In daily usage satyagraha is interpreted as non-violent direct action against the opponent. But satyagraha as Gandhi conceived and put into practice had a wider meaning. Different forms of non-violent actions do not exhaust the content of satyagraha. With Gandhi satyagraha was all embracing. He coined the word satyagraha in the course of his search for truth through the path of love and non-violence. He called satyagraha 'Truth Force' or 'Love Force' or 'Soul Force' because its root meaning is holding on the truth.\textsuperscript{1}

Insistance upon truth is to pursue the path of truth in the face of difficulties and sufferings non-violently and lovingly. In Gandhi's words satyagraha was the "Vindication of truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's own self."\textsuperscript{2} Hence satyagraha is action completely based on truth, love and non-violence.\textsuperscript{3}

In other words satyagraha was the search for truth. Gandhi believed Truth and God as one and the same.\textsuperscript{4} He had immense faith in non-violence, which he believed, was the light that would reveal Truth for him. Non-violence did not indicate meek submission to the ill-will of the opponent, but fighting the evil of the opponent, with the soul force.\textsuperscript{5} In Gandhi's view non-violence and truth were the corollary of satyagraha.\textsuperscript{6} To this he adhered throughout.

The aim of satyagraha was the conversion of the opponent, who is on the wrong path, by love and self suffering without inflicting any sufferings on the opponent. In other words satyagraha was making love force prevail over brute force. Gandhi used satyagraha as a moral weapon in his practical life for converting wrong-doers into good beings. Through satyagraha Gandhi sought
to conquer communalism, racialism and, to purify human hearts and to teach them to love and respect all living beings. As a weapon he used satyagraha to elevate the political warfare of a good and just cause to a higher plane.⁷

Satyagraha is not a weapon of political expediency as many think. It is based on the superiority of the soul force over physical force, and it is the weapon of the brave who is prepared to die, without injuring his opponent. Only a strong man can use the weapon of satyagraha. It is not the weapon of the weak as the people believe to-day. Only those who think that their soul-force or love-force is superior to the brute force and can vanquish the latter alone can practice satyagraha. Satyagraha is dynamic and positive.⁸ Because its ultimate aim is to win over the opponent by love, patience and self-suffering. Further this weapon can be used against all, even against friends and relatives.

By reason, with Gandhi satyagraha was consistent with democracy though it was unconstitutional. It involved fighting, but not violence.⁹ It was an alternative to the cowardice. He thought it prudent to exhaust all the constitutional means available before launching a campaign of satyagraha, which was essentially unconstitutional. He suggested the following constitutional means before undertaking a satyagraha: (1) watching the developments; (2) assertion of facts connected with the events; (3) spot visits; and (4) negotiations with the opponent for the redress of the wrongs. A failure in the negotiations will automatically lead to satyagraha. Satyagraha further included in its fold, apart from aggressive unconstitutional methods, constitutional aspects like constructive programme and reforming activities.

Satyagraha is essentially a peaceful weapon. Satyagraha campaigns cannot be planned as violent campaigns are planned in advance. "It comes unto oneself, one has not to go in search for it."¹⁰ The urge to offer satyagraha must come from within. There is no room for secrecy and cunningness in satyagraha campaigns.
Falsehood is completely abhored in such a campaign. Insistance on truth demands absolute non-violence under every conceivable condition. In other words the campaign involves pursuing the path of truth and in that to invite self-suffering without causing any violence to anybody. Any deviation in the interpretation of the concept of satyagraha other than his, Gandhi feared would distort the significance of it.

Satyagraha can be launched by a single person or by several persons against an individual or against a body of persons. The principles of satyagraha will be the same every time. But satyagraha campaigns offered by masses pose some difficulties. Satyagraha offered by a group of persons against a group or any constituted authority requires thorough organisation and high discipline among the participants.

Launching a satyagraha campaign on a mass proportion requires like that of a violent war, proper preparations on the part of the leaders and the participants. Training of a satyagrahi is the primary step towards launching a campaign. It is a difficult task, a task more difficult than that of preparing a violent soldier of war. This training involves the changing of the mind, which sharply and automatically reacts violently to unjust, into a mind full of love, passion and non-violence. To inculcate determination among the satyagrahi volunteers, Gandhi administered to them a satyagraha pledge. This was the pledge of adherence to truth, non-violence, continence, non-possession, control of palate, bread labour, and equality of all religions. By this pledge the volunteer would become wedded to the concept of truth, love and non-violence, the three cardinal principles of satyagraha. Satyagraha, Gandhi said, is dynamic and its growth among a satyagrahi is limitless. Once the growth becomes static, the satyagrahi ceases to be a satyagrahi. Hence Gandhi repeatedly said that no one can be a perfect satyagrahi. For him it was an experiment in his life, which never ended. When he was assassinated his experiments
with truth remained far from complete.\textsuperscript{15}

To all satyagrahis Gandhi prescribed certain qualifications. They were: (1) faith in God; (2) faith in goodness of human nature; (3) infinite patience and capability to suffer under all conditions; (4) capability to undergo infinite sacrifice in the cause of justice; (5) moral courage; (6) aversion to coercion and intimidation of the opponent; (7) unflinching adherence to truth; (8) purity of heart to inspire confidence among his followers and among his opponents as well; and (9) gentleness, politeness and perpetual readiness for compromise on just grounds.\textsuperscript{16}

The aim of every satyagrahi was self-realisation through social service. Whenever any obstructions cropped up in his path of rendering social service, which he can feel it in the form of inner urge, he should try to convince his adversary, and on his failure he had recourse to launch a campaign of satyagraha to win over the latter. A satyagrahi should never dream of using his weapon for personal gains or profits.\textsuperscript{17} Gandhi laid much emphasis on this. He was convinced that a satyagraha launched with this end in mind was sure to fail. According to Gandhi the energies of a satyagrahi and his weapon must be utilised only for the benefit of the society. One who cannot suppress his desires of personal gains should not venture to be a satyagrahi. To assert truth, the principle of satyagraha requires of a satyagrahi to be always prepared to sacrifice everything, even his life.

If a satyagrahi or a group of satyagrahis fail to achieve their aim in convincing the opponent with arguments and such other constitutional methods, then there are several satyagrahic methods open to be adopted. Broadly speaking they can be classified into three practical methods. They are non-cooperation, refusal, and lastly, resistance.\textsuperscript{18} Non-cooperation is the first recourse. It "implies withdrawing of co-operation from the state that in the non-cooperator's view has become corrupt."\textsuperscript{19} It is an important branch of satyagraha which includes all non-violent resistance for
the vindication of truth. In this method of satyagraha campaign a satyagrahi disassociates himself from his adversary, who in his view is perpetuating injustice. The non-cooperation movement of 1921 is a fine example of this first method of satyagraha.

Refusal to act upon an obligation imposed by an authority in an unjust spirit is the second branch of satyagraha. In this method the participant should be prepared to undergo physical and mental sufferings which the authority inevitably inflict. Refusal to pay taxes or non-payment of land revenues are the best examples of this method. The self suffering and the moral force behind it are offered against the unjust authority or institution.

Resistance, the final form of satyagraha, is the most aggressive method. It involves a satyagrahi in disobeying laws of the constituted authority, wherein he opposes the authority as a whole. Consequent of this he obstructs the normal activities of the authority and brings upon himself sufferings at the hands of the latter. This self suffering generates immense moral force with the satyagrahi to oppose the evil and unjust. This method of satyagraha has been described by some as moral coersion. This moral coersion includes processions, hartals and mass meetings in violation of laws. For Gandhi processions and mass meetings were meant to be occasions for satyagrahis and volunteers to offer prayers and to discipline themselves and to check their anger and passion. Gandhi thought these would prepare a satyagrahi to undertake non-violent self-suffering without hesitation. Gandhi conceived hartals as an occasion for fasting and praying, and thereby to purify their souls.

A satyagrahi should be very cautious and adhere to certain principles while offering satyagraha. He should be careful to see that it does not hurt the opponent morally. Conception of truth differ from person to person and there is every chance of mis-interpreting an event or occasion. The conception of truth as conceived by Gandhi abhors volunteers and satyagrahis to assume
that their conception of truth is superior to that of his opponent. Further each and every person cannot determine the truth. It requires that calibre of men who possess higher degree of moral and intellectual capacities. The mass themselves unable to determine the truth should meticulously follow the leader who is in possession of the qualities to be a satyagrahi.

Then there is that danger of a satyagrahi imposing his own will upon his opponent by the virtue of his self-suffering and the popular support. It should be noted here that an individual can arouse the feelings of the masses by his sufferings and sacrifice and Gandhi himself is the supreme example. The people thus aroused may turn violent as it happened at Chauri Chaura in Uttar Pradesh and in several other places, unless they are trained in non-violent means and understand their importance in a mass satyagraha campaign or any other political movement. Thus there are certain practical difficulties in the way of the successful implementation of satyagraha campaigns by masses. It is practically impossible to train everyone in the mass to be a perfect satyagrahi, while majority can hardly understand the canons of satyagraha.

Further a perfect satyagrahi should never attempt to embarass his adversary or the wrong doer. He must not make the capital use of his opponent's fear, but should always try to convert and conquer his heart. His actions should be natural and in accordance with his convictions and conscience. Gandhi said satyagraha is twice blessed; it blesses him who practices it, and him against whom it is practiced. It is so because a satyagrahi never injures his opponent and always appeals, either to his reason by rational, truthful and gentle argument or to his heart by his own sufferings and sacrifices. Hence satyagraha blesses both the satyagrahi and the wrong-doer, who will be converted into a good man.

Satyagraha in its simplest form of loving each other and pursuing Truth in the face of all difficulties is practicable and possible even under present day circumstances. In this present day world which is eclipsed constantly by political strifes and
conflicts, the sure remedy lies in satyagraha. It is relatively easier and safer to conquer hate by love, falsehood by truth, violence by non-violence instead of hate by hate, falsehood by falsehood and violence by violence.

While satyagraha principles are revolutionary in character, the satyagraha methods are evolutionary in succession. During Freedom movement satyagraha commenced with prayers and public meetings, and ended in an extreme method of migration of satyagrahis to neighbouring provinces in protest against the atrocities of the opponent. Many provinces were not provided with an opportunity to try all of these methods of satyagraha during the independence movement. But Karnataka was fortunate to have earned the fame of having experimented all the methods of satyagraha.

Gandhian satyagraha methods were adopted in Karnataka with certain outward modifications, but without touching or altering the fundamental principles, to suit the economic, political and social conditions in Karnataka. Though the Satyagraha principles in Karnataka were identical with Gandhian principles, they differed when put into practice. This difference was inevitable considering the fact that the conception of truth in relation to events differed from person to person and from province to province. For Gandhi if the end were to be a noble one, the means also should be equally good. But in spite of the appreciation of this idea, leaders in Karnataka found it difficult to implement the same. They on many occasions were perplexed by not understanding what Gandhi thought. Yet the Gandhian methods of satyagraha were carefully followed. An attempt is made here to analyse the methods of satyagraha campaigns in Karnataka.

Civil disobedience was a novel method of satyagraha adopted by Gandhi. When he conceived this weapon of civil disobedience he himself was not knowing what it would be like when applied to masses in India. But he knew that it must be thoroughly non-violent in its nature and must be practised by a mass of people to achieve the desired end. It is non-coercive method which can be adopted by any individual, provided he had absolute faith in
the spirit of non-violence and is prepared to undergo all kinds of hardships. In Karnataka civil disobedience campaigns on a large scale were undertaken on two occasions, the first being the mass civil disobedience movement in 1919 to protest against the Rowlatt Act and the second being the individual civil disobedience movement in 1940. Both these campaigns were a non-violent revolt against the constituted authority through violating certain unjust laws.

Boycott was another novel method of satyagraha adopted by Gandhi. This method was an improvement of the boycott and swadeshi movement of 1905. Gandhi's boycott included returning of titles and distinctions conferred by the government and boycott of law courts and government educational institutions. When Gandhi's influence swept Karnataka in the early twenties, surrender of titles, boycott of British personalities, dignateries and their Indian friends, and institutions like law courts, schools and foreign made articles became an accepted method of satyagraha. In Karnataka during the swadeshi movement boycott was purely a weapon to bring economic pressure on the government. With the advent of Gandhi the concept of boycott underwent a thorough metamorphosis. It was no longer merely an economic weapon, but was made a powerful instrument to bring moral pressure on the government. It was in Karnataka that Gandhi dealt in detail about the meaning and scope of boycott. In his presidential address at the AICC Session in 1924 Gandhi explained the inner meaning of boycott convincingly. Directly it would hurt the British Government morally and indirectly it would help Indian peasant to conserve his hard earnings, when he will go for the manufacture of cloth by his own hands. Buying Indian made cloth would also be a social service as it would help villagers to educate themselves.

Propagation was one among the most important of the satyagraha methods. Gandhi utilised propagation in a methodical way. Hand bills, views-papers and pamphlets were a part and method of satyagraha because Gandhi used these medias as the symbols of defying the ban order on newspapers and other publications, apart from
awakening the masses to the current political and social conditions. Formerly such media was used only for political awakening. Gandhi utilised this method extensively to bring about social, economic and political changes in Indian society. Further, Gandhi used this in a wider context as the means of removing causes of misunderstanding between the people and the Government. More than anything else they served the purpose of bringing communal harmony amongst Hindus and Muslims, upliftment of Harijans, anti-drink campaign and eradication of other social evils prevalent in Karnataka. The propagation of Khadi, swadeshi and cottage industries helped for the betterment of the people in Karnataka.

Celebration of Memorial Days was a common feature during the freedom movement in Karnataka. Observance of memorial days, national days and national weeks were a method of satyagraha. The purpose of this method was dual. Primarily, it was meant to register the popular protest against the high handedness of the administration, failure of the Government in fulfilling the promises, and to seek redress from unnecessary laws and regulations of the Government. Secondly, national days were observed as a means of self-purification and an occasion to co-operate with the co-workers and the mass.

Political meetings, demonstrations, processions, prayers and fastings were a part of national days and memorial days. These were an integral part of Gandhi's mass satyagraha. These were a means to bring together every patriotic Indian and to imbibe in him the value of co-operation and unity. In Karnataka countless of such meetings were organised, along with demonstrations and processions, since the days of the swadeshi movement of 1905. Thousands of laymen knowingly or unknowingly fasted following the footsteps of Gandhi, whenever he fasted. Mass prayers of all communities were organised to pray for the success of their movement for political and social emancipation, and to bring about communal harmony.
These constituents of satyagraha played a definite part in the national freedom movement. In pre-Gandhian era political meetings and processions were frequently organised solely to express the anger and frustrations of the people against the government. With the coming of Gandhi the scope and field of these aspects of the constitutional political movements were widened. A new meaning and purpose was given. It became a part of satyagraha. Further the canons of satyagraha required meetings, processions and demonstrations to be strictly non-violent. In Karnataka on several occasions satyagrahis purposefully and non-violently violated prohibitory orders whenever they were put into force curtailing the rights of the people to hold meetings and organise processions or prohibiting certain popular leaders from delivering any speeches or entering particular area. Violation of such prohibitory orders inevitably ended in the arrest of the participants. No longer these were the symbols of the frustrations of the people, but became the symbols of the moral strength of the masses.

Picketing was another non-violent method of satyagraha. The purpose behind picketing was to put socio-politico-economic pressure on the individual opponent who is on the wrong side and against the government, and simultaneously for creating political consciousness and swadeshi spirit amongst the masses. In Karnataka picketing is as old as the swadeshi movement. It was introduced into Karnataka during the days of the campaign against the vice of drinking in 1906-08. With the withdrawal of Tilak from the political scene this weapon in Karnataka fell into disuse. With the appearance of Gandhi on the Indian political scene this weapon was revived and revitalised. Picketing played an important role during 1920's when Karnataka was professing the aspects of constructive programme and was giving unflinching support to the no-changers. In Karnataka picketing was offered non-violently to convince the merchants of their wrongs in selling the foreign made cloth and other articles of consumption, and the people who were in the habit of using foreign made cloth and other articles. The impact
of picketing in Karnataka was such that many thousand men, women and students gave up using foreign made articles. The picketing volunteers who often included women convinced ordinary people the harm they were perpetuating to the Indian economy by going for foreign made cloth. Picketing was widely offered to discourage liquor sellers and consumers to give up their evil and sinful profession and evil social habit respectively. In the freedom movement of Karnataka the picketing campaigns offered by women satyagrahis and volunteers during the no-tax campaign in North Kanara district in 1931-33 are memorable. Picketing was done at the time and place where auction of excise rights took place. Further picketing was offered before the houses of persons who participated in the auction sale of arbitrarily confiscated properties and lands of hundreds of freedom fighters.

Peaceful raids of government buildings, warehouses, post-offices and railway stations were yet another method of satyagraha. Peaceful raids on government properties brought immense pressure on the government. Basically this was a mass movement involving thousands of participants. But on occasion, particularly during the Quit India Movement a few individuals formed the raid party. The purpose of peaceful raid was to cause maximum harm to the government property, without inflicting any damage to the opponent physically. In this method of raiding and looting, intentional and deliberate, of government belongings, particularly warehouses where foodgrains were stored, was an adopted procedure which had the sanctions of Gandhi. Individuals taking part in such raids should possess great moral strength and courage to resist his opponent and his violent methods.

This method first achieved spectacular success and immense popularity during the salt satyagraha campaign of 1930. In 1930 thousands of volunteers resisting heavy lathi charge and in the face of the danger of firing raided the Sanikatta salt works in North Kanara district to violate the Salt Laws. During the Quit India Movement peaceful raids resulted in violent action on several occasions.
Some volunteers wantonly resorted to cutting off telegraphic wires and lines, and burning railway stations and railway properties, post-offices and postal articles. Raidings when done non-violently and in a satyagrahic mood without inflicting any fear among the opponent had the support of Gandhi. He of course wanted nothing to be done secretly. But however many such raids in Karnataka were pre-planned to inflict an extensive damage to the public property. These raids were organised by underground volunteers and were executed secretly. Of course, these methods brought pains to Gandhi and discredited his satyagraha weapon. This conclusively shows how Gandhi could not command the mass according to his thinking.

In urban centres where industries on modern lines situated in large numbers strikes were a popular method of satyagraha. This method was a strong weapon and was very popular with industrial workers, particularly mill-hands. During the freedom movement they went on strike demanding from their employer a minimum "standard of treatment and living." According to Gandhi the labour strike incorporated two essential principles. In the first place the demands must be justifiable and the strike should be limited only to the actual sufferer. Secondly, the urge to strike should come from within and should not be instigated from outside elements. In 1920's the industrial labourers were under the control of Indian National Congress. During the 1930's the Communist ideology of Russians had a close appeal to labour class. The strikes led by Communist leadership generally ended in violence to both the parties involved - the employees and the employers. This was also true in Mysore State during 1930's when several strikes occurred in Bangalore and Bhadravathi. In 1940's most of the labour unions were under the control of Mysore State Congress in Mysore. As in present day, in those years the labour strikes were instigated by political leaders to paralyse the economy and there are no occasions when the unions went on strike voluntarily and spontaneously.

On many occasions ceremonial marches symbolised the
commencement of mass satyagraha campaigns in Karnataka. This had great impact on the political movement in those days. Such ceremonial march was designed after the Dandi March of 1930 initiating the great nationwide salt satyagraha campaigns. Such march was considered as a "form of penance and discipline for the beginning of civil disobedience," which gave a dramatic turn to events & attracted widespread attention from every corner. The aim of this was to create and consolidate the public opinion in favour of the agitators, to create dissatisfaction among people against the government and finally thereby to pressurise the government to concede to the just demands of the people.

One among the ultimate satyagraha weapons against the erring and unjust government was the refusal to pay taxes. The aim of the satyagrahis was to put severe economic strain on the government by stopping tax payments. Again this economic pressure on the government was to protest against the misdeeds of the government. On refusal to pay taxes the government resorted to the confiscation of properties of such satyagrahis. This method of satyagraha was an extreme step and only in a few places and that too rarely was resorted to. The no-tax campaign was practiced in Karnataka during 1930-33 Salt satyagraha movement.

The ultimate weapon of a satyagrahi or a group of satyagrahis was to migrate to the neighbouring States in protest against the evil and unjust administrations. This was the last of the methods of satyagraha. If the repression and coercion of the opponent become so unbearable, the satyagraha principle advises abandoning the territory of the opponent in protest against his undoings. When the opponent become unconvinced of his undoings, then the satyagrahis has to resort to this method. This method Gandhi called as deshatayaga, abandoning one's own country. This satyagraha method was rarely and in very few cases adopted during the freedom movement. In Karnataka during the no-tax campaign of 1932 in North-Kanara district, the farmers who suffered untold repression and
harassment at the hands of the British authorities had to resort to migration to neighbouring state. This migration was the symbol of a unique protest against a government which was steeped in injustice and immorality.

Most of these methods were experimented to achieve political freedom and responsible government in Karnataka, but some were also experimented to achieve the good of the society. Some of these methods brought spectacular success to the movement, while some did not reach up to the mark of satisfaction due to reasons pertaining to leadership and organisation. However, in the end of the long process of satyagraha campaigns the desired end of Indian independence was achieved which was of prime importance to so many leaders.

There were times when there was lull and inactivity in the Indian political movement, particularly during the years between 1924 to 1928 and 1933 to 1938. According to Gandhi satyagraha was a continuous process, a process which would extend beyond the goal of achieving political freedom. During the period of political inactivity Gandhi took up the constructive programme, which was another face of satyagraha, for the upliftment of the Indian society. Satyagraha was a service to mankind and for Gandhi service to mankind, the highest kind of service an individual can do, was the service to God. In the long run the ultimate aim of these satyagraha methods was to achieve the social betterment, when only India would achieve Purna Swaraj, the complete independence, distinguished from political independence. Until the achievement of independence these methods were recognised institutions in Karnataka. But these methods whithered away towards the end of the forties when corruption and nepotism made their way into the principles and practices of satyagraha.
NOTES

1. Young India, January 14, 1920.
2. Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi, p.501.
4. Young India, December 16, 1924.
5. Young India, August 11, 1920.
6. Young India, July 2, 1925.
7. P. Sotaramayya, Gandhi and Gandhism, p.111.
9. Ram Rattan, Gandhi's Concept of Political Obligations, p.183.
11. Young India, October 8, 1925.
14. T.K.M. Unnithan, Traditions of Non-Violence, p.120.
16. T.K.M. Unnithan, p.120.
19. Young India, March 23, 1921.
21. Ibid., p.17.
23. Young India, November 5, 1919.
24. Harijan, June 24, 1928 and July 21, 1940.
26. See Gandhi's Presidential Address, 1924 AICC Session, Belgaum.
27. Ram Rattan, p.218.
29. Ibid., p.215.

33 *Harijan*, June 2, 1946 and August 11, 1946.

34 Joan V. Bondurant, pp.93-94.