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The adequacy of non-violent resistance in social change

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THE ADEQUACY OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE IN SOCIAL CHANGE

by

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITION OF TERMS

THE PROBLEM

For countless ages the recognized method of settling man's disputes and differences has been founded upon brute force and violence. At intervals in man's evolution men have been conscious of their madness and their injustice. They have seen the great bloodshed, suffering, and misery which they have brought upon themselves. The highest authority which they knew had spoken to them, saying that there was a more humane way of bringing peace.

In the midst of this troubled and restless era while bodies lie soaked in their own blood or wracked in pain because of man's violence to man, the civilized world weighs the merits of violence. The possibility of social change without death and bloodshed is being investigated. A few have contended that the oppression of minority groups by the state can be more efficiently relieved by passive and non-violent methods. They have asserted that the injustice being done to progressive and challenging individuals can be ended by passive means. Others have been of the conviction that the recognition of minority rights can be attained only through bloodshed and loss of life. They have believed that progressives and liberals must be willing to

use armed force if they are to see their ambitions realized.

What is violence? Much discussion has centered around the question of violence. Since non-violent resistance must be positive, aggressive, and perhaps even coercive to be effective and instrumental, many people insist that violence is resorted to in non-violence. George A. Coe[1] says that violence not only is taking away the means of life and action, but it is any act which prevents man from securing these means. According to this theory of violence, the typical act of non-violent resistance, non-cooperation, the mere refusal to buy or sell is an act of violence because hunger and death can result from such action. If this theory is followed to its logical conclusion it becomes almost ridiculous. If one should refuse to pay his taxes as Thoreau did, even though they are unjust, one would be violent because the town poor would not receive all they ought to receive and consequently would suffer.

The non-violent resister is also said to impose violence upon himself. There is no doubt that this violence is involved in any situation where there is non-cooperation or non-violent resistance, for wherever there is resistance there is suffering. Any program, in order to make headway, must cause some inconvenience and probably some suffering. That is a law of life. The non-violent resister acknowledges this fact. He makes the

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[1] George A. Coe, "What is Violence?" The World Tomorrow, XV (October 19, 1932), 378.

first step but demonstrates that while suffering and hardship may be the ultimate outcome to them, he is willing to suffer and endure physical handicaps in order to reach some compromise. His action is redemptive if it is violent. If the resister had employed extreme physical force and had no reverence in his mind for the life of his opponent his action would have been destructive.

Statement of the problem. The purpose of this study is to find substantiation for the theory that non-violent resistance from the standpoint of both individual and group can be used to promote social change.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Adequacy. In this thesis the term adequacy is taken to mean sufficiency.

Non-violent resistance. Non-violent resistance is a term interpreted to describe the opposition of an individual or group that remained steadfast in beliefs without resorting to acts characterized by extreme or improper physical force when confronted by authorities with orders or acts of extreme physical force.

Social change. Social change is designated to be any alteration in the structure of society or in the acts of society.

Passive resistance. Passive resistance is considered as

"a calm 'non-violent' refusal to desist from one's purpose, conceived as right in itself, in spite of the commands or violence of authority."[2] When this term is used it is considered as synonymous with the term "non-violent resistance," and as such is used interchangeably with "non-violent resistance."

ORGANIZATION OF REMAINDER OF THESIS

That a basis for understanding the theory and working of non-violence may be had the words of the great teachers of non-violent resistance will be investigated. From these great men an underlying philosophy of non-violent resistance may be obtained. By tracing the idea of non-violence through the centuries, as it has expressed itself in the minds of the world's great thinkers, we may discover whether non-violent resistance is a theory characterisitc of a certain type of people or whether men of all times have thought that it might be employed to change social conditions. Here will be heard the pleas of men who, seeing the inadequacy of violence, sought other methods through which oppression might be combated.

As many people have doubted the efficiacy of non-violent resistance in any past situation wherein it was tried, a few of the many successful attempts at non-violent resistance will be discussed. Here, as several instances of its effective appli-

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[2] N. H. Brailsford, "Passive Resistance and Non-Cooperation," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XII, 10.

cation are studied, we may see a demonstration of its power. For skeptical critics who insist that its application has been successful in but a few lands and has been used by only a small number of peoples, an answer to the challenge will be forthcoming. Through this study of successful non-violent resistance it may be seen that a further examination and consideration of this technique as a means of social change is warranted. This section will illustrate in action the principles which guide and direct the forces in non-violent resistance and will include examples of mass action as well as individual endeavor as adequate proof that the method is workable. From this point an effort will be made to substantiate the conviction of its practicability and adequacy.

Just as there are certain definite pre-requisites demanded of soldiers in the army, certain necessary standards are required of one who is to be a marcher for non-violence. The army does not receive every citizen into its ranks, and the cause of non-violence does not appeal to individuals without the essential characteristics. The true soldier needs certain definite mental attitudes if he is to meet adequately the enemy's charge. Certain mental or spiritual attitudes are imperative if a non-violent resister is to withstand his adversaries. While an army man needs external and material instruments to stem the advance, the advocate of non-violence must have internal and spiritual tools upon which he can rely. Likewise, no one is admitted to the regular army without training, so it is not feasible to

allow recruits to be in the band of non-violent resisters without discipline. The equipment of a true passive resister will be discussed, for this is a vital factor in any great movement.

In order to gain a clearer understanding of the actual factors which lead toward success and achievement, non-violent resistance will be discussed from the standpoint of the individual before discussing group action. An inquiry will be made into the elements which cooperate to bring desired results. An effort will be made to discover just what occurs when an attacker charges a non-violent resister who is prepared to cope with the situation at hand. Consideration will be given to the psychological and emotional forces which contribute to the overthrow of the attacker. The non-violent resister will be seen to have every great advantage through moral and social influence. The probabilities for the individual resister gaining his desired change will be considered.

Before passive resistance can be labeled effective as a weapon for social change, it must be workable on a large scale. This angle of the problem will be approached, and the contributing factors toward its successful operation will be closely examined. The question of possible failure will also be discussed, and this will include the consideration of destructive elements which are responsible for decreased efficiency.

Once the factors have been surveyed, it then becomes possible for some estimation to be made as to the strength and effectiveness of this method. The conclusions then will be

drawn concerning the probability of accomplishing any sufficient measure of social change through non-violent methods.

CHAPTER II

TEACHERS OF NON-VIOLENCE

Perhaps the soundest way to approach this problem is to survey the history of the world, in order, by the method of inductive study of facts available, to determine whether we are studying a form of personal or social reaction common to all mankind, or whether it is characteristic of modern, civilized, and European men of the Christian faith only, as many people have been led to believe when they first noticed the list of its adherents.

The philosophy of non-violence is a very old philosophy. It is thought to have originated in the Orient, but it cannot be traced to its beginning. It had been deeply rooted in the minds of Orientals long before it spread to the western world, for it was taught by early Oriental philosophers.

Confucius. In the day of Confucius (about 551 - 478 B. C.) China was beset by internal disorder and confusion which was brought on by struggling feudalistic princes whom the weak imperial leaders could not direct and control. Confucius was a statesman but was a political philosopher and teacher of practical ethics only because he was forced to be. He struggled throughout life to obtain a government based on a just and sound foundation. He was a thinker who tried at all times

to be practical. At times he was idealistic. Everyone remembers this Chinese philosopher as the person who gave us the Golden Rule in the negative form: "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do unto others." While this great statement is in the negative it is probable that Confucius meant for it to be a positive rule.

At the same time we cannot call Confucius a true advocate of non-violent resistance or one being opposed to group violence because he listed military equipment as one of the requisites of government. His ideas about personal retaliation may also be questioned as to whether or not they show a spirit of non-violence.

> We have rejoiced in his enunciation of the golden rule; Lao Tse had advanced even beyond the field of morality and said, "Return good for evil." Some of Confucius' school heard the maxim, and being puzzled by it, consulted the master. He also was puzzled, formed a syllogism in his mind about it, and replied, "What then will you return for good? Recompense injury with justice, and return good for good." According to Choo He, "justice" here means "fairness in dealing with injury, without selfish motives."[1]

Professor Legge says that he finds it impossible to "think that Confucius had any thought of vengeance when he used the term."[2] He faced the social life and suggested discard of the vengeful attitude and asked that all be kind and benevolent.

Lao Tse. Lao Tse was evidently born about the same time

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[1] James Legge, Religions of China (London: Hodden and Stoughton, 1880), pp. 143 - 144.

[2] Ibid., pp. 143-144.

as Confucius, but Toaism, the religion based upon his teaching, did not come into existence until long after his death. He was a mystic who withdrew from society. He discovered his teachings and moral principles by noting the processes of nature and from a kind of mystical contemplation. He based his principles upon a pattern of humility, for humility is the outstanding theme of these sayings. He went preaching that persons should practice non-action and assured all that through non-action everything could be accomplished. He requested the governments not to govern but to confine their work to administering. Rulers should not interfere with the normal and natural development of the people under their rule but should utilize the principle of non-acting, non-meddling, and non-interference. To Lao Tse this doctrine of non-action was not one of submission and withdrawal but one with a spirit of conquest. He records the observation that

> the ten thousand things, the grass as well as the trees, are while they live tender and supple. When they die they are rigid and dry. Thus the hard and the strong are the companions of death. The tender and the delicate are the companions of life.[3]

Darwin centuries later agreed that the unadaptable, the specialized forms of life soon die while the adaptable and unspecialized forms of life live. Dr. Carus says that the beneficent principle of non-action is not, however, pure inactivity.

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[3] Clarence Marsh Case, Non-Violent Coercion (New York: The Century Company, 1923), p. 17.

> It is simply not acting a part; not doing things in an artificial way; it is not forcing the nature of things. . . . It is briefly, not "non-action," but non-assertion.[4]

From these teachings of Lao Tse the non-resistant teachings of the Taoists came into existence. The teachings of the founder go far beyond mere non-resistance, and they become a constructive policy of active cooperation. He had a deep understanding of the methods commonly used by men, and it led him to the conclusion where he could write,

> He who excels as a warrior is not warlike. He who excels as a fighter is not wrathful. He who excels in conquering the enemy does not strive. He who excels in employing men is lowly.
>
> This is called the virtue of not-striving. This is called utilizing men's ability. This is called complying with heaven -- since olden times the highest.[5]

The teaching of Lao Tse with his mystical idealism may be called unpractical and visionary by legalists like Confucius, but that is the reason for its value. It is the result of spiritual vision. While he did not apply his thoughts to the complicated questions which confronted the society from which he fled, his teachings can be considered of higher ethical standard than those of Confucius. From this philosophy which stated the strength of meekness and the nobility of doing good in return for evil, there arose a clear doctrine of non-resist-

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[4] Paul Carus, translator, Lao Tse's Tao Teh King, or The Canon of Reason and Virtue (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1927), p. 19.

[5] Ibid., pp. 122-123.

ance of the highest type. This principle is, "It is because he is thus free from striving that . . . no one can strive with him."[6]

Buddha. Buddha, after having been reared in his father's court, suddenly became aware of the misery and woe of the world. He left this court and sought the shade of the blessed Bodhi-tree where after long meditation he achieved Buddhahood, or he became the "enlightened one." Carus says that the first statement uttered after he reached this state was, "Blissful is freedom from malice."[7] In the mind of Buddha malice, anger, violence, and hatred had no place. He taught clearly that one should forgive his enemies and nor return anger for anger. "It is to this problem of personal retaliation that Buddhism makes its most positive contribution. We may even regard it as the rudiments of a social psychology of passive resistance."[8] Case says that Buddha observed the great amount of misery which came from actions done only to satisfy individual pride and vanity. He also noted that all of the world dreaded violence, and then formulated the positive principle, "By love alone can we conquer evil." He then stated a law of human social interaction

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[6] James Legge, Religions of China (London: Hodden and Stoughton, 1880), p. 221.

[7] Paul Carus, The Gospel of Buddha According to Old Records. (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1904), p. 29.

[8] Clarence Marsh Case, Non-Violent Coercion (New York: The Century Company, 1923), p. 26.

when he said, "Say no harsh words to thy neighbor. He will reply to thee in the same tone."[9] Buddha and the Hindu philosophy, just as the Chinese, it would seem, did not apply this principle of non-resistance and non-retaliation to the social group but stressed the personal phase. Case submits several reasons for this:

> The social constitution had not advanced to that point where social purposes are desired or tolerated; being purely personal the beliefs caused no embarrassment to the political authorities, hence persecutions did not arise to weld together those who held non-resistance beliefs; and, finally, the sects of India always have been ascetic and individualistic rather than ethical and social.[10]

Greek Philosophers. The Stoics found little place in the militaristic society of the Greek and Roman life for any philosophy of passive resistance. The words of Socrates gave forth nothing which could substantiate the argument of non-violent resistance, but the life of Socrates may be used to illustrate the typical non-violent resister. This great philosopher gave his whole life in resistance by moral and passive means, through intellect and reason. When he was faced with the prospect of death, he took the cup and drank it rather than struggle with violence or flee from his attackers. In defense Plato records the words of Socrates speaking of his accusers:

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[9] Ibid., p. 27.

[10] Ibid., p. 30.

> Meletus and Anytus could not injure me; they have not the power. I do not believe it is permitted that a good man should be injured by a bad. He could be put to death, perhaps, or exiled, or disfranchised, and it may be Meletus thinks, and others think, that these are terrible evils, but I do not believe they are.[11]

Aristotle looked upon anger as a desirable reaction in the individual's life, but preferred that there should be a deficiency rather than an excess. In human nature there is more likely to be an excess. He thought that in the case of a wrong act to endure the act is to fall short of the right proportion, while to commit a wrong is to go beyond it.[12] It is nevertheless a worse evil to do a wrong than to suffer one.[13] He does not agree that anger is an evil in itself as some of the earlier philosophers do. He cannot be said to be a philosopher with a doctrine of non-violence, but there are thoughts which show an attitude of non-violence.

Aristotle and Socrates had no pattern for organized resistance, but they admired wise men who endured violence and evil with calmness.

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[11] Plato and Xenophon, Socratic Discourses (No. 457, Ernest Rhys, editor, Everyman's Library; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1910), p. 336.

[12] Clarence Marsh Case, Non-Violent Coercion (New York: The Century Company, 1923), p. 34.

[13] Ibid., p. 34.

Jesus. The great power of non-violent resistance in the long run is shown in the life of Jesus. This Jew came as a Messiah to his own people and was rejected. The commonly accepted reason for this rejection is that his life was absolutely contrary to the Jewish conception of the Messiah. Instead of the conquering militarist they saw a despised non-violent resister. His principles were clear and concise. Speaking of fear and hate, he said:

> Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.[14]

He recognized that a state of anger preceded actual violence and thus cautioned his disciples about the dangers of becoming angry. He spoke of the futility of violence when his disciple severed the ear of an adversary. "Put up thy sword into his place; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."[15] When asked how many times a brother should forgive sin against him, he said not only seven times but seventy times seven.[16] The key factor in Jesus' teaching was non-resentment. Resentment in his mind was the factor behind most of the people's sins. He pleaded for lives which would be non-resentful. He saw

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14 King James Version of The Holy Bible (Philadelphia: National Bible Press, [n. d.]), St. Matthew 5: 43-44.

15 Ibid., St. Matthew 26: 52.

16 Ibid., St. Matthew 18: 22.

the wheel of life everlastingly kept rotating toward evil by resentment itself, and it was his hope that by instituting non-resentment in people's lives this wheel might rotate toward good. He called upon himself to be the first to put this dynamic principle into practice. He lived this theory and demonstrated the attraction of such a life. Confronted by false accusations at his trial he showed no resentment. When the soldiers placed thorns upon his head and spit upon his body he held no ill will or bitterness. On the cross he prayed to his God for the forgiveness of those who crucified him.

Some writers have said that Jesus was a true non-resister. It might well be said that, while he did follow the policy of non-resistance, at the same time accounts show that he might more accurately be called a non-violent resister. The Gospel of John records the narrative of Jesus before the high priest:

> The high priest then asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his doctrine. Jesus answered him, I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews have always resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why askest thou me? ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said. And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so? Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?[17]

When confronted with violence after proclaiming that his cause was for good he spoke words which were clearly resistant.

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[17] Ibid., St. John 17: 19-23.

Jesus resisted the customs and the laws of his race with what he felt was the most powerful method, namely, the use of words coupled with reason. This great ideal of truth can never be imposed upon an individual by means of force. His great faith in men enabled him to think that some day, by appealing to the highest and best in men, justice and peace would become established facts in human relations.

Tolstoy. The Russian, Tolstoy, was one of the most stimulating philosophers of the nineteenth century. He had a definite doctrine of non-violence. His philosophy was greatly influenced by Jesus. He formulated five commandments which he felt were necessary to the welfare and life of mankind, of which two were definitely non-violent in character. The first was, "To do no ill to any one, and to so act as to rouse evil in no one; because from evil comes evil."[18] The second was,

> Not to fight against evil, but to suffer wrong, and to give even more than men would exact from us; by taking revenge, we only teach others to revenge.[19]

He insisted that all men should refrain from doing violence.

Though Tolstoy did not gain many followers because his teachings were too extreme, he nevertheless influenced many people throughout Europe.

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[18] Lyof N. Tolstoy, My Religion, My Confession, and The Gospel in Brief. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1899). pp. 422-423.

[19] Ibid., pp. 422-423.

Gandhi. Perhaps the greatest modern teacher of non-violence is to be found in the person of Mahatma Gandhi. In his activities in South Africa and India, both of which we shall discuss later, he has used the principle of non-violence to attain the desired ends. He has utilized love and truth as instruments of power to bring outsiders into his movement. He has been a resister of the most heroic type. His was an active resistance in which is found not violence but the force of love and sacrifice. He called his movement "Satyagraha" which he defines as "holding on to truth, hence, truth-force."[20]

Gandhi has long believed that strength does not come from the physical make-up. The strength lies in the amount of will-power. To him, non-violence does not mean the submission of his ideals and aims to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the flinging of his whole soul and mind against the will of the evil-doer. Gandhi knows that this means suffering, but he feels that suffering is a law of life. Mankind progresses only as it suffers. He has great faith in the power of love. He writes,

> The force of love is the same as the force of the soul or truth. We have evidence of its working at every step. The universe would disappear without the existence of that force of love.[21]

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[20] Romain Rolland, Mahatma Gandhi (New York: The Century Company, 1924), p. 64.

[21] C. F. Andrews, Mahatma Gandhi At Work (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), p. 308.

The doctrine of non-violent resistance has gained prominence perhaps mainly through its successful application by this great Indian teacher. He dared, not only to teach it, but also to put it to practical use.

> Those who practice his teaching fully must be ascetics, must renounce all violence, must love the enemy, must learn to regard his power and his acts of coercion and violence as unrealities.[22]

In this chapter on the great teachers of non-violence, a brief sketch has been made showing their thinking in regard to its efficiency. There is now a clearer view of what is meant by the term "non-violence." Throughout all of the recent centuries great personalities have looked at the slow progress of mankind and then turned their faces toward generations coming after them and cried out that the hope of mankind was in the application of non-violence in human relations. These men have taught that men ought not to employ violent methods in deciding their differences, and the world still waits for the pleas of these great men to be heeded.

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[22] N. H. Brailsford, "Passive Resistance and Non-Cooperation," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XII, 10.

CHAPTER III

SUCCESSFUL NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

On numerous occasions non-violence has been successfully used to resist oppression and injustice. With limitations, desired results have been achieved in the struggles which have been waged. Many other efforts have been carried on, but the immediate results were not forthcoming, and in some instances the degree of efficiency could not be measured.

History is filled with examples of non-violent resistance. More numerous are the stories of individual resistance, but one can enumerate many narratives of mass non-violence which was fruitful. In order that the underlying principles may be seen in action and also that a basis may be found for advocating non-violent resistance, a few successful attempts of non-violent resistance are described.

The Hungarian Revolt. In Hungary in the middle of the nineteenth century a campaign of non-violent resistance was successfully waged. The Emperor of Austria, Franz Josef, was attempting to bring Hungary under the complete subordination of Austria, which was entirely against the existing treaty which affixed the union of the two countries. Austria was the more powerful and could easily humble Hungary. A wealthy Catholic landowner of Hungary, Francis Deak, protested against the

action of the Austrian government. Deak continued to protest by organizing a boycott against Austrian goods and proceeded to make Hungarian industry, agriculture, and education independent of Austrian supervision. He pleaded with the Hungarians that they not resort to violence but that they should utilize every available legal means of gaining their desires. The Austrian tax collectors came to receive payments, but the people refused to pay. When they placed the goods up for sale, they found no buyers, and buyers had to be brought into the country. Soldiers were sent into the resisting communities, but they found it uncomfortable and annoying to live among people who had no respect for them, and they protested. The Austrian government then proclaimed that the Hungarian boycott was illegal, but Hungary refused to heed the claim. Soon the jails became filled. The Hungarians refused to sit in the government. So many were thrown into prison that soon all had to be released, and partial self-government was established. Hungary was not satisfied and wished to have more freedom. The emperor then forced the Hungarians to take military training, but they refused. In 1867 the emperor gave Hungary a constitution, and a victory had been won.

> This campaign seems to have been defective because of some violence of inner attitude on the part of the Hungarians. But even so, it provided a remarkable example of the power of non-violent resistance, even though the principle was imperfectly realized and applied.[1]

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[1] Richard B. Gregg, The Power of Non-Violence (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934), p. 21.

The South African Rebellion. For many years prior to 1906, Indians had been leaving their native country and had been settling in Natal. Here in Natal they found manual work to do in the mines where Europeans who were developing the country were looking for cheap labor. Thousands of these Indians were placed in indenture. Many of these new settlers were ambitious, and soon they were farming and trading. Some 12,500 had crossed the border and settled the territory of Transvaal. Because they were not wanted by the natives of this country, they were soon subjected to many cruel and unfair laws.

Every Indian man, woman, or child over eight years of age who had a legal right to reside in Transvaal was forced to register with the government. His fingerprints accompanied the registration. If he failed to register before a set date, he was to forfeit his right of residence, and eventually he was to be placed in prison or deported. The Indians had been subjected to many unfair laws before this time, but if this proposal was passed they feared that their community was to be lost. This law was passed by the legislature. Under the leadership of Gandhi, protest meetings were held, but they were futile. Gandhi was able to persuade the leading Indians to take an oath to their God that they would not register but would go to jail rather than obey the law. The Prime Minister agreed to have the law repealed if the Indians would register voluntarily. They consented, but the government only passed further restrictive laws. The Indians took up the struggle. Gandhi led a group of

men across the Transvaal boundary, which was against the law, into Natal where they picketed the mines in which Indian miners were working. Several thousand of the men came out on strike and marched with Gandhi's men across the boundary into Transvaal as a protest against both the heavy tax which they were forced to pay and the supreme court's decision which made all Indian marriages illegal. Gandhi was arrested several times during the course of the march, and eventually all the marchers were placed in jail which was their desired end. They were abused and beaten, but they remained firm in their pledge that they would not use violence. Soon news of the ill treatment spread to India, and a committee was sent to investigate. Gandhi and two other Indian leaders were released, but soon after their freedom was granted they demanded that Indians should have representation on the committee which was to do the investigating. The Prime Minister refused to do this, and Gandhi prepared to resume his struggle. It was about this time that a strike broke out among the European workers of a railway in this same territory. Gandhi gained the support of many outsiders by refusing to carry on his endeavors until the railway strike was settled. The Prime Minister found so much pressure exerted that he granted most of the pleas of the non-violent resisters. The validation of their marriages was established, the three-pound head tax was abolished, the registration of the individual was done away with, educated Indians were allowed to enter the country once more, and more just administration of the statutes

was promised.

Gandhi, speaking of the events in South Africa during this period, said,

> Our firmness was very disconcerting and distressing to General Smuts, coupled as it was with our determination to keep the peace, and he even said as much. How long can you harass a man of peace? How can you kill the voluntarily dead? There is no zest in killing one who welcomes death, and therefore soldiers are keen upon attacking the enemy while he answers blow with blow and violence by violence. Our victory was implicit in our combination of the two qualities of non-violence and determination.[2]

Champaran. Another successful attempt at non-violence is found in Gandhi's work in Bihar in Northern India.[3] The Champaran tenant was required to plant three out of twenty parts of his land in indigo for his owner. Gandhi was informed by a friend of the condition of these striving people who underwent numerous hardships. The owners disliked the presence of Gandhi in their territory and appealed to the officials of the district to expel him. He was served notice that he must leave, to which he gave the reply that he had come because he felt that it was his duty and that he was going to remain even if he were compelled to pay the penalty for disobeying. Gandhi and his followers then began to take down the testimony of the peasant workers. He was soon arrested for doing this and then tried.

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[2] C. F. Andrews, Mahatma Gandhi At Work (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), p. 357.

[3] C. F. Andrews, Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), pp. 273-288.

He pleaded guilty, and then asked the court if he might make a brief statement. The request was granted, and he told the officials that he faced an inner struggle of whether to obey the law or his conscience. He was allowed to go free to continue the investigation. The governor became personally interested and investigated, after which he appointed a commission to investigate further. Gandhi was to be a member of this commission. The commission was whole-heartedly agreed that the law was unfair to the peasants and that the amounts received by the planters and owners were too large. The law was soon repealed, and the peasants won a victory wholly through non-violent methods. Through no other means could their oppression have been relieved.

The Bahai Cult. The Bahai cult offers an excellent example of non-violent resistance.[4] Mirza Hussein Ali who later became Baha'o'llah was born in 1817. He assumed leadership of the Babis cult upon the death of the founder in 1852. The Shah of Persia was shot by one of the Babis group, and as a consequence the whole tribe was persecuted and some were thrown into prison. For four months the Baha'o'llah and his followers were forced to live in the dark, dingy, and filthy dungeon with highway robbers, murderers, and thieves. No one had any protection from the cold of the floor. Each day during those months one or

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[4] Charles Mason Remey, The Bahai Movement (Washington, D. C. : J. D. Milans and Sons, 1912), pp. 14-24.

more of the followers was put to death by torture or some other violent means. Eventually it was decided that Baha'o'llah should not be put to death but that he and the rest of his fellow-believers should be exiled into Mesopotamia. After much hardship they reached their destination. Upon his return from exile, people of all faiths flocked to follow this leader. The cult grew, but word came to the ruler that Baha'o'llah was injuring the Mohammedan religion. While both Turkish and Persian governments were moving to wipe out the movement, Baha'o'llah remained calm and serene and inspired and encouraged his followers by writing words of consolation and guidance. He was summoned to appear before the government of Turkey at Constantinople. The journey, which was made with numerous members of the faith, was long and hard. The poorly clad peoples lost many of their number before they reached their destination. After some time spent here the group was exiled to Akka. Baha'o'llah lived in this prison under the most adverse conditions. Several Bahais from Persia came to see him. He would appear before the window, and they would weep and return, filled with new zeal for service and sacrifice. For seven years he spent his time here with his companions in an attempt to gain his freedom. While in prison, he wrote epistles to the rulers of the countries stating his desire for them to respond to the latter day call of the Lord, and many responded by believing on him. At last the officials gave him his liberty.

This may seem at first to be a purely non-resistant pol-

icy. There was a positive aspect of their activities, however, for Baha'o'llah wrote,

> Thou hast come to see a prisoner and an exile. . . . We desire but the good of the world and the happiness of the nations; yet they deem us a stirrer-up of strife and sedition worthy of bondage and banishment. . . . That all nations should become one in faith and all men as brothers . . . Yet so it shall be; these fruitless strifes, these ruinous wars shall pass away, and the "Most Great Peace" shall come.[5]

The Russian Doukhobors. Doukhobors or"spirit-fighters" was the name given by the Russian Orthodox clergy to a group of non-conformists who claimed that they rebelled against the spirit. They really were a group who claimed to be guided by the spirit of Christ. They had a high moral code.

> They consider killing, violence, and in general all relations to human beings not based on love as opposed to their consciences and to the will of God.[6]

They believed in the supremacy of the conscience which was the will of God, but submitted to the rule of Russia insofar as their conscience allowed. Their number increased rapidly and soon the church and the state began a vigorous and lengthy campaign against them. This resulted in their being deported to Tauris. It was in Tauris that they refused to bear arms for the government, as this was against their principles. Following theirrefusal to heed the demands of the government they were

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[5] J. E. Esslemont, Baha'u'llah and the New Era. (New York: The Bahai Publishing Committee, 1927), p. 48.

[6] _____,"Doukhobors", Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th edition, VII, 556.

exiled into the wild country of Transcaucasia near Turkey. They lived in harmony with the wild natives and established a prosperous community. In 1887, after peace had brought a laxity in their strong morality, Alexander II of Russia introduced compulsory military training. They then began to continue the tradition of refusing to bear arms. Much of their property was taken away by the government, and they were subjected to much torture, suffering, and want. They remained firm in their determination to refuse taking part in any violence. Many of their members withdrew from the Russian army, and all burned what arms they possessed. In 1895 the Doukhobors were victims of another series of persecutions. The Cossack riders invaded their community, plundered their homes, and drove many out of their homes. Over a thousand of their number died during the first two years of wandering. They pleaded that they be allowed to emigrate. Their sufferings and hardships attracted the attention of Tolstoy who wrote to the Russian government asking that their demands be acknowledged. The Quakers in England also pleaded for their cause. After many countries intervened in their behalf they were granted permission to emigrate, and some went to the island of Cyprus while others later found their way into Canada. Successful results and desired ends were achieved through resistance which contained no violence.

Thus we have discovered that objectives have been realized in recent years by various peoples through non-violent methods and means. Further illustrative narratives of the sufficien-

cy of non-violence might be discussed. The ambition for non-violence in the settlement of disputes and grievances, for the relieving of political oppression and other social evils, is not without foundation and cannot be called idealistic without basis for consideration. Non-violent resistance has been highly effective in numerous critical conditions.

CHAPTER IV

THE EQUIPMENT OF A NON-VIOLENT RESISTER

Equipment is necessary to a non-violent resister. As every soldier needs to be equipped for his campaign, so also the passive resister needs to have certain equipment. The essentials, however, are of entirely different natures. While the soldier depends mostly upon external and material objects, the non-violent resister of necessity must be equipped with internal qualities of emotional, moral, and psychic nature. An attempt at non-violent resistance will be futile and useless unless these inner characteristics and traits are to be found, for without these individual attributes the morale of the whole group will not be strong enough to endure until the desired ends have been attained. As Gregg says,

> Before groups can successfully use non-violent resistance, individuals must understand and become disciplined and practiced in it. And before individuals can be successful in it they must prepare themselves. Those who believe in non-violent resistance only as a tactic, a policy, a weapon, as well as those who believe in it as a principle, must, in order to be successful, cultivate faithfully the sentiments appropriate to it.[1]

Faith in Mankind. Faith in mankind is of primary impor-

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[1] Richard B. Gregg, The Power of Non-Violence (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934), p. 228.

tance to the passive resister. Those who have the hope of a new and finer world and work toward that as a reality must first of all believe in man who inhabits that world. Rufus M. Jones in his introduction to The Power of Non-Violence tells of an old Hebrew legend.[2] The legend tells how Moses was going up the mountain to his death on Pisgah. At the top he asked Jehovah why he was not allowed to enter the great stretch of land which lay before his closing eyes. Jehovah answered, "You doubted me, but I forgave that doubt. You doubted your powers as a leader, and I forgave that doubt, but you lost faith in this people and doubted the divine possibilities of human nature. That I cannot forgive. The loss of that faith makes it impossible for you to enter the Land of Promise." The legend illustrates a profound truth in life. Man advances only when he has faith in the idea that man's condition can be bettered, and when that faith is not present he shall never find himself in any advanced status.

The resister must have a profound conviction that the standard of man's life and actions can be raised when men resort to higher and finer methods of judgment than the physical force of iron and steel which is now used. He must believe that man has within him the capacity for removing grievances and differences through decent and respectable methods. No advocator of non-violent resistance can be without this great asset. It is

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[2] Ibid., Introduction, pp. 9-10.

basic and fundamental to the success of non-violence.

Belief in God. A belief in God or its equivalent may be deemed necessary if one is to be successful as a passive resister. Those who believe in God or in a reality which transcends all time and space seemingly comprehend much more easily the true meanings of non-violent resistance because first of all they believe in a great and final presence, a central truth and uniting principle; and this factor of conscious unity and power is the basis of passive resistance. This is further illustrated by the fact that the greatest teachers and leaders of non-violent resistance have been extremely religious or at least believers in a supreme reality which could not be perceived by the ordinary bodily senses. Such individuals will be more likely to instill and guide the process of non-violent resistance to the desired successful conclusion and destination. In the majority of cases where passive resistance has been successful the resisters have been people who have taken religion seriously. This means that the religion was more than mere institutional belief. It was a deep seated conviction of and faith in a reality. This fact may explain its effective usage by the Indian people who are inclined to be in earnest about their faith.

If truth and God are synonymous, then belief in truth might be substituted for belief in God. But definitely there needs to be some belief in a unity or truth which is behind life, and the believer in God looks toward the fulfillment of this

unity. The religious man would thus move to integrate and guide the emotions of his life by utilizing as the stimulus God within us. He would feel that the happenings in this life are important and significant only as material for spiritual experience, and consequently death coming to him could not be the tragedy and loss that it is usually thought to be by others. He is not fearful of death itself. He is fearful of the effect the act of killing would have upon the killer, upon the one killed, and upon the social group. He realizes the harmful effect of violence upon the unity of the parties concerned, for anger and hatred disrupt that unity or prevent its realization. Violence begins with the mind and spirit. A profound faith in a reality or truth would be a tremendous asset in keeping all forms of anger and malice from the resister's mind because he would be striving for that all meaningful goal and ideal. He would be seeking to realize truth or God, not only in himself, but in others.

Gandhi calls non-violent resistance Satyagraha which means "grasping or holding fast to the truth." To him, as to most non-violent resisters, things of the spirit are of deeper truth or reality than those which are limited by time and space. To believe this is to be religiously minded.

Love. Gregg says that love is probably the most important sentiment in powerful non-violence.[3] Love makes the re-

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[3] Ibid., p. 229.

sister feel the oneness and wholeness of all things, especially life. He needs to feel it and realize its presence so strongly that people around him also gather that sense of unity and oneness. Because he loves, he desires to create a fuller and more abundant life, and he lives as if he were eternal. This great creative power of love cannot be underestimated. Any creative task requires energy, and love has this creative energy. The love of the non-violent resister is a positive, energetic, and creative force and power. The method of non-violence provides an outlet for this vast exuberant energy. This creativeness is the direct result of a feeling of love. Because the resister has the sentiment of love, he also possesses a feeling of fearlessness, truth, freedom, and unity.

The love which a non-violent resister has enables him to look into the hateful, the violent, and recognize the germs of love and by encouraging them he nourishes them into life. Gandhi, after much experience and success, has said, "The hardest fiber must melt in the fire of love. If it does not melt it is because the fire is not strong enough."[4]

Love does not conquer quickly and instantly. No complete conquest is immediately forthcoming. Completeness demands time. Its conquering power progresses slowly and steadily, but effectually. It gains impetus as time passes.

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[4] Romain Rolland, Mahatma Gandhi (New York: The Century Company, 1924), p. 72.

Discipline. The individual is prepared for non-violence only after he has been able to exercise control and discipline over his thinking, his speaking, and his acting. He gains inner strength. As he has disciplined his inner life, that is of far more importance than the disciplining of his external life by the government. To him, the ills of the world are only the result of defects in the inner life, psychological, moral, and spiritual. Because he has mastered this inner field of battle he is equipped to face the pressure and exertion of non-violent methods.

The training and disciplining has several phases. Suffering and death are inseparable from social conflict. Since a non-violent resister will almost inevitably suffer, there must be disciplining to endure suffering. Gandhi saw this fact. He told his disciples,

> Suffering is the mark of the human tribe. It is an eternal law. . . . Progress is measured by the amount of suffering undergone. . . the purer the suffering, the greater the progress. . . . Non-violence in its dynamic means conscious suffering. . . . I have ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice, the law of suffering.[5]

This voluntary suffering is necessary if any correction is to be made in the social, political, and economic ills. When a condition is wrong, and an attempt is made to right it, the wrong will probably prevail until the reformer has concluded

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[5] Ibid., p. 67.

within his own mind that he is willing to suffer. If the desire for the goal and end has been strong enough, the suffering which is undergone is secondary in importance. Also the public is more likely to believe in the efforts of the resister if they see that he is taking his beliefs and policies so seriously that he is willing to suffer and die for them. Since all great changes require suffering, if the changes are to be made by means of persuasion rather than by violence and force, the persuader must take upon himself as much of the involved suffering as possible. Voluntary suffering is an effective means of persuasion. Obviously no one can voluntarily endure pain and suffering unless one is prepared for it.

There must also be discipline against cowardice. "Nonviolent resistance requires courage greater than the courage to fight violently."[6] While courage is necessary in any physical combat, it is more imperative that courage be present when nonviolence is opposing violence. Says Gandhi in speaking of needed courage,

> Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I advise violence. I cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing, but to him that has not this courage, I advise that of killing and being killed, rather than that of shamefully fleeing from danger. For he who runs away commits mental violence. He runs away because he has not the courage to be killed while he kills.[7]

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[6] Richard B. Gregg, "A Reply to M. De Ligt," The World Tomorrow, XV (March, 1932), 78.

[7] F. B. Fisher, That Strange Little Brown Man, Gandhi (New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1932), p. 59.

This statement by Gandhi emphasizes the importance of courage in the resister. Surely, when officials in the army stress the value and necessity of courage, it is not unreasonable to stress the fact that there should be courage in the disciple of non-violence.

This courage can be cultivated through discipline. Case says in speaking of courage,

> The experiences of the World War, particularly those aspects which pertained to the creation and maintenance of what was known as "morale" amply demonstrated that courageous conduct is very largely a matter of discipline and ideals.[8]

The early Methodist street preachers were sometimes subjected to the harshest and cruelest treatment, and they can be called anything but cowards. Most of them came from a tough, hard English peasant class which contained men who were in the habit of faring well in fighting. Yet they could walk through a storm of brick and bats hurled by a howling mob and be undismayed. Here, through discipline, courage was employed and was a valuable asset.

Exemplified courage, likewise, is an effective means of persuasion. It creates a feeling of unity between onlooker and the courageous, and tends to influence toward the side of the resister who shows courage.

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[8] Clarence Marsh Case, Non-Violent Coercion (New York: The Century Company, 1932), p. 159.

Humility, according to Gregg,[9] is really a true sense of spiritual values and proportions, and as such is important in non-violent resistance. Humility is commonly thought of as meaning lowliness and meekness. It is really the awareness that temporal and material advantages in size and rank are comparatively unimportant to the elements of the spirit. In reality it is spiritual equalitarianism, and until it is possessed spiritual powers cannot be understood. The humble person feels that no matter how small the act, it is for him to act correctly, for the humble obscure life rightly lived is of importance and interest to the highest. The spirit of humility gains its sense of values from truth itself and not from individuals of importance. Then, also, humility helps us to keep eternal values continually before our eyes, whereas if humility is not present, our eyes are hampered into seeing everything limited by our lifetime. When one is humble, he is more open-minded to further truth and deeper spiritual insight. This humility is not a haphazard coincidence. It is a product which cannot be cultivated directly but is a quality which exists when man is in right relation with his fellow man, to truth, and to God. Thus this virtue is a creation of discipline and can be attained only after one has disciplined himself in his living.

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[9] Richard B. Gregg, The Power of Non-Violence (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1934), pp. 240-241.

One cannot underestimate and underevaluate the vast importance of these basic principles which are the equipment of powerful non-violence. Without these fundamental elements there seems to be small possibility for violence to remain abstract and apart from the program of resistance. With these facts in the lives of as many of the resisters as is possible the achievement and attainment may be anticipated. Niebuhr stressed the importance of this inner equipment when he said,

> The technique of non-violence will, if persisted in with the same patience and discipline attained by Mr. Gandhi and his followers, achieve a degree of justice which neither pure moral suasion nor violence could attain.[10]

One can readily see that these high sentiments and fundamental principles can be found in great religions, and thus religion can be a driving power and stabilizer of a non-violent resister. Many, however, will doubt that these sentiments can be cultivated in individual lives in this modern mechanized Western world which does not have such a personal regard for religion. As Niebuhr says,

> The insights of the Christian religion have become the almost exclusive possession of the more comfortable and privileged classes. These have sentimentalized them to such a degree that the disinherited, who ought to avail himself of their resources, has become so conscious of the moral confusions which are associated with them that the insights are not immediately available for the social strug-

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[10] Reinhold Niebuhr, Moral Man and Immoral Society (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1932), p. 254.

> gle of the Western world. If they are not made available, Western civilization . . . will suffer from cruelties and be harassed by animosities which destroy the beauty of life.[11]

The resources of the Christian religion are available to the underprivileged, the oppressed, and the disinherited of the world. These peoples grasp hold of the dynamic powers which religion gives more readily than do those who contribute toward the support of institutional religion. These people are the class of men and women who need effective and efficient means of changing the society which refuses justice and mercy. The Christian faith holds these sentiments within its scope and as such can be the dynamic of non-violent resistance.

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[11] Ibid., pp. 255-256.

CHAPTER V

THE INDIVIDUAL IN NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

In order to investigate further the extent to which non-violence is adequate, the working of this theory must be thoroughly studied and comprehended. The possibility of successful operation has long been doubted because it has not been fairly investigated. A rational basis can be found for the support of this theory which will give it intellectual respectability. Because it is a complicated and difficult problem it must be approached from a definite angle. For convenience and for better understanding of human reaction it will be viewed from the standpoint of the individual, and in a later chapter it will be discussed from the group aspect with the idea of determining its probability of success in such situations.

Theory in Action. When an individual who is the victim of attack responds with physical punishment, he gives to the attacker an incentive for further violence. He acknowledges the attacker's method of the use of violence as the only means of settling a dispute or difference. The attacker at once thinks that his method is vindicated and justified. Violence alone will not be necessary to establish this thinking in the mind of the attacker, for if the reaction of the attacked is one of fear, anger, or an expression of hatred the result is the same. The

victim of his violence has acted as he presumed he would. Courage and morale are substantially supported, and he moves forward on his victim, reassured that he shall defeat him by the mutually agreed test of violence.

The advocate of non-violence thoroughly believes that an entirely different result is effected when the attacker meets a true follower of non-violence. Here the transgressor faces an individual who is calm, fearless, steadfast, and disciplined in the ways of non-violence. He immediately informs his attacker that he does not agree with his method of settling differences, for he returns no blow upon the attacker. A protest is made to demonstrate clearly the viewpoint of the attacked, and an invitation asking for a more fair treatment of the problem is set forth. There is resistance, but it does go deeper than the words themselves. As the blows fall upon him, he demonstrates his sincerity and his conviction by his unflinching attitude. He does not shrink from the blows. No fear is forthcoming from his eyes. His voice shows no measure of lost courage. His body remains as erect as it was before the attack.

Some question arises here as to the results produced by this procedure. There is no doubt that the first impulse which the attacker receives is that he is facing a coward who feels that he has been defeated. Through much previous discipline, the resister is able to upset his assailant by his amazing endurance of pain, and by the poise which he maintains.

At such an unusual and unexpected reaction, the

> assailant will be surprised. If at first he was inclined to be scornful and contemptuous of the victim as a coward, those feelings rapidly become displaced by curiosity and wonder. As the psychologist Shand points out, "Wonder tends to exclude Repugnance, Disgust, and Contempt in relation to its object."[1]

This unexpected reaction creates an element of surprise and wonder in the mind of the assailant, which disturbs the mental and moral balance. He finds the attacked has rebuked the use of violent means as a method of settling disputes, such as was used by distant ancestors who roamed the forest centuries ago. Where he once was confident that his method was correct he now is uncertain. The attacked has poise and self-control because he has anticipated the experience and planned how to respond. The attacker is without plans for further procedure because he has not expected such reaction, consequently he becomes frustrated.

Advantages of Non-Violence. With the nature of violence itself are elements which eventually lead to the defeat and failure of the attacker. Anger rapidly uses energy, and because enormous energy is destroyed, prolonged anger and violence is most exhausting. If this anger and violence is continued, it may lead to the complete exhaustion of the attacker. A telling factor is that much of the energy needed is consumed by himself. The higher motives and elements in the character of the attacker

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[1] Richard B. Gregg, The Power of Non-Violence (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934), p. 43.

are brought into conflict with the baser and coarser emotions through the constant and insistent appeals of the non-violent resister. The incessant reiteration of appeal and protest divides the personality and tends to make the assailant lose his moral balance. Thus much of needed energy is expended upon himself.

Also the attacker is fearful lest another onslaught upon the innocent and non-resenting victim should bring reproach to himself from previously non-interested parties. He is beginning to think, mainly because he sees clearly that he has misjudged the resister by concluding that he was a coward. He is uncertain as to future reactions and debates as to the advisability of future advances.

In the face of such valiant and courageous resistance, the assailant is no longer in possession of complete assurance as to the validity of his cause.

> Both the temper and the method of non-violence yield another very important advantage in social conflict. They rob the opponent of the moral conceit by which he identifies his interests with the peace and order of society.[2]

Once a steadfast conviction is no longer retained the attacker consequently proceeds less forcibly. The poise of authoritativeness diminishes. Through looking at the group he becomes more conscious and aware of his own position in the struggle.

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[2] Reinhold Niebuhr, Moral Man and Immoral Society (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1932), p. 250.

He views his coarse and brutal acts in contrast to the refined and courageous resistance of his adversary. He loses prestige and self-respect, and this the public soon senses and disapproves immediately in its attitude to the attacker. These inner psychological workings grow out of the fact that the attacker is in a more suggestive frame of mind than is the non-violent resister. Because he does not anticipate a non-violent reaction he is not equipped to further his campaign against his victim. After the first blow is struck, and no retaliation is forthcoming he is advancing on an undertain and strange course of action.

In this interaction numerous advantages are enjoyed by the non-violent resister. In the struggle he has taken the moral initiative. His conduct is unexpected and unpredictable. His actions are surprising and the attacker advances more cautiously with a feeling of uncertainty. The attacker has no definite assurance as to what his victim's next move and act will be. A second advantage is that the non-violent resister is fully prepared. He knows what difficulties and reactions are forthcoming and proceeds fully aware of the stages in the struggle and encounter. After long previous discipline and training he is able to maintain self-control and the energy which anger demands is conserved and maintained. He has thought through his plan of resistance and thus is not in such a suggestive mood as is his opponent. He is not surprised because through the process of reasoning and by a high degree of faith he knows

what is taking place in the conflict and is prepared to see his way to a victorious end at any cost.

Another advantage to the non-violent resister lies in the fact that by refusing to resort to violence he demonstrates a respect for the integrity and personality of his malefactor. It is a common trait of man to desire that his fellowmen give respect to his personality. Even in conflict this admiration for respect is present. This self-regarding element is considered by some psychologists to be the basis of all high morality. Niebuhr says, "Non-violence is usually the better way of expressing good will."[3] Realizing that he has the respect and good will of the resister tends to produce shame within the assailant. Likewise, it increases and multiplies the respect and good will of the onlookers.

His suffering produces another element which aids his cause. Through his endurance of pain he has proved by perhaps the only decisive method his deep sincerity and determination. The fact that non-violence is present deepens and strengthens the proof. His suffering demonstrates the truth that his whole life is integrated and harmonized with its sole objective and purpose the realization of the goal. This disturbs the violent attacker and moves the onlookers.

Both parties in the conflict have uppermost in their minds and hearts the longing for social approval and enlistment.

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[3] Ibid., p. 247.

The non-violent resister has a great advantage in the struggle insofar as the influencing and convincing of the social group is concerned. The courage, determination, and sincerity, together with the expression of good will by the resister toward his assailant creates curiosity and surprise in the mind of the public. They hear him plead that some peaceable means of settlement be carried out. Where they did not think and reason before, now they begin to investigate the cause for which his life is suffering. As Niebuhr says,

> Non-violent coercion and resistance, in short, is a type of coercion which offers the largest opportunity for a harmonious relationship with the moral and rational factors in social life.[4]

The effect upon the social group may not be realized immediately but the action is definite and compelling. This fact is borne out countless times in the history of mankind. Innumerable times non-violent resisters, although seemingly defeated, have given the incentive which has produced social change with powerful effect largely because they appealed to reasoning and moral life of the social group. Since the day of John Huss and his followers this method has become closely knit with the forces working for social and political revolution because it is a potent instrument for gaining social approval from the thinking factions.

There are definite aggressive phases of non-violent re-

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[4] Ibid., p. 250.

sistance. The assertion that it has very little positive and constructive to offer is false as we have tried to demonstrate in this chapter. It has a positive message for peace and for social reorganization for there are innumerable psychological, social, rational, and spiritual facts which stand at the command of a non-violent resister and aid him in his cause.

CHAPTER VI

MASS NON-VIOLENCE

Non-violent resistance, in order to be effectual and potent, must be practiced by a large group of resisters. Because some doubt the ability of non-violent resistance to meet the tremendous opposition of violence, it is necessary that we discover the action of mass non-violence. By an inspection of the vital and powerful phases of its working we can see thoroughly how this policy procures results which are unobtainable through any other methods.

Dynamic Power of Non-Violence. There are numerous factors which tend to aid the resister in his struggle against violence. Within the nature of mass violence, as in individual violence, there are definite characteristics which contribute to its own defeat. Within non-violence is power which is overcoming and overwhelming. A discussion of this power reveals several aspects.

Mass non-violent resistance weakens the morale of the attacking group. It is a well known fact of military science that the main objective and aim is not the killing of the opposition but the weakening of its morale. Many famous militarists bear out the assertion that war is not the struggle between physical forces mainly, but is a struggle between moral

and psychological factors. Regardless of strong discipline in the soldier's life he is a victim of the suggestibility of non-violence. The thought of men suffering voluntarily and refusing to retaliate has a marked effect upon his attitude toward the non-violent resister. As fresh men replace the fallen, there is certain to be reaction within the most disciplined soldier. The result is that each member of the attacking group is forced to use his rational processes, and Frederick the Great once said, "If my soldiers began to think, not one would remain in the ranks." The instant the individual member begins to think he separates himself from the mass mind which prevents all independent thinking. Independent thinking and reasoning in the midst of conflict opens the way for a broken morale within the attacking group. According to Case,

> The spectacle of suffering for a cause may lead even the persecutor to reexamine his own dogmas, if for no other purpose than to revel in their correctness. But reexamination admits new light, this modifies his view, and often in the end the conquered becomes the conquerer.[1]

Shelley has ably expressed this strong suggestive power of non-violence in his "Mask of Anarchy."

LXXXIV And if then the tyrants dare
Let them ride among you there,
Slash, and stab, and maim, and hew,
What they like, that let them do.

LXXXV With folded arms and steady eyes,
And little fear, and less surprise

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[1] Clarence Marsh Case, Non-Violent Coercion (New York: The Century Company, 1923), p. 400.

Look upon them as they slay
Till their rage has died away.

LXXXVI Then they will return with shame
To the place from which they came
And the blood thus shed will speak
In hot blushes on their cheek.[2]

Once the morale of the opposing group is broken and weakened the victory is largely won. This resistance may be effectively aided by boycotts and other supplementary methods.

Another important consideration in successful aggression is prestige of the governing group or authorities. Gregg says,

> The maintenance of prestige requires respect or awe or fear from others. Now if any of these Anglo-Saxon governments or ruling classes engage in harsh violence against a group of truly non-violent resisters, the news surely leaks out sooner or later and lessens the prestige of that ruling group in the eyes of the rest of the world. . . . Dignity and prestige are shaken.[3]

The civilized world looks disdainfully and disgustedly at the employing of violence to repudiate a faction contending for a hearing. A nation which would command the respect and admiration of this civilized world must settle its differences with minority groups without the aid of violence. For this reason, Niebuhr says,

> Non-violence is a particularly strategic instrument for an oppressed group which is hopelessly in the minority and has no possibility of developing suffi-

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[2] Edward Dowden, editor, The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley (London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1908), p. 353.

[3] Richard B. Gregg, The Power of Non-Violence (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1934), p. 104.

cient power to set against its oppressors.[4]

Thus we see that a nation in order to retain its prestige and respect, not only among the rest of the nations, but also among its own people, must refrain from the use of violence.

Another asset of non-violent resistance is that the morale of the struggling and fighting non-violent group is strengthened. The sight of fellow workers suffering with them increases the moral strength of each resisting individual. This suffering tends to unify the group spirit. Each moment of suffering endured adds strength and energy to the resisting factions.

Perhaps the most important factor in mass non-violence is the winning of public approval and sympathy. As Gregg says,

> Another reason why mass non-violent resistance is effective is because in the course of time it wins for its users the support of public opinion. . . . It is well known that the gaining of public opinion is one of the principal objects of war. That was the object of all the propaganda in the World War. The immensely greater part that propaganda played then in comparison with previous wars shows the increasing importance of public opinion in larger conflicts.[5]

Any movement is in a position of advantage when it is able to gain the approval of the public. As man becomes more civilized this fact becomes increasingly important. When any

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[4] Reinhold Niebuhr, Moral Man and Immoral Society (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1932), p. 252.

[5] Richard B. Gregg, The Power of Non-Violence (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1934), p. 110.

program is attempted an immediate step is taken to enlist the support of all socially minded people. The flood of propaganda which is issued by modern contending groups makes any added argument unnecessary.

Phillips[6] says that there is within all individuals an indefinite tendency for sympathy and that this sympathy is the corner stone of all moral life and development. The importance of this inherent tendency is realized by the non-violent resister. Through sympathy people come to understand and appreciate the finer qualities of life. They are persuaded because they invariably sympathize, and as this is emotional in character it enhances persuasion with little difficulty. Persuasion is the goal of non-violent resistance and may be achieved by two procedures, says Case,[7] namely, through argumentation or through suffering. Both have their proper place in non-violent resistance, and the resisters utilize them. The public hears the explanations and argumentations of their attitude, but perhaps the most influential factor in the whole nature of their non-violent program is achieved through their willingness to suffer. One writer saw this fact and said,

> Courage and suffering exhibited in a non-violent campaign will yield more constructive and permanent re-

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[6] D. E. Phillips, An Elementary Psychology. (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1927), p. 21.

[7] Clarence Marsh Case, Non-Violent Coercion. (New York: The Century Company, 1923), p. 397.

> sults than would be true of the sacrifices involved in a revolutionary war.[8]

By their voluntary suffering they are working in accord with the laws of crowd psychology.

Values in Mass Non-Violence. It has been said that no social change is accomplished without some form of coercion, for coercion is necessary, if for no other reason than that pure argumentation is not demanding enough to attract the attention of the opposition. If that is true the great question is to discover the method of coercion which is most harmonious and beneficial to the well-being of each individual. In non-violent resistance is found the type which is of greatest value to both groups.

> Boycotts, strikes, and civil disobedience are forms of negative physical coercion. We believe that they are more effective instruments of the spirit of good-will than violence.[9]

We need not only a spirit but we need a method. Non-violent resistance affords this method which has pressure accompanied by a spirit of brotherliness and friendliness.

Also when non-violence is prqcticed a vicious cycle of reproduction is interrupted. Hate no longer is perpetuated by hate.

It is morally preferable for the innocent to die

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8 "Our Attitude Toward the Crisis in India," The World Tomorrow, XV (March, 1932), 70-71.

9 "Gandhiism Versus Socialism," The World Tomorrow, XV (December 28, 1932), 607.

> at the hands of the guilty than to save their own lives by slaying the offenders. Retaliatory killing is provocative and tends to be self-perpetuating. The willingness of the innocent to die rather than to kill may be redemptive. . . . Preparedness to kill perpetuates violence, and fails to afford security to the innocent.[10]

Hate breeds hate is as much a law of the social and moral life as a law of reproduction is a part of the biological life. The continuation of violent methods leads only to further violence. If mankind and his civilization are to be preserved from inevitable chaos some effort must be made to disrupt the forward motion of this cycle action. Men are building false hopes in the theory that armament and gigantic defense can preserve justice and peace, for the inevitable conclusion is jealousy, fear, and distrust.

Non-violence holds the only solution. It gives man a hope, a vision, a method, and a spirit for the creation of this finer and better world which holds less hate, fear, and anger.

The means do determine the end. Mankind likes to think that the only matter to be considered is the end, but the means have a great influence upon the end. After centuries of struggle and conflict by use of violence, this fact is becoming impressed upon our rational faculties. As Niebuhr says,

> Even if justice should be achieved by social conflict

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[10] Kirby Page, "Class War and Religion," The World Tomorrow. XVI (March 8, 1933), 225-228.

> which lacks the spiritual elements of non-violence, something will be lacking in the character of the society so constructed.[11]

Life demands non-violence in practice. No lasting peace can be achieved until men grasp the truth that violence in methods leads to conditions filled with violence. Norman Thomas says, "Until mankind is capable of achieving a peaceful revolution no revolution will be genuinely secure."[12] Those goals and ambitions which are held for our society are realized only as we employ means which are in harmony with the ends we seek. Non-violence is a means which is compatible with the ends which we seek. The resistance of non-violence is a method whose virtuous characteristics may safely become a part of a refined and just society.

Enormous suffering is diminished or decreased when non-violent resistance is practiced. Although suffering is expected and is certain to be present, the amount is very small when compared with the vast amounts which are present in violent combats. Man has a tremendous voice in the decision as to the conditions under which he lives while society is being changed. When using violence which produces unnecessary and unmitigated suffering, man is creating for himself a hell on earth. Through non-violence which lessens and minimizes suffering he is en-

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[11] Reinhold Niebuhr, Moral Man and Immoral Society (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1932), p. 256.

[12] Norman Thomas, "Is Peaceful Revolution Possible?" The World Tomorrow, XV (September 14, 1932), p. 252.

countering change and yet is maintaining and preserving those higher qualities of social relationships.

Some individuals have a tendency to belittle the disastrous agony of suffering, but the most horrible and devastating experience of man is that of suffering. No one discredits the theory that there are values in suffering, but when added suffering is created by man's brutality to man those values are not so great and may be lost altogether. One needs only to review the era which followed the great World War to understand what great suffering does to participants in violence and also what are the great influences of vast suffering upon the morals and conducts of non-participants. Many well-known social workers, as well as psychologists, point to the cheap evaluation of ideals and life as a fundamental cause of a declining morality.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

Certain definite aspects of non-violent resistance have been discovered and investigated in the study of non-violent resistance, and conclusions can be stated. In this concluding chapter we wish to sketch briefly what observations were made in the preceding chapters and to state some problems which have arisen in the mind of the author.

By approaching the problem through the writings of teachers who have advocated non-violence, we concluded that the theory of non-violence in human relationships has not been limited to any one age or to any race or type of people. A clearer understanding was obtained of what is meant by non-violence and why it is most important to the personal and social life of the individual.

A review of some successful attempts at non-violent resistance revealed a clearer conception of its action and also conclusively proved that this type of resistance has been waged effectively in various parts of the world. These few examples afforded a basis for an expectation of reasonable success in other instances of non-violent resistance.

Where non-violence has been successful certain definite traits of character were seen to be predominant. These atti-

tudes and sentiments have had an outstanding effect upon the progress and vitality of the campaign. From studies made, the conclusion was drawn that equipment of proper attitudes and sentiments was essential and necessary. Because of pressing demands for strong character and will, the resister depended upon these sentiments and attitudes which enabled him to strive until the end was reached. The important factor of discipline was considered as to its place and value in the program. All of these factors, it was learned, could be achieved by methods of cultivation and discipline. However, it was noted that some desired characteristics were found in some peoples to a greater degree than in others.

The action of the individual non-violent resister was studied from the point of view of a struggle between one resister and one attacker. A thorough investigation of reaction pointed clearly to certain decided advantages of the non-violent resister. Not only was his opponent a loser of mental and moral balance, but the resister was seen to gain the approval and commendation of the social group.

The assertion has been made that mass non-violence is weak and impotent, but mass non-violence was demonstrated to be a powerful and aggressive weapon which makes itself felt in a positive manner. In non-violent resistance there were seen certain values which come only when such a method is utilized. With certain ideals and ambitions for our society, the proof has been made evident that non-violent resistance is the only

method by which these changes may be accomplished.

The realization of values is the result of non-violent resistance. These values can be achieved only through some passive and non-violent processes. The world will never incorporate them as a fact into its life until it has once employed methods which are non-violent in character. Non-violence stands ready to cooperate with man toward the building of finer and more humane social orders which are based upon justice and love. It deserves the privilege of greater experimentation by proper and noble men who are well enough equipped to wield it as a weapon for social change.

The author has found it impossible and impracticable to estimate and state concisely the probabilities for the success of non-violent resistance. Non-violent resistance finds its greatest power in the psychological realm and therefore is not definitely measurable. The other factors are so interwoven that the importance of each toward ultimate success cannot be ascertained. We may say truthfully that non-violent resistance is in the elementary stage just as thousands of years ago military science was an innovation and as such was on a primitive level of development.

The non-violent resister is fully able to meet all of the average requirements of his age and day, but he refuses to surrender himself to its accepted modes of behavior. He is the one who is forging ahead into a new world of truths. His adaptation is to something greater which is forthcoming. Be-

cause he is striving thus, he is unhappy, but yet, paradoxically, he is happy in his unhappiness. His unhappiness is that of a creative mind and soul. He is a great personality, for he lives on the forward line of his age, on the margin of its expanding life.

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