Advocates and practitioners of non-violent opposition to imperialism and other evils often look to M. Gandhi for inspiration and direction, envisioning him as having been the embodiment of these practices and principles. Indeed, Gandhi projected himself as a living "experiment with truth." This seminar will explore the history and meanings of Gandhi as exemplar of non-violent non-cooperation with evil.

During his early years in South Africa and later life in India, Mohandas K. Gandhi developed and implemented a revolutionary political strategy: satyagraha. Gandhi drew on two traditions to formulate this powerful type of civil disobedience, synthesizing Indian principles of non-violence (as part of a universal moral order) with British principles of jurisprudence, citizenship, and the dignity of the individual. Satyagraha is best glossed as "non-violent non-cooperation with evil." In Gandhi's hands, this innovative strategy proved convincing to its Indian practitioners and likewise to many Euro-Americans, both who confronted and those who adopted or adapted it. At the same time, a number of critics of Gandhi and his policies have stressed what they feel are the costs and limitations of his method.

In order to comprehend Gandhi's use of satyagraha, we must understand its social, religious, and political contexts. This course will begin with a look at Gandhi and the culture which produced him. Here we will search for the Indian roots of non-violence and the concept of a universal moral order which encompasses both the cultural and natural worlds. We will then turn to Gandhi's other source for satyagraha: his training as a barrister and his formative years in London society. We will thus seek understanding the presuppositions for these distinct moral and juridical orders.

Gandhi's arenas for his formulation and application of satyagraha were the colonial worlds of South Africa and India. Called to South Africa as a fledgling Indian barrister, Gandhi found himself leading the Indian community against the newly created, racist policy of apartheid. His successes in South Africa then enabled him to assume a leading role in the Nationalist struggle in India against British imperialism. We will examine Gandhi's role in these two arenas through his revealing autobiography and other sources.

Gandhi's political successes against the British in South Africa and India led to the use of satyagraha in other contexts as well. Gandhi himself worked (with more limited results) for the reform of Indian society, particularly with respect to prejudice against untouchables and women. Free India's political leaders have dealt variously with Gandhi's heritage. For his disciples, both prominent and unheralded, Gandhi left a complex role to emulate. Using Gandhi's own writings (including his autobiography and manifesto, Hind Swaraj), fiction, and more critical evaluations (various articles available on Blackboard) we will study some later uses of satyagraha within India. Further, we will see the problems faced by governments advocating non-violence while simultaneously reforming and protecting the world's largest democracy.

"Mahatma" Gandhi's principles of civil disobedience have been applied in a range of political and social reform movements within and outside of India as well. A number of Indian and other leaders interacted with M. Gandhi or his principles. Each student will select one such leader or movement for a research paper and class presentation. Examples of leaders or
movements may be chosen—with the assistance of the instructor—either from India or from elsewhere in Asia, Africa, Europe, or the Americas. This ongoing comparison of political strategies with the Gandhian civil disobedience movement will provide additional breadth to the course.

Reading of the required materials and class participation are mandatory. There will be a series of four position papers, a research paper of approximately 5,000 words (~20 pages) using primary sources, and a brief class presentation of that research.

Research Paper guidelines:
Each person in the colloquium will select (in consultation with Mr. Fisher) a research topic. Mr. Fisher will assist in identifying and locating primary and secondary sources for this topic. Each person will then proceed to research in primary sources and write a research paper with full foot/end notes and bibliography. Further, each person will make a brief presentation of this paper to the rest of the colloquium. Throughout the term Mr. Fisher will be available for consultation on the outline and drafts as appropriate.

The position papers collectively count 30% (there are four assignments, I will count the top three grades), class participation counts 20%, the research paper counts 50% of the final grade. The grading is as follows: A+ 100-97; A 96-93; A- 92-90; B+ 89-87; B 86-83; B- 82-80; C+ 79-77; C 76-73; C- 72-70; D 65-69; F below 65.

Required Book:

Additional required readings are available on Blackboard.

**Honor Code:** The Honor Code applies to all assignments in this course. This means that any student found cheating, plagiarizing, turning in another person’s work as his/her own or otherwise violating the instructor’s explicit or implicit instructions will be subject to a hearing before the Student Honor Committee. To learn more about the Code, see the Rules and Regulations Section VI A and B in Fussers or the Student Handbook. (language courtesy of Susan Colley and the Student Honor Code Committee).

**Accommodation:** If you have specific physical, psychiatric or learning disabilities and require accommodations, please let me know early in the semester so that your learning needs may be appropriately met. You will need to provide documentation of your disability to the Coordinator of Services for Students with Disabilities.

**Seminar Meetings**

9/5 Introduction: Gandhi's significance and non-violence in world and Indian contexts
Required for this first seminar meeting: *Autobiography*: xi-xv; (on Blackboard) BBC: GandhiPen.doc (2 pp.), PalestinianGandhi.doc (2 pp.), and Mazzarella, "Branding the Mahatma" (39 pp.).
9/9 (Sunday at 6:00 PM) You are invited to my home (241 Oak St., 775-1728) for a dinner and discussion.

9/10 (Monday due by noon) Position Paper #1 on the nature of gender, rights, and law. Use *Autobiography*: 3-83 plus either Jack, "Care and Rights" (24 pp.) or Hay, "Between Two Worlds" (15 pp.) as your starting point.

9/12 The Making of a Westernized Indian Barrister; gender, culture, and violence/non-violence
Required: *Autobiography*: 3-83 plus either Jack, "Care and Rights" (24 pp.) or Hay, "Between Two Worlds" (15 pp.) or both.

9/19 no class meeting, made up 9/9. Recommended: see film: Attenborough’s Gandhi, available at Library circulation desk, VCR-1397, and elsewhere

9/26 No class (Yom Kippur)

10/1 (Monday due by noon) Position Paper #2 on one aspect of the nature of colonial and indigenous laws and cultures.

10/3 The Unmaking of a Westernized Indian Barrister
Required: *Autobiography*: 87-99 plus either Rudolph "Legal Cultures and Social Change" (39 pp.) or Roy, "Meat-Eating, Masculinity, and Renunciation" (30 pp.) or both.

10/10 South Africa: The Roots of *Satyagraha*
Required: *Autobiography*: 100-251 and Bose, "Hundred Horizons" (13 pp.).

10/15 (Monday due by noon) Position Paper #3 on applying non-violence in complex cases

10/17 South Africa: Facing *Apartheid*
Required: *Autobiography*: 255-369 plus either du Toit, "Experiments with Truth and Justice" (30 pp.) or Goswami, "A Re-reading of Gandhi's *Satyagraha in South Africa* for contemporary community organizing" (10 pp.) or both.

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Fall Break
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10/31 Indian and Western Civilization
Required: *Hind Swaraj* (61 pp.).  
(Schedule Individual Paper conferences with Mr. Fisher)

11/7 Violence, Non-violence, and the Environment
Required: any two (or more) of the following: Burgat, "Non-Violence towards Animals" (26 pp.) or Lal, "Gandhi and the Ecological Vision" (11pp.) or Guha, "Radical American Environmentalism and Wilderness Preservation: A Third World Critique" (8pp.) or Weber, "Gandhi, Deep Ecology" (13 pp.) or Godrej, “Ascetic, Warriors, and Gandhian Ecological Citizenship” (29 pp.).
11/14 Indian Peasants, Workers, and Gandhi toward Independence
Required: Autobiography: 373-505 and Devji, "Morality in the Shadow of Politics" (18 pp.).

11/16 (Friday) by noon: Written statement of your research paper topic and preliminary bibliography

11/19 (Monday due by noon) Position Paper #4 on the nature of elite versus subaltern leadership

11/21 The Peasants on Gandhi
Required: Shahid Amin, "Gandhi as Mahatma." (50 pp.) and Harish Trivedi, “Revolutionary Non-violence (29 pp.).

11/28 Gandhi and Women
Required: Gandhi, "Women," (38 pp.) and either Kaushik, "Women in Panchayati Raj" (11pp.) or Mookerjea-Leonard, “to be pure or not to be: Gandhi, women, and the Partition,” (17pp.) or both.

12/5 Gandhis (?)
Required any two (or more) of the following: Manto, "The Price of Freedom" (13 pp.) or Juergensmeyer, "Saint Gandhi" (20 pp.) or Gordon, "Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans" (16pp.) or both.

12/7 (Friday) penultimate draft of paper due by 2:30 PM.

12/12 The application and philosophy of Gandhian Non-Violence
Required; read either: (on Blackboard) Juergensmeyer, Fighting Fair (32 pp.) or (on Print Reserve): Bondurant, Conquest of Violence, pp. 146-233 or both.

12/20 (Thursday) at 11:00am, as scheduled examination time Final version of paper due.