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Mahatma Gandhi and His Involvement in the Indian Independence Movement

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Mahatma Gandhi and His Involvement in the Indian Independence Movement

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Section I – Synthesis Essay

Introductory Section

Remembering Mahatma Gandhi and his nonviolent resistance has become a collective memory, the idea that British historian John Tosh defined in his work *The Pursuit of History* in 2015 as “the stories and assumptions about the past that illustrate... key features of the society we know today.”¹ In fact, writers of six different monographs used the stories and assumptions about Indian historical figure Mahatma Gandhi to explain a current social phenomenon the reader is familiar with: the nonviolent action. The monograph writers are: Dennis Dalton, an author of the monograph *Nonviolent Power in Action* (1993); Erik Homburger Erikson, an author of the monograph *Gandhi’s Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (1969); Ramin Jahanbegloo, an author of the monograph *The Gandhian Moment* (2013); Douglas Allen, an author of the monograph *Mahatma Gandhi* (2011); Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, authors of the monograph *South African Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire* (2016); and Charles R. DiSalvo, an author of the monograph *M. K. Gandhi, Attorney at Law : The Man Before the Mahatma* (2013).

What do these monograph authors have in common? They all orient readers in two different timelines: the lifetime of Mahatma Gandhi between 1869 and 1948 and the aftermath of a life of Mahatma Gandhi between 1948 and early 2010s. These writers use their monographs to remember Mahatma Gandhi’s life and aftermath, because they all try to explore how Mahatma

¹ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History*. 6th ed. (London, United Kingdom: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2015).

Gandhi's nonviolent action during his lifetime affected their contemporary society even after his death.

Six monographs explore following stages of Gandhi's life: years between 1869 and 1893, years between 1893 and 1918, years between 1918 and 1930, and years between 1930 and 1948. Mahatma Gandhi was born in the port city of Porbandar in 1869, was denied his identity as a British Indian in Pietermaritzburg railway station in South Africa in 1893, introduced a nonviolent action in Ahmedabad textile mill strike in 1918, led the salt march or the salt satyagraha to protest against the British Salt Act in the Arabian Sea, India, in 1930, and was assassinated by Nathuram Godse, a member of Gandhi's opposition party *Hindustva*, in 1948. Gandhi identified himself as an ambitious and anglicized Indian with British education between 1869 and 1893; however, he saw himself as an advocate of oppressed Indians in South Africa between 1893 and 1918. Gandhi led civil disobedience campaigns such as the salt march and the fasting in India between 1918 and 1948 until his death in 1948 in India.

Also, six monographs explore the aftermath of Gandhi's death between 1948 and 21st century. Dennis Dalton assumes that Malcom X and Martin Luther King Jr., leaders of the American Civil Rights Movement between 1950s and 1960s, learned from Gandhi's nonviolent resistance. In fact, all monograph writers agree that Martin Luther King Jr. took inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi. Ramin Jahanbegloo sees that stories of Mahatma Gandhi's nonviolent action started civil disobedience movements in the United States in 1950s, in South Africa in 1980s, Iran in 2009, and Arab nations between 2011 and 2012. Dennis Dalton added that the Serbian political organization OTPOR adopted Gandhi's nonviolent action to overthrow the authoritarian regime in Serbia and Montenegro in 2000.

Six monographs all focus on a life of Mahatma Gandhi, one historical figure, in the form of biography. John Tosh, a writer of *The Pursuit of History*, defines a biography as follows: a work that is “written by someone who is not merely well grounded in the period in question but who has examined all the major collections of papers that have a bearing on the subject’s life – including those of adversaries and subordinates as well as friends and family.”² In other words, if an author writes a biography of Mahatma Gandhi (1869~1948), an author has to understand what was going on during the lifetime of Gandhi and how Gandhi himself and other people during Gandhi’s lifetime viewed Gandhi.

It would be helpful if an author reads and cites textual evidence from Gandhi’s autobiography, essay, and newspaper articles. An author could interview with a family member, a friend, a political opponent, a colleague at work, and a follower of Mahatma Gandhi. If an author could not interview with these people, he or she could instead refer to other researchers’ interview transcripts.

When did people start writing a biography? John Tosh sees that a first known biography emerged during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in the form of didactic. The biographies during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance were didactics, which means that biographies were written to introduce a historical figure as “a model of Christian conduct or public virtue.”³ Tosh notes that biographies during the Victorian Age were written for “the heirs and admirers” to commemorate an action of a member of “the nation’s political and intellectual elite.”⁴ Most

² Ibid., pp. 54.

³ Ibid., pp. 54.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 54.

biographies during the Victorian Age were not warts-and-all, meaning that they did not try to show an accurate portrayal of a historical figure with both good and bad points.

The problem with the Victorian age biographies was that biographers could have a biased view towards a subject. For example, Lytton Strachey, a British writer who lived during the Victorian Age between 1880 and 1932, made a sarcastic and satirical portrayal of Victorian Age historical figures Florence Nightingale and General Gordon in his biography *Eminent Victorians* in 1918. Post-Victorian biographies could refer to life of one individual to understand an organization that this individual is involved in and include “other features of past” if it has a rich information.⁵ For example, if an author explores a life of Mahatma Gandhi during his stay in South Africa, readers could not only understand a life of Gandhi but also a social and political atmospheres such as racial segregation between whites and non-whites. John Tosh emphasizes that the biographer should explore the development of a historical figure from childhood to adulthood if he or she wants to understand how and why this historical figure carries out certain actions. For example, if an author wants to understand Mahatma Gandhi’s nonviolent action, an author has to explore what experiences Gandhi had from childhood to adulthood made him believe in nonviolent actions. The author could ask a following two questions: “What motive and intention did Gandhi have when he started a civil disobedience movement? When and where did he have motive and intention?”

⁵ Ibid., pp. 55.

Similarities and Differences in Source Base:

Hind Swaraj or Home Rule

Six monographs all use *Hind Swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule*, a book written by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa, 1909. This book serves as a significant primary source, since this was the first book Gandhi wrote to define the words “swaraj (truth)” and “satyagraha (non-violence).” Each of six monographs takes a different approach to use this primary source base.

Dennis Dalton uses Gandhi’s *Hind Swaraj* to teach “the gospel of love in the place of that hate.”⁶ Gandhi saw that Indian independence activists- anarchists and terrorists- sought to use violence to resist the British Empire. Instead of inciting violence, Dalton cites a quote from Gandhi’s book to argue that the “swaraj” or “truth” could be achieved only when Indian people chose nonviolence or satyagraha to work together and show selfless concern for different people such as British people.

Erik Erikson uses Gandhi’s *Hind Swaraj* to declare “a manifesto for a man of peace.”⁷ Erikson defined a man of peace as someone who does not use violent means to achieve goals.

⁶ Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action* (version Kindle). *Amazon.com*. (New York, N.Y: Columbia University Press, 2012), https://www.amazon.com/Mahatma-Gandhi-Nonviolent-Power-Action-ebook/dp/B0076M51WC/ref=tmm_kin_swatch_0?_encoding=UTF8&qid=&sr=. Locations 691-707, 733.

⁷ Erik H. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (version Kindle). *Amazon.com*. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1993), <https://www.amazon.com/Gandhis-Truth-Origins-Militant-Nonviolence->

Erikson noted Gandhi's following motto "Home Rule equals Self Rule and Self Rule equals Self-Control."⁸ In other words, to Erikson, a person who could lead himself or herself could lead his or her home country. A person who could lead himself or herself could have respect and freedom from other people. Erikson concluded, when a person has both respect and freedom, this person could be a man of peace.

Ramin Jahanbegloo uses Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* to define the passive resistance. Jahanbegloo used Gandhi's book to define the passive resistance as "the path that fearless people follow to liberate themselves from the hold of godlike sovereign powers."⁹ Gandhi referred to "the hold of godlike sovereign powers" as the rule of British Empire in India. Also, Jahanbegloo emphasizes that a power of state is less important than a political consent of citizens. In other words, if fearless Indians do not consent to the leadership of British Empire, the British Empire no longer is legal and legitimate force in India.

Douglas Allen uses Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* to express Gandhi's opposition against the "superior British civilization."¹⁰ Allen emphasizes that Gandhi did not view the British civilization superior to the Indian civilization. Gandhi saw the British Empire as "violent,

ebook/dp/B00CHH2G92/ref=tmm_kin_swatch_0?_encoding=UTF8&qid=1609621594&sr=8-1, pp. 217.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 217.

⁹ Ramin Jahanbegloo, *The Gandhian Moment* (Cumberland: Harvard University Press, 2013), Accessed November 5, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central., pp. 6.

¹⁰ Douglas Allen, *Mahatma Gandhi* (London, United Kingdom: Reaktion Books, 2011), pp. 50.

materialist, consumerist, ego-centered” civilization with focus on machine and money, while he saw his Indian civilization as “nonviolent, privileges morality and spiritual realization.”¹¹ Thus, Allen argued that India was more human-centered with more morality and duty.

Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed use Gandhi’s *Hind Swaraj* to claim that some military resistances could help people rule themselves. Gandhi made fun of militant Indian independence activists who were inspired by the Imperial Japan’s military power. Still, Gandhi referred to Boers (white people in South Africa), who were able to achieve independence from the British Empire with their violent means such as revolts.¹²

Charles R. DiSalvo follows similar approach that Allen attempted, which he chooses to use Gandhi’s *Hind Swaraj* to criticize the British civilization, which prioritized material goods over human values such as “morality and religion.”¹³ Gandhi viewed that British civilization did not care for moral and religious values when they led politics in parliaments, published newspapers, manufactured goods in factories, built railways, and taught students in schools. After citing Gandhi’s quote, DiSalvo warned that a civilization without human values such as love and duty would fall to self-destruction.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 50.

¹² Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, *South African Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016), pp. 290.

¹³ Charles R. DiSalvo, *M. K. Gandhi, Attorney at Law : The Man Before the Mahatma* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), Accessed November 5, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central, pp. 256.

Similarities and Differences in Source Base:

An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Six monographs all use *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, the autobiography written by Mahatma Gandhi himself in 1925.¹⁴ This autobiography serves as a significant primary source since Gandhi used his firsthand experience to write accounts of his childhood and adulthood in India and South Africa between 1869 and 1920s. Each of six monographs takes a different approach to use this primary source base.

Dennis Dalton uses Gandhi's autobiography to explain the relationship between freedom (swaraj) and nonviolence (satyagraha). Gandhi stated in his autobiography, "to see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself."¹⁵ Dalton uses Gandhi's quote to explain that in order for Indians to achieve a political independence from the British Empire, they have to respect other peoples' freedom and work together without violent actions.

¹⁴ Erik H. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (version Kindle).

Amazon.com. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1993), https://www.amazon.com/Gandhis-Truth-Origins-Militant-Nonviolence-ebook/dp/B00CHH2G92/ref=tmm_kin_swatch_0?_encoding=UTF8&qid=1609621594&sr=8-1, pp. 57.

¹⁵ Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action* (version Kindle). *Amazon.com*. (New York, N.Y: Columbia University Press, 2012), https://www.amazon.com/Mahatma-Gandhi-Nonviolent-Power-Action-ebook/dp/B0076M51WC/ref=tmm_kin_swatch_0?_encoding=UTF8&qid=&sr=1306. Locations 1306.

Erik Erikson uses one section of his monograph to understand how Gandhi's autobiography explains the aftermath of his involvement in the Ahmedabad strike in 1918. After the strike in 1918, Gandhi was put on trial in Ahmedabad in 1922. After Gandhi was released from prison in 1924, he fasted for twenty-one days to pray for nonviolence and noncooperation "between Hindu and Muslims and between loyalists and non-cooperators," meaning that he sought for social and religious unity in India. ¹⁶

Ramin Jahanbegloo uses Gandhi's autobiography to explain the relationship between Gandhi's nonviolent action and Christian value. Jahanbegloo cites a quote from Gandhi's autobiography: "The Sermon on the Mount went straight to my heart... the verses, 'But I say to you, resist not evil; but whosoever strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. And, if any man take away your coat, let him have your cloak as well,' delighted me beyond measure." This quote shows that Gandhi agreed with Jesus Christ's teaching in the Gospel when he developed his own ideas of nonviolent action. Just like Gandhi believed that people should use nonviolent means to resist evil, Jesus preached that a person should not strike back when another person strikes him or her. ¹⁷

Douglas Allen uses Gandhi's autobiography to share moral and spiritual life lessons. According to an autobiography, Gandhi is portrayed as an exemplary son who looked after a sick

¹⁶ Erik H. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (version Kindle). *Amazon.com*. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1993), https://www.amazon.com/Gandhis-Truth-Origins-Militant-Nonviolence-ebook/dp/B00CHH2G92/ref=tmm_kin_swatch_0?_encoding=UTF8&qid=1609621594&sr=8-1, pp. 58-59.

¹⁷ Ramin Jahanbegloo, *The Gandhian Moment* (Cumberland: Harvard University Press, 2013), Accessed November 5, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central., pp. 80.

father and a courageous man who was open to study law and adopt Western culture in England. Also, Gandhi's autobiography addresses "anti-Indian race prejudice, oppression, and humiliation" in South Africa, which motivated Gandhi to develop ideas of nonviolence and freedom.¹⁸

Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed use Gandhi's autobiography to supplement information on how Gandhi's nonviolent action developed. Desai and Vahed cite a quote from an autobiography: "Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You* (1893) 'left an abiding impression on me'. An 'intensive study' of Tolstoy made Gandhi 'realize more and more the infinite possibilities of universal love'... He described Tolstoy as 'the best and brightest exponent of the doctrine' of nonviolence."¹⁹ In other words, Tolstoy's work inspired Gandhi's ideas of nonviolence and love.

Charles R. DiSalvo uses Gandhi's autobiography to elaborate on how Gandhi felt during his stay in England and South Africa. When Gandhi arrived at London, England, he reflected in his autobiography that his feeling of shyness had some advantages since he could keep his composure to "avoid thoughtless chatter, exaggeration, and untruths."²⁰ In fact, Gandhi's ability

¹⁸ Douglas Allen, *Mahatma Gandhi* (London, United Kingdom: Reaktion Books, 2011), pp. 38.

¹⁹ Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, *South African Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016), pp. 72.

²⁰ Charles R. DiSalvo, *M. K. Gandhi, Attorney at Law : The Man Before the Mahatma* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), Accessed November 5, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central, pp. 22.

to remain calm helped him when a group of anti-Indian European workers tried to lynch Gandhi in Natal, South Africa in 1896. Instead of prosecuting his assailants, Gandhi stood on behalf of European workers. DiSalvo cites a quote from Gandhi's autobiography: "I do not want to prosecute anyone. . . . I do not hold the assailants to blame."²¹ Instead of responding to violence with violence, DiSalvo points out that an autobiography teaches readers that Gandhi forgave his assailants with love and sought harmonious relationship between Europeans and Indians in South Africa.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 102.

Scholarly Influences behind Monographs

Dennis Dalton relied on firsthand interviews and collections of source bases on Gandhi to explain Gandhi's achievement in his non-cooperation campaign. Dalton interviewed Pyarelal Nayar and Sushilla Nayar, Gandhi's personal secretaries during his salt march in 1930. He also interviewed fifteen marchers who accompanied Gandhi in 1930. This shows that Dalton has well-grounded sources based on firsthand experiences of Gandhi's followers. Dalton also had opportunities to get access to the old India office Library files in 1962, in which he learned the history of British Empire and Indian National Congress during Gandhi's lifetime (1869-1948). Dalton also took inspiration from Nirmal Kumar Bose's biography on Gandhi's final years between 1947 and 1948. From reading Bose's biography, Dalton learned Gandhi's efforts in stopping the conflict between Hindu Indians and Muslim Indians.

Erik Erikson focused on source bases that were related to the Ahmedabad strike in 1918. Erikson visited Ahmedabad in 1962 and interviewed Ambalal Sarabhai, the patriarch of the Sarabhai family who owned the Ahmedabad textile mill during Gandhi's protest in 1918. Erikson also worked with many different Indians such as former Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru, home minister Gulzarilal Nanda, and Ambalal's sister Anasuya Sarabhai. Erikson referred Nehru as Gandhi's "political heir" who followed Gandhi between 1918 and 1930, Nanda as "young student" who assisted Gandhi as his secretary in 1918, and Anasuya as "one of Gandhi's earliest supporters" who supported textile mill laborers in 1918. ²²

²² Erik H. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (version Kindle). *Amazon.com*. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1993), <https://www.amazon.com/Gandhis-Truth-Origins-Militant-Nonviolence->

Ramin Jahanbegloo saw Gandhi's nonviolent action as "the transition from unjust politics to more democratic politics."²³ Jahanbegloo focused on how nonviolent experiences of Mahatma Gandhi affected different historical figures and events after Gandhi's death. For example, he listed Martin Luther King Jr. during the American civil rights movement between 1950s and 1960s, Nelson Mandela during the anti-Apartheid movement in 1980s and 1990s.

Douglas Allen took most of inspirations from Gandhi-related scholarly works. For example, Allen worked with the staff at Mani Bhavan Gandhi Sangrahalaya in Mumbai, India during his 2009-2010 sabbatical. He also was able to receive following sources: the Council for International Exchange of Scholars and the United States, India Educational Foundation for a Fulbright, Nehru Senior Research Fellowship, and the University of Maine Summer Faculty Research Award between 2009 and 2010.²⁴

Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed spent time working with the staff of the Bessie Head Library, Pietermaritzburg, so they could complete their book. Desai and Vahed found South African newspaper articles from the Bessie Head Library, which helped them learn Gandhi's adversaries' perspectives. Also, Desai and Vahed worked with Enuga Reddy, former Director of the United Nations Center Against the Apartheid, who helped them find pdf copies of the

ebook/dp/B00CHH2G92/ref=tmm_kin_swatch_0?_encoding=UTF8&qid=1609621594&sr=8-1, pp. 26, 61, 265.

²³ Ramin Jahanbegloo, *The Gandhian Moment* (Cumberland: Harvard University Press, 2013), Accessed November 5, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central., pp. 80.

²⁴ Douglas Allen, *Mahatma Gandhi* (London, United Kingdom: Reaktion Books, 2011), pp. 189-190.

Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi and *Indian Opinion*. Both copies include newspaper articles published by Mahatma Gandhi himself during his stay in South Africa.²⁵

Charles R. DiSalvo took inspiration from more than ten thousand issues of South African newspapers. In fact, DiSalvo admits in Acknowledgments that his book publication would not have been possible without South African newspapers. One of South African newspapers that DiSalvo used most in his book is *Indian Opinion*, the newspaper that Mahatma Gandhi founded to develop ideas of nonviolence while he stayed in South Africa since 1903. One of ideas Gandhi introduced in *Indian Opinion* was “self-sacrifice,” the idea that Gandhi defined as “the idea that would secure the salvation of the Indian community to which Indians belong.”²⁶ DiSalvo interpreted Gandhi’s definition of self-sacrifice as a way to help Indians who lived hand to mouth in South Africa.

²⁵ Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, *South African Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016), pp. 7, 323.

²⁶ Charles R. DiSalvo, *M. K. Gandhi, Attorney at Law : The Man Before the Mahatma* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), Accessed November 5, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central, pp. 173.

Correlations with World Events at the Time of Publication

When Dennis Dalton first published the monograph *Nonviolent Power in Action* in 1993, the Cold War had ended with dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Dalton does not explicitly go over events of the Cold War, but he instead explains the aftermath of the Cold War. After the fall of Soviet Union, Samuel Huntington, American political scientist, published a controversial book *The Clash of Civilizations* in 1993. Huntington addressed in his book that the United States is now facing its new nemesis, “non-western cultures” such as Islamic states that are led by religious leaders and characterized by physical violence. However, Dalton refutes Huntington’s statement, since not all religions are characterized by violence. For example, Gandhi took inspiration from his Hindu belief, but he embraced other people regardless of “their class, caste, gender, ethnicity, or nationality.”²⁷ Also, different religious leaders such as Buddhists Aung San Suu Kyi and the Dalai Lama and Christians Bishop Tutu and Martin Luther King Jr. believed in nonviolence and opposed physical violence between people from different social and religious backgrounds.

When Erik H. Erikson first published the monograph *Gandhi’s Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* in 1969, two decades had passed since the independence of India from the British Empire in 1947 and the death of Mahatma Gandhi in 1948. However, people from Gandhi’s generation were still alive when Erikson prepared to write his monograph since 1962. The

²⁷ Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action* (version Kindle). Amazon.com. (New York, N.Y: Columbia University Press, 2012), https://www.amazon.com/Mahatma-Gandhi-Nonviolent-Power-Action-ebook/dp/B0076M51WC/ref=tmm_kin_swatch_0?_encoding=UTF8&qid=&sr=. Locations 4769-4820.

following people were former prime minister Nehru, a member of Nehru's cabinet and of Parliament, mill owners, mill workers, and labor union officials. ²⁸

When Ramin Jahanbegloo published the monograph *The Gandhian Moment* in 2013, the Arab Spring had just ended in 2012. In fact, Jahanbegloo's monograph and the Arab Spring have a close relationship, since Jahanbegloo believed that many Arab countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, Iran, Yemen, and Syria opposed "authoritarian" regimes, followed Gandhi's example of nonviolent action, and attained democratic freedom. ²⁹

When Douglas Allen published the monograph *Mahatma Gandhi* in 2011, one year had passed since U.S. president Barack Obama paid a visit to Mani Bhavan Gandhi Sangrahalaya in Mumbai, India. Mani Bhavan Gandhi Sangrahalaya is a place where it exhibits Gandhi-related primary sources such as his room, library, books, movies, and photos. President Obama honored Gandhi and said that Gandhi was "a hero not just to India but to the world." ³⁰

²⁸ Erik H. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (version Kindle). *Amazon.com*. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1993), https://www.amazon.com/Gandhis-Truth-Origins-Militant-Nonviolence-ebook/dp/B00CHH2G92/ref=tmm_kin_swatch_0?_encoding=UTF8&qid=1609621594&sr=8-1, pp. 13.

²⁹ Ramin Jahanbegloo, *The Gandhian Moment* (Cumberland: Harvard University Press, 2013), Accessed November 5, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central., pp. 158.

³⁰ Douglas Allen, *Mahatma Gandhi* (London, United Kingdom: Reaktion Books, 2011), pp. 165.

When Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed published the monograph *South African Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire* in 2016, two decades had passed since Nelson Mandela, former president of South Africa, followed Gandhi's nonviolent action to forgive European oppressors and reconcile a relationship with non-black people. Also, students at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, asked their government to remove the statue of Cecil Rhodes in South Africa.³¹

When Charles R. DiSalvo published the monograph *M. K. Gandhi, Attorney at Law : The Man Before the Mahatma* in 2013, one year had passed since the end of Arab Spring. However, this monograph does not mention the Arab Spring at all. Instead, the last time DiSalvo mentions the world event is 1961, a year when Freedom Riders or equality activists went into their buses in Washington D.C., the United States, so they could travel to New Orleans.³² This Freedom Rider incident is one of examples that people could use nonviolence to resist against a racial inequality.

³¹ Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, *South African Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016), pp. 26-27.

³² Charles R. DiSalvo, *M. K. Gandhi, Attorney at Law : The Man Before the Mahatma* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), Accessed November 5, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central, pp. xviii.

Conclusion

Six monographs explore Mahatma Gandhi and his nonviolent action. These monographs all include biographies, which are “written by someone who is not merely well grounded in the period in question but who has examined all the major collections of papers that have a bearing on the subject’s life – including those of adversaries and subordinates as well as friends and family.”³³ In fact, all monographs explore Gandhi based on his autobiography, interview transcripts, and biographies, and books, which are based on perspectives from Mahatma Gandhi himself, his family, his friends, his supporters, and his opponents.

³³ Ibid., pp. 54.

Section II – Document Collection

Headnotes:

1. Gandhi's Ideas of Passive Resistance (1909)

In this excerpt taken from a book titled *Hind Swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule*, Gandhi explains what he meant by truth (swaraj) in his book *Hind Swaraj*. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his native language, Gujarati. He wrote this book while he travelled from London, United Kingdom to Durban, South Africa on board *SS Kildonan Castle* between November 13 and November 22, 1909. He describes passive resistance or “satyagraha” as the key to fighting against violence of the British Empire.

The fact that there are so many men still alive in the world shows that it is based not on the force of arms but on the force of truth or love...

Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of Resistance by arms. When I refuse to do a thing that is repugnant to my conscience, I use soul-force. For instance, the government of the day has passed a law which is applicable to me: I do not like it, if, by using violence, I force the government to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. If I do not obey the law and accept the penalty for its breach, I use soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self.

Everybody admits that sacrifice of self is infinitely superior to sacrifice of others. Moreover, if this kind of force is used in a cause that is unjust only the person using it suffers. He does not make others suffer for his mistakes. Men have before now done many things which were subsequently found to have been wrong. No man can claim to be absolutely in the right, or that a particular thing is wrong, because he thinks so, but it is wrong for him so long as that is his deliberate judgment. It is, therefore, meet that he should not do that which he knows to be wrong, and suffer the consequence whatever it may be. This is the key to the use of soul-force.

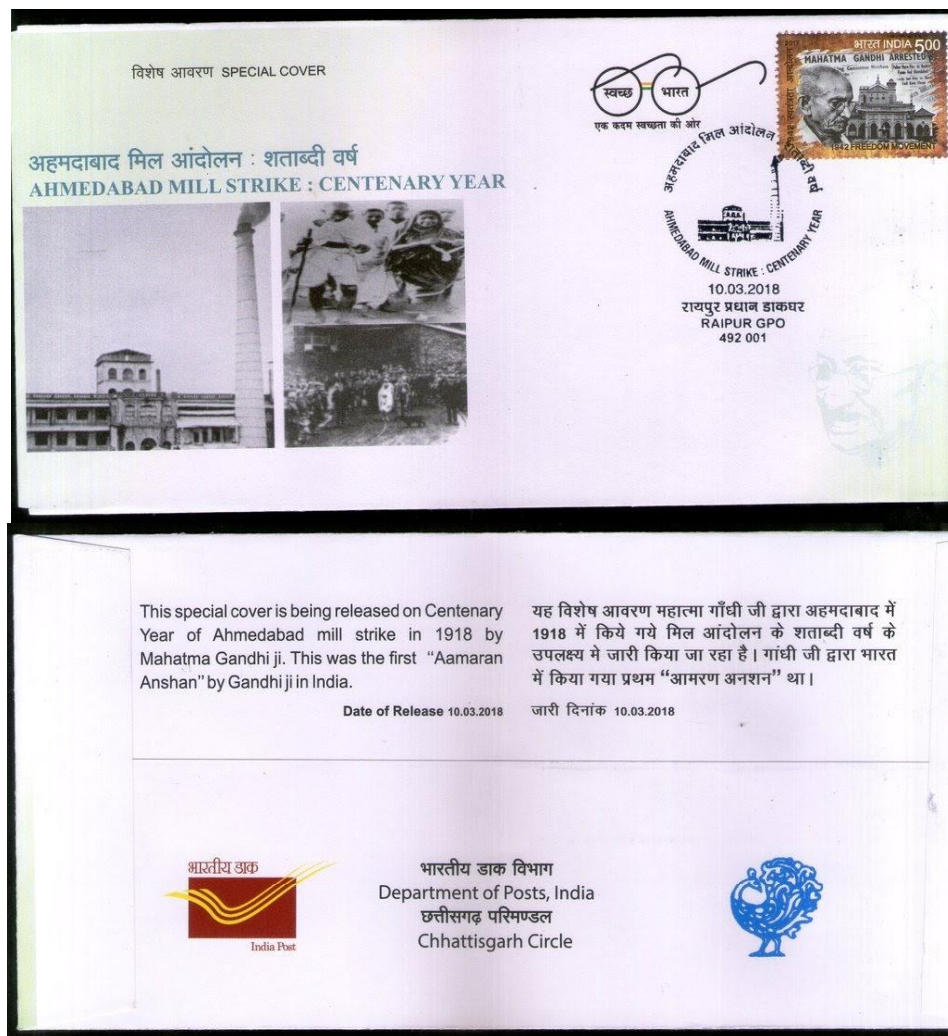
Source: *Hind Swaraj* Pages 129, 131, 132, Gandhi Heritage Portal Website Digital Archive (in Ebook):

https://www.gandhiheritageportal.org/ghp_booksection_detail/LTM4ODYtMTE=#page/1/mode/2up

Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918) #Documents 2 - 4

Documents 2, 3, and 4, all have to do with the Ahmedabad Mill Strike. The Spanish Flu of 1918 devastated India and affected Indian mill workers of Ahmedabad, a city of British Colonial India. Mill workers began a strike in March 1918, so they could be allowed to obtain a wage increase of 35 per cent. The strike lasted for 22 days. However, mill owners refused. Gandhi worked with mill workers and started his fast. Mill owners agreed to reach a settlement, and they increased 35 per cent for mill workers on March 18, 1918.

2. The following letter cover “India 2018 Mahatma Gandhi Ahmedabad Mill Strike Raipur Special Cover # 18664” has pictures taken by anonymous photographers during the Ahmedabad Mill Strike in 1918. The Indian Department of Post distributed copies of this letter cover to Indian people in 2018 to celebrate the Centenary Year of Ahmedabad Mill Strike in 1918. Mahatma Gandhi met mill workers, who consisted of Hindus and Muslims in Ahmedabad Mill, British Colonial India between March 15th and March 17th, 1918. He stayed in Ahmedabad Mill to convince mill workers to peacefully strike against mill owners.



Source: Frontside and Backside of Special Letter Cover, which has pictures that show the Ahmedabad Mill, Gandhi and His followers, and Mill Workers during the Ahmedabad Mill Strike, India, March 1918:

<https://www.philindiastamps.com/products/india-2018-mahatma-gandhi-ahmedabad-mill-strike-raipur-special-cover-18664>

3. Mahatma Gandhi gave this speech to mill workers, commissioners, and prominent men of Ahmedabad under the babul tree, Ahmedabad, British Colonial India on March 18th, 1918. This speech is notable, because this speech mentions how Gandhi's decision to fast convinced mill owners [to pay attention to the workers' demands] and reached a satisfactory settlement for mill-hands.

The settlement which I place before you merely upholds the workers' pledge. There is nothing more in it. I pleaded with the mill-owners as well as I could. I asked them to grant a permanent increase of 35 per cent. They felt, however, that that would be too much...

The mill-owners said that they had their pledge to abide just as we had ours [Gandhi and mill workers]. I told them that they had no right to take such pledge, but they insisted that theirs too was equally valid. I thought over the pledges of both. My fast stood in the way. I could not tell them: "I will break my fast only if you concede my demand." I felt that this would have been cowardice on my part. I, therefore, agreed that for the present both may maintain their pledges... Our settlement, therefore, is briefly this:

On the first day, an increase of 35 per cent will be given in keeping with our pledge; on the second day, we get 20 per cent in keeping with the mill-owners'. From the third day till the date of the arbitrator's award, an increase of 27½ percent will be paid and subsequently, if the arbitrator decides on 35 per cent, the mill-owners will give us 7½ per cent more and, if he decides on 20 per cent, we shall refund 7½ per cent...

[From Gujarati]
*Ek Dharmayuddha

* "Ek Dharmayuddha" is a Sanskrit word that means "One war fought for a righteous end by righteous means and methods."

Source: Speech to Ahmedabad Mill-hands (Mill Workers) [March 18, 1918] Pages 267, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* Vol. 14: October 9, 1917 - July 31, 1918, Section 183:

https://www.gandhiheritageportal.org/cwmg_volume_thumbview/MTQ=#page/298/mode/2up

4. Here we read another speech that Gandhi gave to the mill workers at Ahmedabad. Mahatma Gandhi made a speech for Ambalal Sarabhai, mill owners, and mill workers at the compound of Ambalal Sarabhai's House, Ahmedabad, British Colonial India on March 18th, 1918. Here Gandhi mentions that the mill workers' strike lasted for twenty-two days.

It appears to me that as days pass, not only Ahmedabad but the whole of India will be proud of this twenty-two days' struggle and India will see that we can hope much from a struggle conducted in this manner. There has been no bitterness in it. I have never come across the like of it. I have had experience of many such conflicts or heard of them, but have not known any in which there was so little ill will or bitterness as in this. I hope you will always maintain peace in the same way as you did during the strike.

I must apologize to the employers. I have pained them very much. My vow [to fast] was aimed at you, but everything in this world has two sides. Thus, the vow had an effect on the employers as well, I apologize to them humbly for this, I am as much their servant as the workers'. All I ask is that both should utilize my services to the full.

[From Gujarati]
* Ek Dharmayuddha

* "Ek Dharmayuddha" is a Sanskrit word that means "One war fought for a righteous end by righteous means and methods."

**Source: Second Speech to Ahmedabad Mill-hands (Mill Workers) [March 18, 1918]
Pages 268, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* Vol. 14: October 9, 1917 - July 31, 1918, Section 184:**

https://www.gandhiheritageportal.org/cwmg_volume_thumbview/MTQ=#page/300/mode/2up

Salt Satyagraha (Salt March) (March 2, 1930) Documents 5 - 7

Documents 5, 6, 7, and are about the Salt March. The British Empire passed the India Salt Act in 1882, which only allowed British people to manufacture salt in India. The following primary sources include #5 Gandhi's letter to Viceroy of British Colonial India, #6 Gandhi's speech to Indians, and #7 documentary video clip on Gandhi's Salt March.

5. Mahatma Gandhi told Lord Irwin, Viceroy of British Colonial India from 1926 to 1932, in a letter that the peaceful civil disobedience campaign or the salt march. This campaign will take place in India to disobey the India Salt Act in Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, one of residences of Mahatma Gandhi, March 2, 1930. Gandhi did not follow the law by collecting natural salt from the Arabian Sea coast. One notable difference with two speeches from #2 and #3 is that Gandhi addresses himself with his full name "Mohandas K. Gandhi" when he addressed his name in a letter to Lord Irwin.

Satyagraha Ashram,
Sabarmati,
March 2, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

Before embarking on civil disobedience, and taking the risk I have dreaded to take all these years, I would fain approach you and find a way out...

I have deliberately used the word conversion. For my ambition is no less than to convert the British people through non-violence, and thus to make them see the wrong they have done to India. I do not seek to harm your people. I want to serve them even as I want to serve my own. I believe that I have always served them...

The plan through civil disobedience will be to combat such evils as I have sampled out. If we want to sever the British connection it is because of such evils. When they are removed, the path becomes easy. Then the way to friendly negotiation will be open. If the British commerce with India is purified of greed, you will have no difficulty in recognizing our independence. I invite you then to pave the way for immediate removal of those evils, and thus open a way for a real conference between equals, interested only in promoting the common good of mankind through voluntary fellowship and in arranging terms of mutual help and commerce equally suited to both. You have unnecessarily laid stress upon communal problems that unhappily affect this land. Important though they undoubtedly are for the consideration of any scheme of Government they have little bearing on the greater problems which are above communities and which affect them all equally. But if you cannot see your way to deal with these evils and my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the eleventh day of this month, I shall proceed with such co-workers of the Ashram as I can take, to disregard the provisions of the salt laws. I regard this tax to be the most iniquitous of all from the poor man's standpoint. As the independence movement is essentially for the poorest in the land, the beginning will be made with this evil. The wonder is that we have submitted to the cruel monopoly for so long. It is, I know, open to you to frustrate my design by arresting me. I hope that there will be tens of thousands ready, in a disciplined manner, to take up the work after me, and, in the act of disobeying the Salt Act, to lay themselves open to the penalties of a law that should never have disfigured the statute book...

I remain,
Your sincere friend,
M.K. Gandhi

Mahatma, Vol. III, pp. 18-23

Source: Mahatma Gandhi's Letter to Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India (in office

1926-1932): <https://www.mkgandhi.org/selectedletters/62viceroy.html>

6. Mahatma Gandhi told 10,000 Indians on March 11, 1930 that Gandhi and his followers will march from Ahmedabad to the Arabian Sea to collect natural salt at the Arabian Sea on March 12th, 1930 to peacefully resist the British Empire's salt monopoly. Gandhi's action will later be known as the "salt march" or "salt satyagraha (nonviolence)". Gandhi's speech, which was translated from his native Indian language took place during the evening prayer on the Sabarmati sands at Ahmedabad, on the eve of his historic march to Arabian Sea.

In all probability this will be my last speech to you. Even if the Government allow me to march tomorrow morning, this will be my last speech on the sacred banks of the Sabarmati. Possibly these may be the last words of my life here.

I have already told you yesterday what I had to say. Today I shall confine myself to what you should do after my companions and I are arrested. The programme of the march to Jalalpur must be fulfilled as originally settled. The enlistment of the volunteers for this purpose should be confined to Gujarat only. From what I have been and heard during the last fortnight, I am inclined to believe that the stream of civil resisters will flow unbroken.

But let there be not a semblance of breach of peace even after all of us have been arrested. We have resolved to utilize all our resources in the pursuit of an exclusively nonviolent struggle. Let no one commit a wrong in anger. This is my hope and prayer. I wish these words of mine reached every nook and corner of the land. My task shall be done if I perish and so do my comrades. It will then be for the Working Committee of the Congress to show you the way and it will be up to you to follow its lead. So long as I have reached Jalalpur, let nothing be done in contravention to the authority vested in me by the Congress. But once I am arrested, the whole responsibility shifts to the Congress. No one who believes in non-violence, as a creed, need, therefore, sit still. My compact with the Congress ends as soon as I am arrested. In that case volunteers. Wherever possible, civil disobedience of salt should be started. These laws can be violated in three ways. It is an offence to manufacture salt wherever there are facilities for doing so. The possession and sale of contraband salt, which includes natural salt or salt earth, is also an offence. The purchasers of such salt will be equally guilty. To carry away the natural salt deposits on the seashore is likewise violation of law. So is the hawking of such salt. In short, you may choose any one or all of these devices to break the salt monopoly.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IjDErHQGEHM>

Aftermath of the Salt Satyagraha (Salt March) (1930) Documents 8 - 10

Documents 8, 9, and 10 deal with the aftermath of the Salt March. After the Salt March, British and Indians had different reactions to how Gandhi's civil disobedience campaign at Arabian Sea turned out. The following primary sources include two British political cartoons released after the Salt March and Indian independence activist's response to the Salt March.

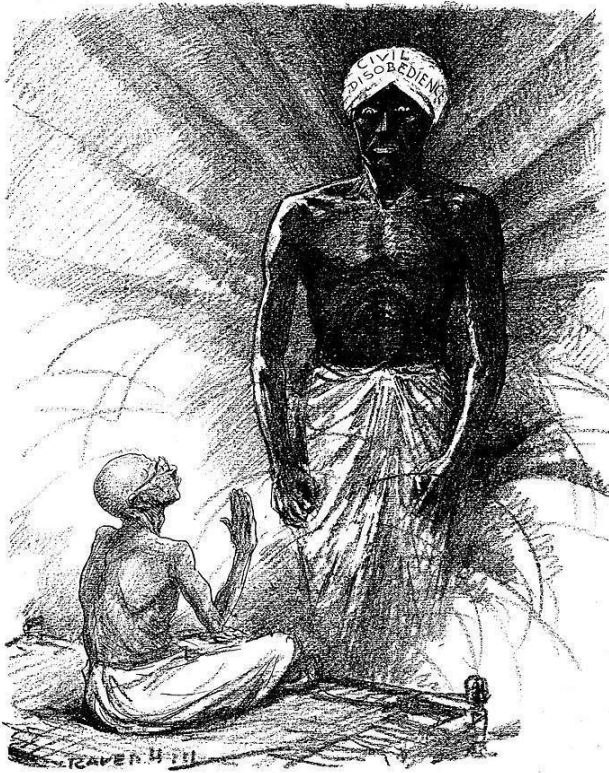
8. After the Salt March, Paolo Garretto, Italian artist renowned for his caricatures between 1930s and 1940s, was commissioned to make a political cartoon in *The London Graphic Illustrator*, British magazine company in London, British Empire. He depicted Gandhi putting salt on the tail of a lion (British Empire) on March 24th, 1930. His cartoon's caption reads: "Gandhi the Tail-Salter," which is based on the legendary European superstitious belief that a person may catch a bird if he or she puts salt on a bird's tail. In other words, Gandhi sought to defeat the British Empire with salt.



Source: Political Cartoon on the Salt March "Salting the Lion's Tail" Garretto, The London Graphic Illustrator, May 24, 1930:

<https://twitter.com/iSumeetShetty/status/1117255049007255552/photo/1>

9. After the Salt March, *Punch* Magazine, a British weekly magazine famous for funny and satirical cartoons since 1841, made a political cartoon in London, British Empire that depicted Gandhi and his civil disobedience movement in March 12th, 1930. The cartoon's caption reads: A Frankenstein of the East. Gandhi. "Remember—no violence; just disobedience." Genie. "And what if I disobey you?" The magazine depicts Gandhi's nonviolent disobedience as a Frankenstein that could disobey Gandhi at any time.



A FRANKENSTEIN OF THE EAST.
 GANDHI. "REMEMBER—NO VIOLENCE; JUST DISOBEDIENCE."
 GENIE. "AND WHAT IF I DISOBEY YOU?"

Source: *Punch* Magazine Political Cartoon "A Frankenstein of the East. Gandhi. "Remember—no violence; just disobedience." Genie. "And what if I disobey you?"" March 12th, 1930:

https://punch.photoshelter.com/image?_bqG=10&_bqH=eJwzqCqKiCgusMwzTQ1wLzTKKPNyzyjMsd3F1DPO0Mja1MjQwAGEg6RnvEuxs656Y15KRqQbmxDv6udiWANmhwa5B8Z4utqEghVleWZmmQUI5OZ7pavGOziG2pcVFWamJRckZau4gRWrOIBIAeKAKMw--

10. After the Salt March, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Independence activist and first prime minister of India, made a comment on how Gandhi's Salt March changed Indian people in 1934. Nehru worked with Gandhi during the salt march.

Of course these movements exercised tremendous pressure on the British Government and shook the government machinery. But the real importance, to my mind, lay in the effect they had on our own people, and especially the village masses ... Non-cooperation dragged them out of the mire and gave them self-respect and self-reliance ... They acted courageously and did not submit so easily to unjust oppression; their outlook widened and they began to think a little in terms of India as a whole... It was a remarkable transformation and the Congress, under Gandhi's leadership, must have the credit for it.

Jawaharlal Nehru's View Towards Gandhi's Salt March to the Sea from Pages

417~419, Geoffrey Ashe's Gandhi: A Biography (The Geoffrey Ashe Histories) Kindle Edition:

<https://www.amazon.com/dp/B08DKY698F/ref=dp-kindle-redirect? encoding=UTF8&btkr=1>

Document III – Textbook Engagement

Textbook Critique:

When I explored Mahatma Gandhi and his involvement in the Indian Independence Movement in pages 254 of the global history textbook, *New York, Global History and Geography II*, I was disappointed by how the textbook left many unanswered questions for global history students. First, the textbook does not address how Gandhi contributed to the movement for Indian self-rule before World War I. The textbook just said Gandhi “remained an important figure” before World War I. What Gandhi’s action did affect ideas of Indian self-rule?

Dennis Dalton, one of monograph writers, uses the primary source *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* to mention Gandhi’s view towards self-rule: “If we become free, India is free. And in this thought you have a definition of Swaraj. It is Swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves. It is, therefore, in the palm of our hands.... But such Swaraj has to be experienced, by each one for himself.”³⁴ Gandhi believed that people should be able to rule themselves or have civil liberty to have a free nation from tyranny of British rule.

Second, the textbook does not address how Gandhi’s methods of civil disobedience functioned in India. The textbook just said, “A believer in nonviolence, Gandhi used the methods of civil disobedience to push for Indian independence.” What is nonviolence? What methods of

³⁴ Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action* (version Kindle). *Amazon.com*. (New York, N.Y: Columbia University Press, 2012), https://www.amazon.com/Mahatma-Gandhi-Nonviolent-Power-Action-ebook/dp/B0076M51WC/ref=tmm_kin_swatch_0?_encoding=UTF8&qid=&sr=. Locations 821.

civil disobedience did Gandhi use to push for Indian Independence? Without answering these questions, the textbook just moves on and talks about how his civil disobedience campaign failed in 1919 in Amritsar, India, and he got arrested by British authorities.

Were there any historical events before 1919 that showed that Gandhi's methods of civil disobedience succeeded? Since the textbook just starts with Gandhi's failure in his nonviolence campaign, students would not know if Gandhi ever succeeded in his nonviolence campaign before 1919. In fact, just one year before the Amritsar event, Gandhi helped lead a peaceful 22-day mill strike at Indian city of Ahmedabad. Gandhi began his fast to persuade mill owners to increase mill workers' wage by 35 per cent in March 1918, and Gandhi was able to reach a settlement with mill workers on March 18. Gandhi was so encouraged by his success in Ahmedabad that he led peaceful marches and fast to help his people before his failure in 1919.

Also, one problem with this textbook excerpt is that it just talks about British Empire letting Indians govern themselves in 1935 right after the 1919 event. The textbook excerpt says:

In 1919, British troops killed hundreds of unarmed protesters in Amritsar, in northwestern India. Horrified at the violence, Gandhi briefly retreated from active politics but was later arrested and imprisoned for his role in protests.

In 1935 Britain passed the Government of India Act, which expanded the role of Indians in governing. Before, the Legislative Council could give advice only to the British governor. Now, it became a two-house parliament, and two-thirds of its Indian members were to be elected. Five million Indians (still a small percentage of the total population) were given the right to vote.

This is chronologically incorrect because the 1935 event should come after Gandhi's successful Salt March in 1930. To readers, mentioning that British gave Indians the right to vote after Gandhi's failure in the civil disobedience campaign would not make sense. Thus, I would instead move this paragraph on the 1935 event to the Salt March paragraph. So, the textbook excerpt would look like this:

Britain increased the salt tax and prohibited Indians from manufacturing or harvesting their own salt. In 1930 Gandhi led a protest. He walked to the sea with his supporters in what was called the Salt March. On reaching the coast, Gandhi picked up a pinch of salt. Thousands of Indians followed this act of civil disobedience. Gandhi and many other members of the INC were arrested...

In 1935 Britain passed the Government of India Act, which expanded the role of Indians in governing. Before, the Legislative Council could give advice only to the British governor. Now, it became a two-house parliament, and two-thirds of its Indian members were to be elected. Five million Indians (still a small percentage of the total population) were given the right to vote.

Still, the paragraph on the Salt March needs to be revised too. So, Gandhi led the Salt March and thousands of Indians followed the act of civil disobedience. The British responded by arresting Gandhi and independence activists from the organization known as the Indian National Congress. Why would the British expand Indians' role in governing after arresting Indian independence activists? How did the Salt March affect British authorities' decision to give Indians more civil liberties? Students would not be sure how the British authorities were affected by the Salt March, since the textbook just says that independence activists were arrested

following the Salt March. Also, the textbook does not mention if Gandhi ever tried to negotiate with British authorities before the Salt March.

New Textbook Material: (Bold text is revised text)

Spielvogel, Jackson J. *World History*. New York, NY: Glencoe/McGraw-Hill, 2005, Pages 254.

Indian Independence

Guiding Question: Who and What shaped India's Independence Movement?

Mohandas Gandhi was active in the Indian National Congress and the movement for Indian self-rule before World War I. The Indian people began to refer to him as India's "Great Soul," or Mahatma. After the war, Gandhi remained an important figure, and new leaders also arose. **[Gandhi remained an important figure for the movement for Indian self-rule before World War I, because he used the idea of Swaraj (self-rule) and non-violence (satyagraha) to rule themselves and peacefully resist the rule of British Empire.]**

Protest and Reform

Gandhi left South Africa in 1914. When he returned to India, he organized mass protests against British laws. A believer in nonviolence, Gandhi used the methods of civil disobedience to push for Indian independence. **[One event that showed Gandhi's success in leading the nonviolent movement was the Ahmedabad Mill Strike in March 1918. Gandhi's fast during mill workers' 22-day strike convinced mill owners to negotiate with mill workers and raise mill workers'**

wages by 35 per cent. Seeing his success in the civil disobedience movement, Gandhi peacefully protested the British authorities with Indians in Amritsar. However, the British authorities's response to civil disobedience was different from Ahmedabad mill owners.]

In 1919, British troops killed hundreds of unarmed protesters in Amritsar, in northwestern India. Horrified at the violence, Gandhi briefly retreated from active politics but was later arrested and imprisoned for his role in protests...

A Push for Independence

The Indian National Congress (INC), founded in 1885, sought reforms in Britain's government of India. Reforms, however, were no longer enough. Under its new leader, Motilal Nehru, the INC wanted to push for full independence from Britain.

Gandhi, now released from prison, returned to his earlier policy of civil disobedience. He worked hard to inform ordinary Indians of his beliefs and methods. It was wrong, he said to harm any living being. He believed that hate could be overcome only by love, and love, rather than force, could win people over to one's position.

Nonviolence was central to Gandhi's campaign of noncooperation and civil disobedience. To protest unjust British laws, Gandhi told his people: "Don't pay your taxes or send your children to an English-supported school... Make your own cotton cloth by spinning the thread at home, and don't buy English-made goods. Provide yourselves with home-made salt, and do not buy government-made salt."

[Since the British Empire passed the India Salt Act in 1882, the British were only allowed to collect or manufacture salt in India.] Britain increased the salt tax and prohibited Indians from manufacturing or harvesting their own salt. **[Gandhi sent a letter to Lord Irwin, Viceroy of British India in 1930, to repeal the India Salt Act; however, Lord Irwin ignored Gandhi's demand.]** In 1930 Gandhi led a protest. **[Gandhi told 10,000 Indians on March 11, 1930 that he and his followers will march from Ahmedabad to Arabian Sea to collect natural salt at Arabian Sea on March 12th, 1930. in response to the India Salt Act.]** In 1930 Gandhi led a protest. He walked to the **[Arabian]** sea with his supporters in what was called the Salt March **[or Salt Satyagraha (Salt Non-violence)]**. On reaching the coast, Gandhi picked up a pinch of salt. Thousands of Indians followed this act of civil disobedience. **[One of these Indian followers was Vithalbhai Jhaveri, an Indian Independence activist who documented the Salt March and released the documentary film on Gandhi's life story in 1968.]**

[...After the Salt March ended,] Gandhi and many **[Indian independence activists who led the Salt March]** were arrested. **[However, unlike the 1919 event, the Salt March was not a complete failure. Many different news media such as *London Graphic Illustrator* and *Punch Magazine* reported on how Gandhi's civil disobedience movement defeated a lion, or the British Empire. Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Independence activist who supported Gandhi's campaign, made a comment on how Gandhi's Salt March gave Indians the ideas of self-respect and self-reliance and let Indians think of themselves as one unity.]**

[Seeing that Indians had proven to be one and independent during the Salt March,] in 1935 Britain passed the Government of India Act, which expanded the role of Indians in governing. Before, the Legislative Council could give advice only to the British governor. Now, it

became a two-house parliament, and two-thirds of its Indian members were to be elected. Five million Indians (still a small percentage of the total population) were given the right to vote.

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