movements in India. The purpose of observing these 'Days' or 'Weeks' was to record the nation's protest against the reign of terror, to seek redress of public grievances, and to recommend the Government to fulfill its promises. The Satyagrahis for their own purification and renewal of their Satyagraha pledges also observed these. The underlying object was to reanimate mass-consciousness and to unite public co-operation.
The first occasion for observing such a 'Day' of humiliation and prayer arose in connection with his Rowlatt Act Satyagraha of 1919. India observed Satyagraha Day on 6th April 1919, as a "day of national humiliation, prayers and sorrow at the passing of the Rowlatt Bills". In the course of his 1st Non-cooperation Movement, the nation observed a 'National Week', from 6-13, 1920, to celebrate the first anniversary of the Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy. Finally during his Second Non-violent Non-cooperation Movement, specific days like the flag Day, Gandhi Day, Motilal Day, Martyrs Day, Sholapur Day, Independence Day, Frontier Day, and Gorkhalis' Day were observed in defiance of the official restrictions.

4) Pamphlets and Views-papers:

Publication of pamphlets and views-papers was another important method that Gandhi adopted for meeting redress of felt grievances, defying the unwarranted restrictions on the freedom of press, and challenging the government to suppress the civil resisters. This method was also employed for removing causes of misunderstanding between the rulers and the ruled, promoting communal harmony, seeking uplift of the backward classes, and mobilizing public opinion to bring home the deeper implications of Satyagraha.

In the Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928, besides a daily News Bulletin, a number of pamphlets appeared frequently. In addition to the occasional leaflets, pamphlets, booklets, and bulletins; Gandhi edited 'Indian Opinion', 'Young India', and 'Harijan'.
5) Hartals:

Hartal means voluntary closing of shops and postponement of business, usually for a symbolic period of twenty-four hours. This method was used by Gandhi as an outward expression of the community's disapproval of unwarranted laws and arbitrary orders. It was also employed to lodge peoples' protest against arrest of Satyagraha-volunteers, to boycott the visits of government officials.

Gandhi applied this method for the first time during his South African Satyagraha Movement on 28th July 1907. On this Day, the Transvaal Indian businessmen observed absolute hartal as a demonstration of their extreme dissatisfaction with Asiatic Registration Act. The first All-India hartal was observed on 6th April 1919 (and in Delhi earlier on 30th March, 1919, as well), against enactment of the Anarchical Crimes Act of 1919, 'as a day of humiliation and prayer'.

In the course of his Salt Satyagraha of 1930, peaceful hartals were observed throughout India. Other Occasions when similar hartals were observed during his Satyagraha Movements include:

i) Hartal of 3rd February 1928, protesting against the arrival of Simon Commission;

ii) Hartal of 1st April, 1937, expressing disapproval of the enforcement of the Government of India Act 1935; and

iii) Hartal of 23rd February 1944, mourning the day of Smt. Kasturbai Gandhi, under detention in the Aga Khan Palace, Poona.
6) Strikes:

Strikes may also be employed directly and openly to achieve political ends. For example, during his South-African Satyagraha Movement, he advised and himself conducted a strike of Indian Coalmine Workers and railway-men in the months of October-November, 1913, for the singular object of persuading the Government to repeal £-3 tax.

Gandhi laid down the other conditions of a successful strike during his Ahmedabad Satyagraha. These were:

1) Never to resort to violence,
2) Never to molest black-legs,
3) Never to depend upon alms, and
4) To remain firm, no matter how long the strike continued, and to earn bread, during the strike, by any other honest labour.

7) Civil Disobedience:

Gandhi was akin to Thoreau and Tolstoy in adopting Civil Disobedience as a vital weapon in his armoury of Satyagraha. He conceived it as "a substitute for violence or armed-rebellion". It is a non-coercive method, which any law-abiding citizen can adopt, provided he is saturated with the spirit of non-violence and is ready for the utmost sacrifices.

Civil Disobedience can be undertaken for the deliberate breach of certain unmoral constitutional enactments, or as the symbolic non-violent
revolt against the state. In South Africa, the very first occasion when he used it was during July-November 1907. It was against the Asiatic Registration Act.

In India, the first occasion was when he refused to obey an official order was on 16th April 1917, during his Champaran Satyagraha. The District Magistrate served him with a notice, under section 144 Cr.P.C., to leave Champaran by first available train. The same day he conveyed his decision to defy the order and thereby to suffer the penalty for disobedience on the ground that his object was purely and simply to enquire into the conditions of the Champaran ryots.

In the course of his Salt Satyagraha of 1930, he offered civil disobedience, along with his co-Satyagrahis, by distilling salt from the seawater in violation of the Salt Laws on 6th April 1930, at Dandi. Finally, during his IIrd Non Violent Non-cooperation Movement of 1932, civil breach of non-moral laws, and unfair orders issued under various Ordinances, were also advised. All the Ordinances were openly disobeyed.

8) Non-Violent Non-Cooperation:

Gandhi admittedly learnt the method of non-violent non-cooperation from Leo Tolstoy. It is the most expeditious method known to the world of winning over opponents. Its effectiveness comes from the dependence of any government, however tyrannical, on the consent of the government.

Despite the prefix "non", Gandhi as a negative force never conceived Non-violent Non-cooperation. It is positive inasmuch as it means "co-operation
with all that is good". It is a universal principle applicable under all circumstances. It is a process of strength, self-reliance and self-realization. Hence, there is nothing immoral in it.22

9) No-Tax Campaign:

Another method that Gandhi employed during his Satyagraha movements was a campaign for the non-payment of taxes and charges. Non-payment of taxes should, however, be resorted to only when no other way is left open. It should be used only when the choice between the complete annihilation and total reformation.

Gandhi asked the people not to pay taxes to the government in the course of his Kheda Satyagraha of 1918. He had asked the local authorities to suspend the recovery of land revenue from those whose crops had failed. The Government did not comply with his request. He, therefore, asked the people to stop payment of the land revenue. Under similar circumstances, he also advised the people of Sirsi, Siddapur and Hirekerur Talukas not to pay the land revenue during Karnataka Satyagraha of 1931.23

10) Courting Imprisonment:

Courting of imprisonment became a frequent occurrence during Gandhi's Satyagraha Movements. He not only advised his co-Satyagrahis and others to adopt this method, he himself courted imprisonment four times during his South African Satyagraha Movement and Six times in the course of his
Satyagraha campaigns in India, spending in various prisons a total period of six years, four months and twenty four days. As he himself admitted, he became almost a "habitual prisoner".  

11) Boycott:

Another Satyagraha method advocated by Gandhi was the boycott of Commodities, titles, persons and institutions with the object of lodging protest, and putting pressure on, the opposite party in order ultimately to seek redress of grievances. Boycott is a sort of punishment and is conceived in a vindicative spirit.

In South Africa, for the first time, during July-Nov, 1907, he launched a constant campaign to boycott the permit offices constituted to achieve the object of the intolerable Asiatic Registration Act. In India, the method of boycott was first made use of by Gandhi during his 1st Non-co-operation Movement of 1920. The campaign envisaged the complete boycott of foreign goods, institutions, honours, and official functions. Gandhi not only advised others to discard and burn foreign cloth, on 31st August 1920, he himself took the vow to wear khadi for life. During his Salt Satyagraha of 1930, boycott of foreign Cloth, liquor, and all British goods was almost complete.

12) Peaceful picketing:

Gandhi adopted and advocated the traditional Indian method of peaceful picketing for putting Socio-politico-economic pressure on the Government and,
at the same time, for creating political consciousness and Swadeshi spirit among the masses. He called the pickets by the dignified names of "watchmen" and "missionaries".

In India, he employed this method for the first time during the 1st Non-violent Non-cooperation Movement of 1920. In the course of this movement, picketing was repeatedly employed against sale and use of foreign cloth, and alcoholic drinks and drugs.²⁶

13) Peaceful Raids:

The method of peaceful raids is an advance stage of boycott and peaceful picketing. The Satyagrahi adopting this method is vindicative and in order to bring economic pressure and the pressure of public opinion on his opponent does the maximum harm to the latter's goods, though not to his person. It is peaceful in the sense that no injury is done to the person of the opponent.

The method of peaceful raids was used for the first time during the Salt Satyagraha of 1930. The first peaceful raid was made on 18th May 1930, on the Salt Depot at Wadala (suburb of Bombay), in which 470 volunteers participated. ²⁷ The second raid was made on 21st May 1930, on the saltpans at Dharsana, in which 2,500 volunteers participated.
14) Protest Resignations:

To resign from an assembly or Council as a mark of protest against the official policy is another method, which found itself manifested during a number of Satyagraha Movements. During the 1st Non-violent Non-cooperation Movement, too, a number of persons tendered resignations in protest against the official policy or attitude.

In the course of Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928, petty village officials were influenced to tender resignations as a protest to the arbitrary enhancement of land revenue. Several members of the Bombay Legislative Council also resigned their seats as a token of sympathy with these officials. During Salt Satyagraha of 1930, on Gandhi's appeal; the headmen in subordinate offices tendered their resignations in sympathy with the Satyagrahis.

15) Fasting (Even unto Death):

Personal practice had taught Gandhi that fasting is the greatest and the most effective weapon in the Satyagraha armoury. He was of the considered view that fasting should be under-taken only by an "expert" and by him, too, only according to his capacity to fast. It should be undertaken only on rare occasions, and as a last option, and in compliance to the call of one's conscience. Fasting should be undertaken either for self-purification or self-restraint, or for appealing to the better nature of the opposite party, in order to make him reconsider his stand and realize his wrong. It may be undertaken to check acts of violence, to remove bitterness or even purity political
atmosphere. It should however, be employed only as 'a species of tyaga", and never as a method of exercising unnecessary pressure on the opposite party.

In the course of his Satyagraha movements, Gandhi made use of this method on as many as seventeen different occasions; of these, his three fasts were against official injustice, four against the institution and practice of untouchability, three against Hindu-Muslim riots, and four against other acts of violence. Further, three of his fasts were for self-purification and penance, and one to encourage the Ahmedabad Mill Workers in the strike, which they were continuing on his advice in order to secure increase in their wages. Further, in terms of duration, on seven occasions he undertook fast unto death, on three for 21 days, on another three for 7 days, and on one occasion each for 1 day, 3 days, and 14 days respectively, fasting for a total period of 138 days.

16) Non-Possession:

Gandhi planned the strategy of non-possession as voluntary denunciation of property in order to impress upon the Government that it can not force the people either to co-operate with it or to obey its commands against their will. It was also to ensure that the Government does not forcibly realize its dues through capture and confiscation of the defaulters' property or possession.

He for the first time employed this method during the Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928. In the course of this Satyagraha, the peasants had appealed to the good sense of the government to suspend the recovery of land revenue
from those who were not in a position to pay it in view of the failure of their crops. When the revenue collectors came to collect the dues, people either refused to talk to them or tried to discourage them from collecting the revenue. The collectors were adamant and paid no heed to the peoples' requests. Consequently, the people denounced the ownership of their belongings (including the things of daily use, like the brass-vessels). 30

17) Constructive Programme:

Constructive programme was an essential and positive aspect of Gandhi's post-1920 Satyagraha movements. It was adopted for the achievement of economic self-sufficiency and inculcation of the swadeshi spirit among the masses. It was employed for the promotion of communal harmony and removal of social evils like untouchability, unemployment and illiteracy.

Gandhi expounded his whole philosophy of constructive programme and published a 25-page booklet, entitled Constructive Programme. In this booklet, he outlined the essential items of his constructive programme as follows: 31

I. Achievement of Communal unity by cultivating personal friendship with persons representing other faiths, and by having the same regard for other faiths as one has for his own;

II. Removal of untouchability by influencing, in a spirit of friendliness, the so called sanathanists, and by befriending and making common cause with the harijans;
III. Achievement of total prohibition by discovering ways of weaning the drunkard and opium-addict from the course, and by opening recreation booths where tired labourers will rest their limbs, get healthy and cheap refreshment, and find suitable games;

IV. Adaptation of khadi as measure of achieving self-sufficiency through the labour and intellect of the villagers;

V. Development of village industries like hand grinding, hand-pounding, soap-making, paper making, match-making, tanning, oil-pressing, etc., by making it a point of honour to use only the village articles, whenever and wherever available;

VI. Sanitation of villages by making them models of cleanliness in every sense of the world;

VII. Promotion of Basic Education in order to transform village children into model villagers;

VIII. Promotion of Adult Education by giving to the adults not merely education but also political.

IX. Uplift of women by providing them liberal education in order to make them realize their full status and play their part as equals of men;

X. Promotion of health and hygiene by teaching the people its fundamentals;

XI. Propaganda of (Hindi) Hindustani as the National language in order to give to the masses political education and a media of an all India common speech;
XII. Encouragement to the adoption of one's own language;
XIII. Achievement of Economic equality by voluntary abdication of riches
and the power that riches give, and by sharing them for common good;
XIV. Service of the aborigines; and
XV. Organization of the students, Kisans and the labourers.

* (Extracted from, 'Gandhi's Concept of Political Obligation', Ram
Rattan, The Minerva Associates, Calcutta, 1972, p-244.)

18) Deshtvaza or Sthantvaza: (leaving one's country or place):

Gandhi believed that leaving one's country or place in disgust was an act
of cowardice. He, therefore, never adopted this method. At the same time, he
did not object to its adoption as a last option by those who could not object to
its adoption as a last resort by those who could not defend themselves either
non-violently or violently and who also did not want to submit to inequality
and indignities.

In South Africa, he had asked the Asiatics to resist the obnoxious
Asiatic Registration Act by boycotting and picketing permit offices constituted
to achieve the object of this Act. He had also advised them to court
imprisonment and to suffer whatever punishment the Government might award
for the breach of its law. He found that some persons were not prepared to
court imprisonment. To them he gave the advice to leave the colony but not to
 submit to the Act by re-registering themselves. 32
19) Satyagrahi Sahayog: (Cooperation with peaceful resisters):

Gandhi believed that "almost any item of non-cooperation fully backed by the nation can achieve the aim without shedding a single drop of blood". He, thus, attached due importance to the ways in which the people could cooperate with and strengthen the hands of the Satyagrahis. His appeal for such a co-operation covered practically all his Satyagraha Movements.

Conclusion:

Almost all the components of Satyagraha were tried and tested by Gandhi. Thus current part of the study brings out brief introduction of Satyagraha perception. It helps in providing the general knowledge regarding Satyagraha movements and its different modes. This particular part of the study also helps in understanding the different crucial moves of Gandhi on numerous occasions of Satyagraha movements.
Reference:


3) Harijan (Ahmedabad), 09-07-1938, 173.

4) Harijan, 06-05-1939, 113.


6) Young India (Ahmedabad) 10-04-1930, 121.


9) Harijan, 25-3-1939, 64.


21) Harijan, 24-6-1939, 159-60.

22) Harijan, 29-09-1940, p-302.


26) Sharma J.S, Indian National Congress: A Descriptive Bibliography Of India's struggle for Freedom (Delhi: S.Chand & Co, 1959)


29) Harijan, 11-03-1939; 46.


31) Harijan, 03-02-1940, p-437.
