

## INSTRUCTION TO SATYAGRAHIS

The following is a summary of the instruction Gandhi gave to those who would become involved in the *satyagraha* campaign.

1. Harbor no anger but suffer the anger of the opponent. Refuse to return the assaults of the opponent.
2. Do not submit to any order given in anger, even though severe punishment is threatened for disobeying.
3. Refrain from insults and swearing.
4. Protect the opponents from insult or attack, even at the risk of life.
5. Do not resist arrest nor the attachment of property, unless holding property as a trustee.
6. Refuse to surrender any property held in trust at the risk of life.
7. If taken prisoner, behave in an exemplary manner.
8. As a member of a *satyagraha* unit, obey the orders of *satyagraha* leaders, and resign from the unit in the event of serious disagreement.
9. Do not expect guarantees for maintenance of dependents.

**Steps in a *Satyagraha* campaign:**

1. **Negotiation and arbitration.** Every effort to resolve the conflict or redress the grievance through established channels must be exhausted before further steps are undertaken.
2. **Preparation of the group for direct action.** Immediately upon recognition of a conflict situation which might lead to direct action, motives are to be carefully examined, exercises in self-discipline initiated, and the fullest discussions launched with the group regarding issues at stake, appropriate procedures to be taken; the circumstances of the opponents, the climate of public opinion, etc. This step often included, for Indian *satyagrahis*, purificatory fasting.
3. **Agitation.** This step includes an active propaganda campaign together with such demonstrations as mass-meetings, parades, slogan-shouting.
4. **Issuing an ultimatum.** A final strong appeal to the opponent should be made explaining what further steps will be taken if no agreement can be reached. The wording and manner of presentation of the ultimatum should offer the widest scope for agreement, allowing for face-saving on the part of the opponent, and should present a constructive solution to the problem.

5. **Economic boycott and forms of strike.** Picketing may be widely employed, together with continued demonstrations and education of the public. Sitting *dharna* (a form of sit-down strike) may be employed, as well as non-violent labor strike, and attempts to organize a general strike.
6. **Non-cooperation.** Depending upon the nature of the issues at stake, such action as non-payment of taxes, boycott of schools and other public institutions, ostracism, or even voluntary exile may be initiated.
7. **Civil Disobedience.** Great care should be exercised in the selection of laws to be contravened. Such laws should be either central to the grievance or symbolic.
8. **Usurping the functions of the government.** . . . Fullest preparations are necessary to make this step effective.
9. **Parallel Government.** The establishment of parallel functions should grow out of step (8), and these should be strengthened in such a way that the greatest possible cooperation from the public can be attained.

Source: Joan Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*  
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## ASPECTS OF SATYAGRAHA

**Reading 1**

Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called *Satyagraha*. . . . Civil Disobedience is civil breach of unmoral statutory enactments. The expression was, so far as I am aware, coined by Thoreau to signify his own resistance to the laws of slave states . . . . [But probably] Thoreau limited his breach of statutory laws to the revenue laws, i.e. payment of taxes. Whereas the term Civil Disobedience . . . covered a breach of any statutory and unmoral law. It signified the register's outlawry in a civil i.e. non-violent manner. He invoked the sanctions of the law and cheerfully suffered imprisonment. It is a branch of *Satyagraha*.

**Reading 2**

Non-cooperation predominately implies withdrawing cooperation from the State that in the non-cooperator's view has become corrupt . . . By its very nature, Non-cooperation is even open to children of understanding and can be safely practiced by the masses. Civil Disobedience presupposes the habit of willing obedience to laws without fear of their sanctions. It can therefore be practiced only as a last resort and by a select few, in the first instance at any rate. Non-cooperation, too, like Civil Disobedience, is a branch of *Satyagraha*, which includes all non-violent resistance for the vindication of Truth.

Readings 1 and 2: *Young India*, 1921. Source: Mahatma K. Gandhi, *The Science of Satyagraha* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1967), pp. 35-36.

**Reading 3**

What does a son do when he objects to some action of his father? He requests the father to desist from the objectionable course, i.e. presents respectful petitions. If the father does not agree in spite of repeated prayers, he non cooperates with him to the extent even of leaving the paternal roof. This is pure justice. Where father and son are uncivilized, they quarrel, abuse each other and often even come to blows. An obedient son is ever modest, ever peaceful and ever loving. It is only his love which on due occasion compels him to non-cooperate. The father himself understands this loving non-cooperation. He cannot endure abandonment by or separation from the son, is distressed at heart and repents. Not that it always happens thus. But the son's duty of non-cooperation is clear.

A little reflection will show that Civil Disobedience is a necessary part of Non-Cooperation. You assist an administration most effectively by obeying its orders and decrees. An evil administration never deserves such allegiance. A good man will, therefore, resist an evil system or administration with his whole soul. Disobedience of the laws of an evil State is, therefore, a duty. Violent disobedience deals with men who can be replaced. It leaves the evil itself untouched, and often accentuates it. Non-violent, i.e. civil, disobedience is the only and most successful remedy and is obligatory upon him who would dissociate himself from evil.

Mahatma K. Gandhi, *The Science of Satyagraha* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1967) pp. 43, 60.

**Reading 2: The Salt March**

One of the bravest things I have ever seen was the way those Hindus marched out on the field and grouped themselves in little knots. Hindus hate physical pain, but they knew what they were in for that day. Some of them quite confidently believed that they would soon be dead. In each group the Indian women, in their orange robes of sacrifice, made a thin ring around the men. They would have to be hit first...

In a few seconds that field was a shambles of reeling, bleeding men; . . . women shrieking and tearing at the policemen's clothes . . . throwing themselves before the swishing lathis...

The Sikh leader was like that statue of the gladiator in Rome; a Herculean man, with his beard tied to his ears. He was being struck on the head. I stood about six feet from him and watched. He was hit until his turban came undone and his topknot was exposed. A few more blows and his hair came undone and fell down over his face. A few more and blood began to drip off his dangling black hair. He stood there with his hands at his sides. Then a particularly heavy blow and he fell forward on his face.

I could hardly hold myself back. I wanted to grab that white sergeant's lathi. I stood next to him; he was so sweaty from his exertions. . . . I watched him with my heart in my mouth. He drew back his arm for a final swing . . . and he dropped his hands down by his side.

"It's no use," he said, turning to me with half an apologetic grin. "You can't hit a bugger when he stands up to you like that."

He gave the Sikh a mock salute and walked off.

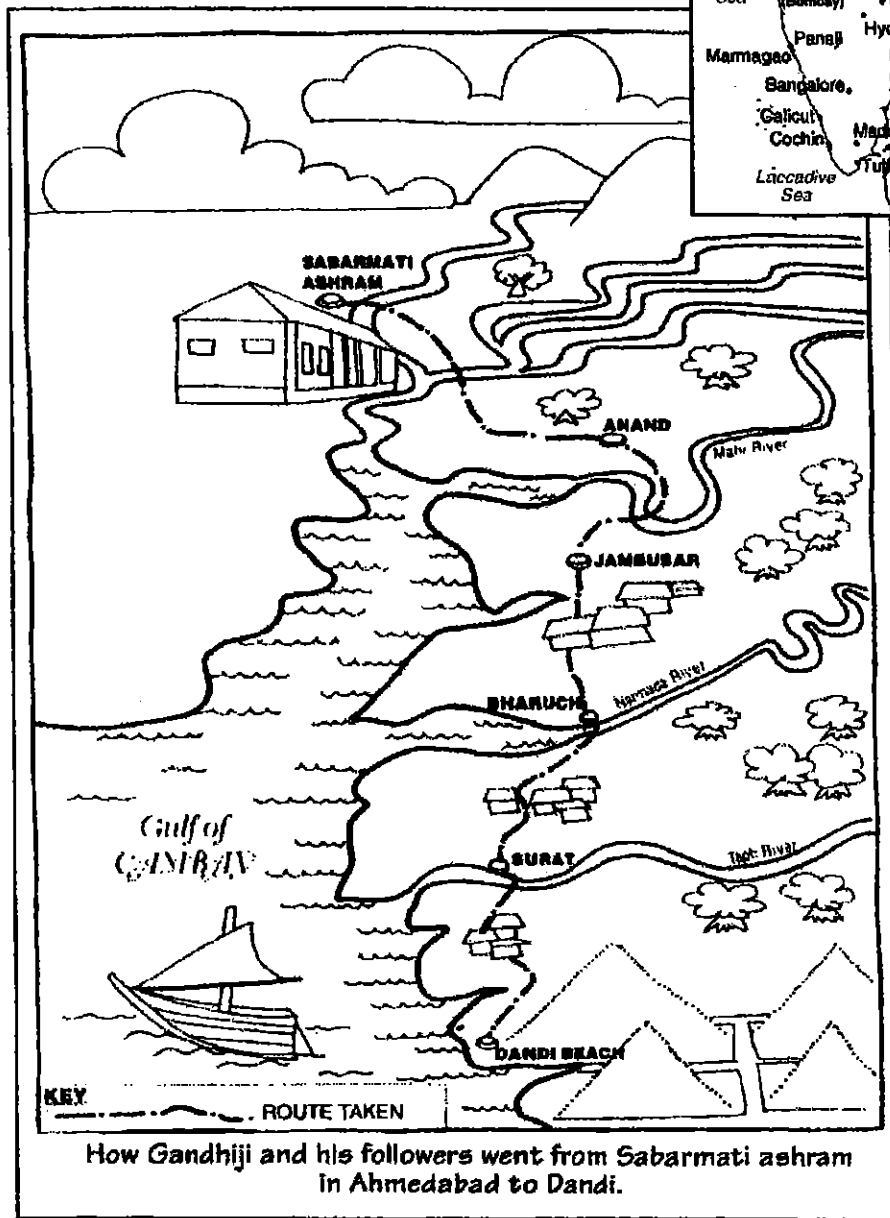
Source: Web Miller, "I found No Peace," in Donald J. and Jean E. Johnson, eds., *Through Indian Eyes* (New York: CITE Publications, 1992), pp. 210-11.

**Reading 3: The Governor of Bombay's cable to Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India; Viceroy's forwarding to Secretary of State for India in London**

Hope entertained in many quarters that movement will be discredited must be abandoned. On the contrary, individuals and bodies of men hitherto regarded as sane and reasonable are day by day joining movement . . . because belief that British connection is morally indefensible and economically intolerable is gaining strength among educated Hindus. . . .

Source: Viceroy to Secretary of State, April 28, 1930, in Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Non-violent Power in Action* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), p. 117.

### THE SALT MARCH



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## LESSON I: MAO'S AND GANDHI'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS VIOLENCE

### A. OBJECTIVES

- ◆ To analyze Gandhi's concept of *ahimsa* and its historic roots in Indian civilization.
- ◆ To understand how Gandhi drew upon *ahimsa* and other Indian values to create his principle of *Satyagraha*.
- ◆ To analyze Mao's reliance on violence and war as a means to social change.
- ◆ To compare and contrast Gandhi and Mao's views on violence and war.

### B. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION FOR TEACHERS

STUDENTS

#### Mao Zedong

Mao's father was very physical and quick to anger, and he disliked Mao's physical weakness. His father's bursts of temper often drove young Mao into hiding. Mao's mother, on the other hand, was a devout Buddhist who taught her young son that killing any living thing was wrong and that personal salvation depended on giving to the poor.

Mao inherited his father's quick temper and worked most of his life to control it. At the age of 13 in 1906, Mao's Buddhist non-violence was severely challenged. The area had experienced a major famine, and in the fall peasants had armed themselves and demanded that the government open the rice granaries. The leaders of the rebellion were arrested and publicly executed. Mao was so sympathetic to the peasant rebels that he almost became labeled a rebel himself. During these formative years of his life, peasant rebellions, mostly in search of food, punctuated Hunan's political life. By age 13, he had seen two such uprisings first-hand.

In his early life Mao was not attracted by the military. He was not really involved with the army until 1927 when he journeyed to Hunan to study what the peasants were doing and to mobilize the peasant uprisings into a more politicized program. The Autumn Harvest Uprising of 1927 was a turning point in his life and the beginning of his respect for military solutions to the social problems he saw all around.

In Hunan, Mao witnessed first-hand the exploitation of peasants by the gentry and landlords and grew to respect the peasants' courage in carrying out armed revolts against what he termed their "class enemies." After his Hunan experience he became a life-long advocate of armed struggle and military solutions to China's intractable problems.

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## Lesson I

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During the Hunan experience Mao met and joined forces with Chu The, the great military genius of the Communist movement. The two men were able to rally the peasant armies and inflict several defeats on the Guomindang. With Chu's skillful military assistance, Mao established the Kiangsi Soviet in the late 1920s. It was within this peasant-based Communist inspired social experiment that the power base for his major challenge to Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang army was tested and implemented. Mao and Chu organized their new army according to The Three Rules of Discipline and Eight Additional Rules. The leaders also developed a workable military strategy against the vastly more numerous and better equipped Guomindang army. Their strategy, strongly evocative of Sun Tzu's classic *The Art of War*, was to become the gospel of guerrilla warfare around the world, including Ho Chih Minh's approach in the Vietnam War.

### Mohandas Gandhi

The scholar Joan Bondurant suggests that perhaps the only dogma in Gandhi's philosophy was "that the only test of truth is action based on the refusal to do harm." Yet, Gandhi began life, like Mao, far removed in outlook from the philosophy and courage that would guide his adult life. Gandhi says of his own childhood:

I was a coward. I used to be haunted by the fear of thieves, ghosts, and serpents. I did not dare to stir out of doors at night. Darkness was a terror to me. It was almost impossible for me to sleep in the dark, as I would imagine ghosts coming room one direction, thieves from another and serpents from a third. I could not therefore bear to sleep without a light in the room.

Source: Eknath Easwaram, *Gandhi the Man* (Petaluma, CA: Nilgiri Press, 1978), pp. 11-12.

After taking his first genuine law assignment in South Africa in 1893, Gandhi, as the rising leader of the Indian community seeking its human rights, began to experiment with his long commitment to *ahisma* (non-violence to any living thing) and weave the concept into his emerging philosophy of *Satyagraha* (truth force).

With his formulation of *Satyagraha*, Gandhi, as early as 1896, was able to fuse his personal value of non-violence with his public and political philosophy and move on to hundreds of applications of this approach in both the Indian Nationalist movement and in his own reform program for Indian society, particularly his campaign to end untouchability.

Gandhi's and Mao's attitudes toward violence and its uses, more than any other value, separate the two men, as well as many of their millions of followers.



**MAO ZEDONG READINGS**

Lin Piao, one of Mao's greatest military commanders and in the late 1950s minister of defense, wrote about his leader:

**Reading 1—Mao on Revolution**

In the last analysis, the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution is a theory of the seizure of state power by revolutionary violence, the theory of countering war against the people by people's war. As Marx so aptly put it, "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one."

It was on the basis of the lessons derived from the people's wars in China that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, using the simplest and most vivid language, advanced the famous thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." He clearly pointed out:

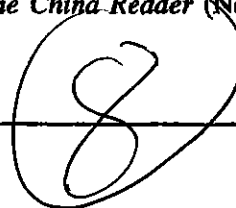
The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.

War is the product of imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man. Lenin said "war is always and everywhere begun by the exploiters themselves, by the ruling and oppressing classes." What should the oppressed nations and the oppressed people do? . . . Comrade Mao Tse-tung answered this question in vivid terms. He said that after long investigation and study the Chinese people had discovered that all imperialists and their lackeys "have swords in their hands and are out to kill. The people have come to understand this and so act in the same fashion." This is called doing unto them what they do unto us. . . .

In view of the fact that some people are afflicted with fear of imperialists and reactionaries, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the famous thesis that "the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers."

All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.

Source: Lin Piao "The International Significance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Theory of People's War," in Franz Schurmann and Orville Schell, eds., *The China Reader* (New York: Vintage, 1973), pp. 186-188.





**Reading 2: Mao on War**

War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions, when they have developed to a certain stage, between classes, nations, states, or political groups, and it has existed ever since the emergence of private property and of classes. Unless you understand the actual circumstances of war, its nature and its relations to other things, you will not know the laws of war, or know how to direct war, or be able to win victory.

Source: Mao Zedong, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," December, 1936, *Selected Works 1* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1964), pp. 179-82.

**Reading 3: The Question of "Going too Far"**

Hunan Province in 1926-27 was the center of Communist organization of the peasants, and when reports circulated that there had been a massive slaughter of landlords, Mao went on a thirty-three day inspection tour. The following is part of his "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant."

Then there is another section of the people who say, "Yes, peasant associations are fine, but they are going rather too far." This is the opinion of the middle-of-the-roaders. But what is the actual situation? True, the peasants are in a sense "unruly" in the countryside. Supreme in authority, the peasant association allows the landlord no stay but sweeps away his prestige. This amounts to striking the landlord down to the dust and keeping him there. . . .

People swarm into the houses of local tyrants and evil gentry who are against the peasant association, slaughter their pigs and consume their grain. . . . Doing whatever they like and turning everything upside down, they have created a kind of terror in the countryside. That is what some people call "going too far," or "exceeding the proper limits in righting a wrong." Such talk may seem plausible, but in fact it is wrong.

First, the local tyrants, evil gentry and lawless landlords have themselves driven peasants to this. For ages they have used their power to tyrannize over the peasants and trample them underfoot; that is why the peasants have reacted so strongly. . . .

Secondly, a revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another. A rural revolution is a revolution by which the peasantry overthrows the power of the feudal landlord class. . . .

To put it bluntly, it is necessary to create terror for a while in every rural area, otherwise it would be impossible to suppress the activities of the counterrevolutionaries in the countryside or overthrow the authority of the gentry. . . .

Source: Bruno Shaw, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (NY: Harper Colophon Books, 1970), pp. 12-13.

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**Reading 4: "Political Power Grows out of the Barrel of a Gun"**

Every Communist must understand this truth: Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. Our principle is that the Party commands the gun; the gun shall never be allowed to command the Party. But it is also true that with the gun at our disposal we can really build up the party organizations; the Eighth Route Army has built up the Party organization in North China. We can also rear cadres and create schools, culture and mass movements. Everything in Yen-an has been built up by means of the gun. Anything can grow out of the barrel of a gun. Viewed from the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of the political power of the state. Whoever wants to seize and hold on to political power must have a strong army. Some people have ridiculed us as advocates of the 'theory of the omnipotence of war': yes. We are, we are advocates of the theory of the omnipotence of revolutionary war. This is not a bad thing. With the help of guns, the Russian communists brought about socialism. We want to bring about a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle of the era of imperialism teaches us that the working class and the toiling masses cannot defeat the armed bourgeois and landlord except by the power of the gun; in this sense we can even say that the whole world can be remoulded only with the gun. As advocates of the abolition of war, we do not desire war; but war can only be abolished through war—in order to get rid of the gun, we must first grasp it in hand.

Source: Mao's Concluding Remarks at the 6<sup>th</sup> Plenum of the Central Committee, Nov., 1938, in Stuart R. Schram, *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung* (New York: Praeger, 1969), p. 290-91.

## HITTING THE LANDLORDS POLITICALLY

In his *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*, among the 14 achievements made by the peasant associations, Mao included "Hitting the landlords politically" in order to smash their political prestige and power.

*Checking the Accounts . . .*

*Imposing fines . . .*

*Levying contributions.* The unscrupulous rich landlords are made to contribute for poor relief, for the organization of cooperatives or peasant credit societies, or for other purposes. . . .

*Minor protests . . .* when the offense is a minor one . . . he is usually let off after writing a pledge to "cease and desist".

*Major demonstrations.* A big crowd is rallied to demonstrate against a local tyrant or one of the evil gentry who is an enemy of the association. The demonstrators cat at the offender's house, slaughtering his pigs and consuming his grain as a matter of course. . . .

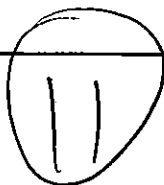
*"Crowning" the landlords and parading them through the villages.* This sort of thing is very common. A tall paper hat is struck on the head of one of the local tyrants or evil gentry, bearing the words "Local tyrant So-and-so." He is led by a rope, brass gongs are beaten and flags are waved to attract people's attention. This form of punishment makes the local tyrants and evil gentry tremble. . . .

*Locking up the landlord in the country jail.*

*"Banishment."* The peasants have no desire to banish the most notorious criminals among the local tyrants and evil gentry, but would rather arrest or execute them. Afraid of being arrested or executed, they run away. . . . and this amounts to banishment. . . .

*Execution.* This is confined to the worst local tyrants and evil gentry and is carried out by the peasants jointly with other sections of the people . . . The execution of one big landlord reverberates though a whole country and is very effective in eradicating the remaining evils of feudalism. . . . The head of the defense corps in the town of Hsinkang was personally responsible for killing almost 1,000 poverty-stricken peasants, which he euphemistically described as "executing bandits."

Source: Adapted from Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, abridged by Bruno Shaw (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 15-16.



**READINGS ON THE LONG MARCH****Reading 1**

The communists had a firm belief in the power of one man to win a battle. They sent a single soldier over at night after they had silenced the enemy guns with mortars. The solitary swimmer managed to capture one of the boats hidden against the shore, and this single boat was afterward sent backward and forward across the river crammed with Red soldiers until a beachhead was established. Later all the boats were captured. The Guomindang forces, who had not expected the Communists to turn back and attack the shore they had just left, were routed by a surprise maneuver—one which looked ludicrously simple when P'eng The-huai drew a map of the small campaign for me in the dusty loess soil outside his cave. It was by such ruses that they won their battles; and more and more they were forced to regard themselves as guerrilla forces, dedicated to ruses, to the endless game of cunning and surprise.

Source: Robert Payne, *Mao Tse-tung* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1969) pp. 149, 152.

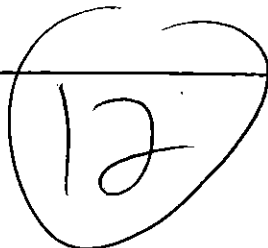
**Reading 2**

Speaking of the Long March, one may ask, What is its significance? We answer that the Long March is the first of its kind in the annals of history, that it is a manifesto, a propaganda force, a seeding machine. Since Pan Ku divided the heavens from the earth and the Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors reigned, has history ever witnessed a Long March such as ours? . . .

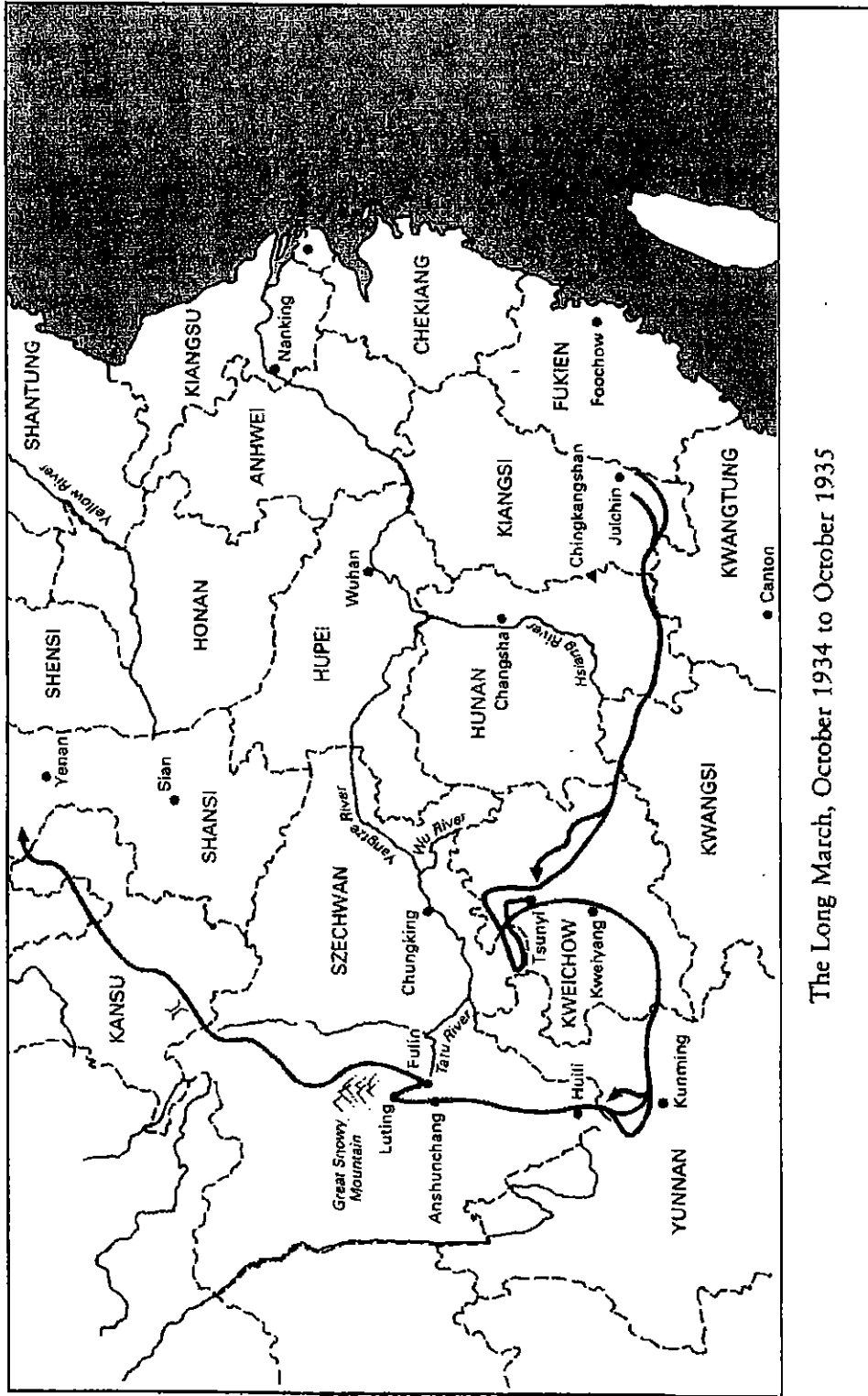
We were encircled and pursued, obstructed and intercepted by a huge force of several hundred thousand men; yet by using our two legs we swept across a distance of more than 20,000 li [6,000 miles] through the length and breadth of eleven provinces. . . . Well, has there ever been in history a long march like ours? No, never. The Long March is also a manifesto. It proclaims to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes and that the imperialists and their jackals, Chiang Kai-shek and his like, are perfect nonentities. It announces the bankruptcy of the encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception attempted by the imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek. The Long March is also an agitation corps. It declares to the approximately two hundred million people of the eleven provinces that only the road of the Red Army leads to their liberation. Without the Long March, how could the masses have known so quickly that there are such great ideas in the world as are upheld by the Red Army? The Long March is also a seeding-machine. It has sown many seeds which will sprout, grow leaves, blossom into flowers, bear fruit and yield a crop in future. Without the Communist Party, a Long March of this kind would have been inconceivable. The Chinese Communist Party, its leadership, its cadres and its members fear no difficulties or hardships. . . . To sum up, the Long March ended with our victory and the enemy's defeat.

Sources: "On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism" Dec 27, 1935, in Jerome Ch'en, *Mao and the Chinese Revolution* (London: Oxford University Press), pp. 199-200.

Bruno Shaw, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1970), pp. 53-54.



# THE LONG MARCH



The Long March, October 1934 to October 1935

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individual production, that is bring about cooperation; consequently the principal contradiction is between socialism and capitalism, between collectivism and individualism, or in a nutshell between the socialist road and the capitalist road.

Source: Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works V:492-3*, in Stuart R. Schram, *The Thought of Mao Tse-tung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 159.

### Reading 3: Mao Speaks out Against Liberalism

All the experience the Chinese people have accumulated through several decades teaches us to enforce the people's democratic dictatorship—which one could also call people's democratic autocracy, the two terms mean the same thing—that is, to deprive the reactionaries of the right to speak and let the people alone have that right. . . .

Don't you want to abolish state power? Yes we do, but not right now; we cannot do it yet. Why? Because imperialism still exists, because domestic reaction still exists, because classes still exist in our country. Our present task is to strengthen the people's state apparatus—mainly the people's army, the people's police, and the people's courts—in order to consolidate the national defense and protect the people's interests. Given this condition, China can develop steadily, under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party, from an agricultural into an industrial country, and from a new-democratic into a socialist and communist society, abolish classes and realize the Great Harmony.

Source: Stuart R. Schram, *The Thought of Mao Tse-tung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 91.

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