Scaffolding Questions Unit X

Gandhi, King, and Mandela: What Made Non-Violence Work (SV)

Doc 1: According to the Note, what was it that the Salt Law prohibited?
   Why would a poor Indian want to manufacture his own salt?
   What is the meaning of civil disobedience?
   What act of civil disobedience did Gandhi propose for March 11, 1930?

Doc 2: When King sat down at Rich's lunch counter, was he committing an act of civil disobedience?
   What reason did King give the judge for breaking the law?

Doc 3: Why did Nelson Mandela support non-violent civil disobedience?
   Were Mandela's reasons for supporting non-violent civil disobedience the same as Gandhi's?

Doc 4: What was the year and where was Gandhi at the time of this event?
   What was the Dharasana Salt Raid?
   What evidence is there that the marchers were both non-violent and disciplined?
   Would you expect this non-violent strategy to be successful? Why?

Doc 5: What was the year and the place of this event?
   What was the purpose of Martin Luther King and the SCLC?
   What evidence is there that the marchers were both non-violent and disciplined?
   What were the similarities between the protests in Birmingham and Dharasana (Document 4)?

Doc 6: What was the year and place of this campaign?
   Judging from the title of the campaign, what was Mandela's purpose?
   What were Mandela's feelings about non-violence and discipline?
Doc 7: In what country did this protest by Gandhi occur?

What is Gandhi’s attitude about going to jail?

Is accepting jail time a smart tactic in bringing about social change? Explain.

Doc 8: For what crime was Martin Luther King and his followers arrested?

What was the attitude of King and his followers about being arrested? Why?

Doc 9: What was the year and place of this document?

Why was Nelson Mandela willing to accept a death penalty?

Look at the jail-time notes for Gandhi, King, and Mandela. What generalization can you make about jail and a successful non-violent movement?

Doc 10: Who are the two figures in the cartoon?

What is the relationship of the two figures in the cartoon?

What is the main idea of the cartoon?

Doc 11: What famous speech was delivered at the event where this button was given out?

What is the main idea of the button?

Doc 12: What is the meaning of the cartoon caption?

What do Documents 10, 11, and 12 say about how to achieve non-violent change?
Hook Exercise Unit X
Gandhi, King and Mandela: What Made Non-Violence Work?

Personalizing a Historical Situation

Directions: Below are three scenarios. Read through each scenario to see how you would respond.

1. You are walking over to use the library’s one free computer. Another student is coming over too, just as you are sitting down. He quietly explains he has a class next period and wonders if he can use the computer before you. He’ll only be on a few minutes, he says, but will understand if you say ‘no’ after all, you were there first.

2. You are walking over to use the library’s one free computer. Just as you get there, an underclassman races across the room trying to beat you out. (By the way, it’s against library rules to run!) He gets there after you do, but scooches into the seat before you can sit down, saying he has to ‘use the computer real bad!’ Your assignment isn’t all that urgent, but you know him, and he’s always doing stuff last minute. He won’t take ‘no’ for an answer!

3. You are walking over to use the library’s one free computer. A student shoves you out of the way and sits down. You know for a fact she doesn’t have a class until tomorrow and yours is next period. You ask her what she’s thinking and tell her you have an assignment to finish. She looks at you funny and stays put.

Now consider the three questions below. Discuss your thoughts with one or two other students, and write down your answers. Be ready to share your thoughts with the whole class.

1. How would you react to each scenario? Be specific.

2. There are people who might get physically or verbally abusive in scenario 3, and maybe even #2. What values might keep a person from a physical or verbal confrontation?

3. Select the guiding principle that you would be most comfortable applying to all 3 scenarios.
   “An Eye for an Eye”
   “Turn the Other Cheek”
   “No Harm, No Foul”
   “Do Unto Others as You Would Have Them Do Unto You”
   “Touch Me and You’re Going Down”
   “Talk it Out”
   “Chill!”
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<th>Document Analysis Sheet</th>
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<td><strong>Document number or letter</strong></td>
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<td><strong>FACTS</strong>: What important facts can I learn from this document?</td>
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<td>Put the quotation above in your own words to explain what it means. Your response should be at least one <strong>full sentence</strong>. Remember to include citation, for example (Doc. A).</td>
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<td><strong>INFERENCES</strong>: What inferences can I make from the fact above?</td>
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<td>From the fact above, what inference can you make? Your response should be at least one <strong>full sentence</strong>.</td>
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<td><strong>ARGUMENT</strong>: How did this document help answer the question?</td>
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<td>From the fact and inference above, how does this information help me answer the question:</td>
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<td>Your response should be at least one <strong>full sentence</strong>.</td>
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<td><strong>BUCKET</strong>: What analytical bucket does this fact belong in?</td>
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Gandhi, King and Mandela: What Made Non-Violence Work?

The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy. Instead of diminishing evil, it multiplies it. ~ MLK, Jr.

The history of violence in the world is well documented. However it is also possible to use non-violence to bring about change. This DBQ will look at three countries where a non-violent movement was successful.

Historic Context

India, the United States, and South Africa. Three important nations on three different continents. But although they looked strong on the outside, each one suffered from a disease that threatened the health of the whole. For India, the disease was colonialism. For the United States and South Africa, it was racial segregation.

Three Conditions

In each of these nations three conditions help explain why non-violence worked. The first condition was that all of them had been colonies of England. And like England all three countries thought law was very powerful – more powerful even than government officials.

The second condition was the presence of violence. Without the possibility of a violent revolution, the government might not have been willing to change.

The third condition was the presence of a leader — Mohandas Gandhi in India, Martin Luther King in the United States, and Nelson Mandela in South Africa. Each of these men was so charismatic he could lead his followers to a non-violent victory. All of them gave their lives to the cause. Gandhi and King were shot by assassins; Mandela spent almost twenty-seven years of his life in prison. These are their stories.

Mohandas Gandhi

Mohandas Gandhi was born in 1869, in Porbandar, India. His father taught his son respect for all religions. His mother taught him that all living things are holy. Following custom, Gandhi married at age 13; his wife, Kasturba, was even younger. At age 19 he went to London to study law, and at age 22 Gandhi completed his studies. He now felt more than ever that the English, who had ruled India for almost two centuries, were law-abiding and fair. Hopes high, he sailed for home.

Gandhi tried to set up a law practice in India but was so shy he failed miserably. When someone suggested he try his luck in South Africa, he jumped at the offer. But no sooner had he arrived there than he was thrown off a train, just for being a “colored” man holding a first class ticket! Even for a shy man, it was too great an insult. When he fought back he was sent to jail. It was there he became a leader, bringing about important changes for South Africa’s Indian community.

When Gandhi returned to India, he was paraded around like a hero because of his South
Teacher Notes
Background Essay (Continued)

African victories. But everywhere he looked he was horrified by the poverty he saw. He saw, too, that to be successful in the world the English had built, Indians had to imitate their rulers — their clothes, their manners, and their standards of beauty. Gandhi refused!

Gandhi wanted people to live free of all kinds of snobbery, even the ones imposed by India’s ancient caste system. The first thing he did was to build a different kind of community where he could model this classless society. He dressed in the clothes a poor man would wear and did chores an untouchable [people so low they are below caste] would do. Most Indians thought he was absurd. But slowly his strange ideas were accepted until Gandhi came to be known as ‘Mahatma’ or ‘Great Soul.’

Gandhi saw that India’s self-respect was tied to independence. But England was a giant with colonies all around the globe. And Indian politicians had worked for independence for at least half a century. How much harder would it be for the gentle Gandhi. Yet in the end Gandhi succeeded. The question is how?

An eye-for-an-eye only makes the whole world blind.
— Mohandas Gandhi

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Michael King, Jr. was born in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1929. His father was a Baptist preacher, his mother a schoolteacher. So when Martin Luther, as he came to be called, earned his doctor of divinity and two other degrees within seven years’ time, it was not really a surprise. When he moved with his bride Coretta to Montgomery, Alabama, as the new preacher of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, this, too, was not a surprise. And because he was an African-American living in the South, his arrest for such trivial things as driving five miles over the speed limit wasn’t altogether a shock. What was surprising was what he chose to do about it.

About this time a woman named Rosa Parks refused to give her bus seat to a white man and set the civil rights struggle in motion. In one courageous act, she had challenged “Jim Crow,” the segregationist laws of the South that had dominated the lives of African-Americans far too long. The back of a bus, the back of a theater, the back of a sandwich shop, poll taxes, inferior schools, segregated housing, lynching by hooded mobs — these were the things Southern blacks faced every day of their lives.

King and other black ministers met together in 1957 to find a peaceful solution to these problems. From that meeting, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was born and King was chosen as its first president. There were honors that came with his new title, like a meeting with President Eisenhower and a trip to Africa. But there were also risks, frightening ones, like death threats and fire-bombings to his home. And when those arrested for the crimes were proven guilty, all-white juries freed them.

But the campaign for civil rights had begun and there was no turning back. In 1959, King went to India to meet with friends and family of a man whose non-violent techniques he admired, the late Mahatma Gandhi. He came back a few weeks later surer than ever that this was the strongest way to fight injustice. But like Gandhi, King found it hard to keep things under control. Anger was building in the white man who had been in the driver’s seat for so long. And frustration was boiling over in the black man, who once again was told he could not

Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that.
— Martin Luther King, Jr.

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enter a certain school or voting booth or park or library or restaurant. How could he, King wondered, achieve the goals he and his followers longed for? And how could this be done without violence?

Nelson Mandela

Rolihlahla Mandela was born in 1918 in a tiny village in South Africa. He was still a baby when his father, a tribal chief, was dethroned for disrespecting an English judge. At age seven he was sent to a boarding school where he learned to live under apartheid, a Dutch South African word meaning “racial apartness.” There he was given the name “Nelson” because his African name, which could sometimes be translated as “Troublemaker,” wasn’t European. This was the first time, though not the last, that Mandela felt disrespected for his blackness.

In the 1930s it was rare for a black South African to attend college. But Mandela not only attended, he graduated, got a degree from law school, and set up a practice in Johannesburg which he hoped could support his small family. Yet apartheid was always a humiliation to him. When the Afrikaner, or Dutch South African, Nationalists came to power in the 1948 election, the segregation habits of the past three hundred years became law. Hoping for a brighter future, Mandela joined the African National Congress (ANC) and became its first Youth leader.

In the 1960s, many of the colonial nations of Africa were gaining independence. The ANC was encouraged and campaigned for democracy in South Africa. They were mild campaigns at first, but as the government became more hostile, so did ANC protests. In November 1961, a military branch of the party was organized with Mandela as its head. It authorized the limited use of arms and sabotage against the government, which got the government’s attention — and its anger! Mandela went into hiding. In 1964, he was captured, tried, and sentenced to life imprisonment. It was a sad day for black South Africa.

As days stretched to months, months to years, and years to decades, Mandela lived most of them at brutal Robben Island Prison. There his guards did their best to break his spirit with isolation and abuse. Remarkably he kept his hope and dignity alive. Then, twenty-six and a half long years after his imprisonment began, he was released. Again Mandela could tackle the job of dismantling apartheid. He hoped, like the Afrikaner government that freed him, that he could keep South Africa from erupting into civil war.

The Question

Gandhi, King and Mandela were sitting on powder kegs built of hate and injustice. The people in each society knew the powder kegs existed. More importantly their governments knew they existed. Yet all three men were able to bring about non-violent change. Gandhi brought independence to India; King brought civil rights to the United States; Mandela brought democracy to South Africa.

So how did they do it? The presence of violence, the respect for law, the leadership of a charismatic individual — these three ingredients were important, but not the whole story. Now examine the documents that follow, looking for further ways that non-violent change was achieved in India, the United States, and South Africa. Again, the question — Gandhi, King, and Mandela: What made non-violence work?

People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can also be taught to love.

— Nelson Mandela
Document 1: Salt

**Content Notes:**
- Lord Irwin was the British Viceroy ruling in India. Gandhi wrote this letter detailing his plan for breaking the law governing the making of salt because he always felt that "any secrecy hinders the real spirit of democracy." Frustrated with the British failure to grant India Dominion Status in the Empire, Gandhi searched for a way to get England’s attention without risking an outbreak of violence on the part of his followers. The idea of a march to the sea to make salt provided that way. Since the manufacture of salt was a government monopoly, this action would symbolize the fact that Indians refused to acknowledge British authority.
- Louis Fischer says this about the Salt March:
  As March 11(1930) neared, India bubbled with excitement. Scores of foreign and domestic newspapermen dogged Gandhi’s footsteps in the ashram (community).... The entire night of April 5th, (the day before the intended action) the ashramites did not sleep but prayed, and early in the morning they accompanied the Mahatma to the sea. He dipped into the water...and there picked up some salt left by the waves.... Gandhi thus broke the British law that made it a punishable crime to possess salt not purchased from the government salt monopoly. He himself had not used salt in six years.
  Fischer, pp. 98-99.
- Since the Viceroy had vowed that “it would take more than a pinch of salt to bring down the Empire,” it was his intention to ignore Gandhi and his followers’ breach of the law. But when every villager along the coast began to make and sell salt in accordance with Gandhi’s instructions, it was too much for the English to bear, and mass arrests were made – of everyone, that is, except Gandhi. When nothing changed no matter who was in jail, the British finally arrested Gandhi.
- It is interesting to note that Gandhi was not a politician. He never held public office, nor did he seek it. Instead he was the conscience of the nation.

**Teaching Tips:**
- After reading the document ask students what non-violent tactic is being threatened by Gandhi to protest the salt tax. (The civil disobedience of breaking the salt law.)
- What is civil disobedience? (Disobeying a law that is seen as being unjust.)
- Is civil disobedience a different analytical category from a boycott or strike? (Yes, in that, by definition, civil disobedience is always illegal.)
- Have students discuss why Gandhi might have written this letter to Lord Irwin, telling him in advance what he intended to do. (He wanted to give Lord Irwin the chance to change the Salt Tax law before any action was taken.)
- What are the risks of civil disobedience to society? What is to prevent any person from disobeying any law simply because he doesn’t like it?
Gandhi's letter to Lord Irwin, English governor in India, before marching to the sea and breaking the English Salt Tax Law

Sabarmati, India
(March, 1930)

Dear Friend,

Before embarking on Civil Disobedience and taking the risk I have dreaded to take all these years, I would ... approach you and find a way out. I cannot intentionally hurt anything that lives, much less human beings, even though they may do the greatest wrong to me and mine. Whilst therefore I hold the British rule to be a curse, I do not intend harm to a single Englishman or to any legitimate interest he may have in India.... And why do I regard the British rule a curse? ...Even the salt [the peasant] must use to live is so taxed as to make the burden fall heaviest on him.... The tax shows itself still more burdensome on the poor man when it is remembered that salt is one thing he must eat more than the rich man....

My ambition is no less than to convert the British people through nonviolence, and thus make them see the wrong they have done to India.... But if you cannot see your way to deal with these evils and if my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the eleventh day of this month I shall proceed with such coworkers of the Ashram [Community] as I can take, to disregard the provisions of the Salt Laws....

Note: Gandhi's march to the sea is generally called "The Salt March." Most historians consider it the turning point of the movement to free India from British control. The Salt Tax Law made it illegal for Indians to manufacture or collect their own salt.
Document 2: ‘I Took Part in the Lunch Counter Sit-ins …’

Content Notes:

• Rich’s Department Store in Atlanta was the site of much civil rights activity.
• During the Montgomery Bus Boycott King wrote to a friend, "At this point I began to think about Thoreau’s Essay on Civil Disobedience... We were simply saying to the white community, 'We can no longer lend our cooperation to an evil system.' From this moment on I conceived of our movement as an act of massive noncooperation. From then on I rarely used the word 'boycott' King’s reference to Thoreau’s Civil Disobedience recalls this point: that there are laws higher than civil laws, and that those higher laws must be followed.
• Thoreau’s teachings on civil disobedience were an important inspiration for both Gandhi and King. Thoreau had said that he could not support a government that endorsed slavery or the war against Mexico. Thus the coinage of the phrase "Civil Disobedience."
• The sit-in movement was initiated by four African American college students in North Carolina and spread throughout the South in the early 1960s. The Jackson, Mississippi photo was taken two and half years after King’s experience at Rich’s department store.
• The photograph is a great representation of at least three of the analytical categories in this DBQ: Civil Disobedience, Discipline, and Power of the Press. Most sit-in participants had gone through extensive non-violent training to be ready for this abuse. Some sit-ins were designed to maximize press exposure. Students often dressed in their best clothes to add dignity to the protest and emphasize who was really out of order.

Teaching Tips:

• Ask students: What is a lunch counter sit-in?
• Is a lunch counter sit-in an act of civil disobedience? Why? (Yes. It is breaking a law – a “Jim Crow” law.) How was breaking the law and being arrested for it important to a non-violent movement? (It would show that the Jim Crow laws being protested were unfair.) Was civil disobedience necessary to the success of King’s non-violent movement?
• King was not raised as a law-breaker. How did he justify his law-breaking at his trial?
• Share with students the second Content Note. What for King was the higher law? Make sure students recognize the difference between a strike or boycott (a refusal to work or to buy) which was legal, and civil disobedience (breaking a law) which was illegal and would ultimately result in an arrest.
• Have students discuss why King found it important to say that he hadn’t initiated the movement to integrate the lunch counters? (It was important that the movement against Jim Crow Laws be seen as something bigger than King’s movement. King was very sensitive to charges that he was stealing the spotlight.)
• It is said that a picture is worth a thousand words. In looking at the Blackwell photo, ask students if they agree.
• Draw out of students the following information about the photo:

  The racial composition of protesters and the crowd
  The gender of the protesters and the crowd
  The facial expressions of the protesters and crowd
  What has been poured on the protesters (sugar and ketchup and maybe mustard)

• Examine faces in the photo, including the crowd. Have students draw a bubble message that reflects the thoughts of the participants. Is there any evidence of anger on the protesters’ faces? Are there any in the crowd that appear to be embarrassed or having second thoughts?
• Impress on students the courage it must have taken for these young people to commit this act of civil disobedience; many did not know if they would come out of this alive.
• Finally, ask students if they would have the guts to take part in this type of protest or the discipline to react in a non-violent way.
I took part in the lunch counter sit-ins at Rich's department store as a follower, not a leader. I did not initiate the thing.... I was arrested along with some two hundred eighty students in a sit-in demonstration seeking to integrate lunch counters. I said when I went in Fulton County Jail that I would stay the full time if it was one year, five, or ten years. Of course the students agreed to stay also.

If, by chance ... we are guilty of violating the law, please be assured that we did it to bring the whole issue of racial injustice under the scrutiny of the conscience of Atlanta....

We do not seek to remove this unjust system for ourselves alone but for our white brothers as well. The festering sore of segregation debilitates the white man as well as the Negro. So if our actions in any way served to bring this issue to the forefront of the conscience of the community, they were not undertaken in vain.
Content Notes:
• The African National Congress launched the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws in June 1952. It was directed against laws such as the Pass Laws that required blacks to carry a pass which had to be signed every month by their employers. For many South Africans like Mandela, the Pass Law was galling and demeaning.
• Manilal Gandhi, the Mahatma’s second son and editor of the newspaper Indian Opinion, was a prominent member of the SAIC (South African Indian Congress).

Teaching Tips:
• Does this document provide evidence that Mandela supported civil disobedience? (Yes.)
• Did Mandela believe that acts of civil disobedience must be non-violent? (No.)
• Under what circumstances might Mandela have supported violence? (When it was the practical thing to do.)
• Asks students what Mandela means when he says that non-violence is a practical option rather than a moral necessity.
• The Background Essay mentions Umkhonto, the militant arm of the ANC party of which Mandela became the head in 1961. Are Mandela’s statements in Document 3 consistent with his Umkhonto leadership role nine years later?
• Do Documents 1, 2, and 3 belong in the same analytical category. Why? (Perhaps. They all have to do with the tactic of civil disobedience.)
• Return to the big question that must be asked of every analytical category: Was civil disobedience (breaking certain laws) a necessary tactic to achieve successful change in India, the United States, and South Africa? Reverse the question: Could change have been achieved in these three countries without breaking certain laws?
Port Elizabeth, South Africa  
(May, 1952)

We also discussed whether the campaign (for Defiance of Unjust Laws) should follow Gandhian principles of nonviolence, or what the Mahatma called satyagraha, a nonviolence that seeks to conquer through conversion.

Some argued for nonviolence on purely ethical grounds, saying it was morally superior to any other method. Others said that we should approach this issue not from the point of view of principles but tactics, and that we should employ the method or tactic demanded by the conditions. If a particular method or tactic enabled us to defeat the enemy, then it should be used. In this case, the state was far more powerful than we, and any attempts at violence by us would be devastatingly crushed. This made nonviolence a practical necessity rather than an option. This was my view....
Content Notes:
- Because Gandhi was in jail, the Dharasana Salt Raid was conducted by Sarojini Naidu, the famous Indian poetess (see note at bottom of document). Gandhi's second son was in the first line of marchers. This scene is powerfully depicted in the Ben Kingsley film Gandhi.
- The Dharasana Salt Raid was not really a raid but a protest against the salt tax which the British imposed on India, a tax which over a year’s time was equal to three days wages for the average Indian. The brutal response of 400 Indian policemen under the command of British officers tested Gandhi's non-violence philosophy to the limit. Remarkably, Gandhi's followers never retaliated. On this day, it has been said, England lost all claim to the moral high ground.
- Gandhi was very strict with his followers about the correct way to conduct the campaign for India's independence. To show his followers he was displeased with something they had done, Gandhi often called off a campaign he'd begun or conducted a fast or both. He called these "faasts unto death" because he was telling his supporters he would die if they did not change. He saw what they were doing as holy work, and he expected them to behave accordingly. In his lifetime, Gandhi went on 16 fasts for a total of 130 days. Always these were fasts to keep his own followers in line. Gandhi never fasted to influence British behavior.
- The photograph shows the Dharasana protesters moments before they marched on the salt works. Notice the almost military-like discipline and order of the marchers, many who moments later would be seriously beaten with steel clubs. None of the protesters retaliated.

Teaching Tips:
- Have students read Documents 4, 5, and 6 as a group. Ask them to identify the idea common to the three documents. (Non-violence was to be practiced despite the cost; discipline by volunteers was crucial to success.)
- What label could be given to this analytical category? (The Need for Discipline)
- Why do students feel discipline was essential at the Dharasana Salt Works?
- Ask students if they believe they would have been able to maintain total discipline at Dharasana? What would that have entailed? (not so much as lifting a hand to ward off blows)
- Share with students the information given in the third Content Note. Was Gandhi going too far, or was he just being smart to be so insistent about discipline?
- Ask if there are causes today where students would be willing to practice the same courage and discipline.
Document 4


The Dharasana Salt Works, 150 Miles North of Bombay, India

(May, 1930)

Mme. Naidu called for prayer before the march started and the entire assemblage knelt. She exhorted them: “Gandhi’s body is in jail but his soul is with you. India’s prestige is in your hands. You must not use any violence under any circumstances. You will be beaten but you must not resist; you must not even raise a hand to ward off blows.” Wild, shrill cheers terminated her speech.

In complete silence the Gandhi men drew up and halted a hundred yards from the stockade [surrounding the Dharasana Salt Works].... Suddenly, at a word of command, scores of native police rushed upon the advancing marchers and rained blows on their heads with their steel-shod [clubs]. Not one of the marchers even raised an arm to fend off the blows.... The survivors without breaking ranks silently and doggedly marched on until struck down.... The blankets used as stretchers were sodden with blood.

At times the spectacle of unresisting men being methodically bashed into a bloody pulp sickened me so much that I had to turn away. The western mind finds it difficult to grasp the idea of nonresistance.

Note: Mme. Naidu was a well-known Indian poetess who was to take Gandhi’s place should he be arrested. The author of this document, Webb Miller, was a foreign correspondent present at both the raid and the hospital where the wounded (320 injured and two dead) were taken afterwards. This is the report he filed.

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Protesters preparing to march in Dharasana.
Document 5: Birmingham

Content Notes:
- This excerpt from King’s autobiography takes place on the eve of his arrest for leading a protest in Birmingham in defiance of a court injunction not to march. The arrest resulted in ten days in jail and produced one of King’s most brilliant pieces of writing, “A Letter from Birmingham Jail,” in which he defended civil disobedience.
- In his Autobiography, Dr. King described one encounter in his own ranks:

...a group of us packed into four automobiles and made our way to that desolate spot on Highway 51 where James Meredith (the young black student who integrated the University of Mississippi in 1962) had been shot the day before....

As we walked down the meandering highway in the sweltering heat, there was much talk and many questions were raised.

“I’m not for that nonviolence stuff any more,” shouted one of the younger activists.

“If one of those damn crackers touches me, I’m gonna knock the hell out of him,” shouted another.

...I tried to make it clear that besides opposing violence on principle, I could imagine nothing more impractical and disastrous than for any of us...to precipitate a violent confrontation in Mississippi.

Teaching Tips:
- What element in the arsenal of non-violent action does this document demonstrate? (The need for discipline)
- Was King asking his followers in Birmingham to do anything more than Gandhi was asking his followers to do at the salt works?
- What did King regard as his most formidable weapon? (Being right)
- When King asked his followers to give up their weapons, many small knives were surrendered. With good reason, the followers had been concerned about attacks by police dogs. Knowing this, would you have given up your pocket knife?
- How might the students prepare themselves mentally and physically for these protests?
- Why might singing help?
- Was disciplined non-resistance in Birmingham, Alabama, necessary to the success of the movement to end Jim Crow laws? Why?

Document 6: “Discipline must be maintained....”

Content Notes:
- This instruction was given by Mandela on the eve of a civil disobedience action against six laws designed to set apartheid firmly in place. In these early years Mandela had mixed feelings about non-violence, but here he is obviously supporting it.
- During apartheid, South Africa placed its people in four racial categories: White, Black, Indian, and Coloured. Coloured included anyone who was biracial.

Teaching Tips:
- What is the main idea of this document? (Discipline by volunteers must be maintained no matter what.)
- What precisely did Mandela mean by disciplined behavior? (Absolute non-retaliation. If somebody hit you, you must not hit back.)
- Refer students to the Background Essay. Do Mandela’s words in Document I square with his position as head of Umkhonto? (No. Mandela took a more practical position on non-violence than either Gandhi or King.)
- What do students think requires more courage, violent response to oppression or a disciplined non-violent response to oppression? Why?
- Ask students to compare the Mandela quote with Documents 4 and 5. Does Mandela’s position on discipline seem any different from Gandhi’s and King’s? (Not really.)
- Return students to the big analytical question: What made non-violence work? Do students believe that disciplined behavior by movement followers, in this case the absolute refusal to strike back, is an essential element? Ask them to explain their feelings.
Document 5

Source: Martin Luther King, *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, Reprinted by arrangement with the Estate of Martin Luther King Jr., o/o Writers House as agent for the proprietor, New York, NY. Copyright 1967 Martin Luther King Jr., copyright renewed 1995 Coretta Scott King.

**Birmingham, Alabama**

(April, 1963)

Toward the end of our mass meetings ... I would extend an appeal for volunteers to serve in our non-violent army. We made it clear that we would not send anyone out to demonstrate who had not convinced himself that he could accept and endure violence without retaliating. At the same time, we urged the volunteers to give up any possible weapons that they might have on their persons. Hundreds of people responded to this appeal.... We proved to them that we needed no weapons - not so much as a toothpick. We proved that we had the most formidable weapon of all - the conviction that we were right.

*Note:* King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference followers began a drive to end segregation in Birmingham in the spring of 1963. Despite King’s determination to conduct a non-violent march the protesters were met by police chief “Bull” Connor and his men, cattle prods, fierce dogs, and fire hoses.

Document 6


**Johannesburg, South Africa**

(April, 1952)

I explained to a group of several hundred Africans, Indians, and Coloured that volunteering (for the Defiance of Unjust Laws campaign) was a difficult and even dangerous duty, as the authorities would seek to intimidate, imprison, and perhaps attack the volunteers. No matter what the authorities did, the volunteers could not retaliate, otherwise they would undermine the value of the entire enterprise. They must respond to violence with nonviolence; discipline must be maintained at all cost.
Document 7: Vegetable Days

Content Notes:
- This document relates to Gandhi's first non-violent campaign and his first jail sentence, in South Africa, for the public burning of passbooks.
- Gandhi apparently loved being in jail. There he could catch up on his correspondence, reading and sleep.
- Gandhi was not the only one who logged time in jail. So did his followers. Sixty thousand "political offenders" filled the jails after the Salt March.

Teaching Tips:
- You might want to have students look at Documents 7, 8, and 9 as a cluster. It should be readily apparent that the non-violent tactic common to all three movements was the willingness by the leaders to go to jail.
- Clarify why Gandhi, who is known mostly for his role in bringing independence to India, is writing here about jail time in South Africa. (Gandhi spent his early adult years working for the rights of Indians living in South Africa. Refer to Background Essay.)
- What does Gandhi's description of a "vegetable day" tell students about how Gandhi regarded his jail time? (He is happy and peaceful. "Vegetable Days" has almost a picnic quality to it.)
- How does a leader's willingness to go to jail help a movement become successful? For example, what effect might it have on followers? (Followers may be more willing to sacrifice if their leader is willing.) What effect might it have on adversaries? (Adversaries might be impressed by the protesters' resolve and therefore be more willing to change.)

Document 8: "People had rushed down to get arrested."

Content Notes:
- The judge at the Montgomery trial was Eugene Carter. The proceedings lasted four days before the defendants were all found guilty. Judge Carter gave King the minimum penalty, a fine of $500 and court costs or 386 days' hard labor in Montgomery County, because of what he had done to prevent violence. King chose the first option and his followers paid his fine.
- In front of the courthouse, King supporters, news photographers and TV cameramen waited. In celebration of the moment and for the benefit of the media, King led his supporters in singing "We ain't gonna ride the busses no more."

Teaching Tips:
- What were the two penalty choices handed King by the judge? ($500 fine or 386 days in jail)
- Share the first Content Note with students. Ask them if they think King made the right choice in having his followers pay his $500 fine rather than going to jail.
- Does Document 8 suggest that actually doing jail time may not be essential to leading a successful movement?
Document 7


**Johannesburg, South Africa (January, 1908)**

I had just heard (that my fellow Indian protesters) had been sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labor, and had been fined a heavy amount. If these men had committed an offense, I had committed a greater offense and I therefore asked the Magistrate to impose upon me the heaviest penalty. I well remembered that I did not feel the slightest hesitation in entering the prisoner's box.

On vegetable days which were two in a week we cooked twice and on other days only once, as we were allowed to cook other things for ourselves only for the noonday meal. We were somewhat better off after we began to cook our own food. But whether or not we succeeded in obtaining these conveniences, everyone of us was firm in his resolution of passing his term in jail in perfect happiness and peace.

Note: Gandhi spent a total of 2,338 days in jail.

Document 8

Source: Martin Luther King, *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, Reprinted by arrangement with the Estate of Martin Luther King Jr., c/o Writers House as agent for the proprietor, New York, NY. Copyright 1967 Martin Luther King Jr., copyright renewed 1995 Corretta Scott King.

**Montgomery, Alabama (March, 1956)**

At the jail, an almost holiday atmosphere prevailed. People had rushed down to get arrested [for their part in the Montgomery bus boycott]. No one had been frightened. No one had tried to resist arrest. Many Negroes had gone voluntarily to the sheriff’s office to see if their names were on the list, and were even disappointed when they were not. A once fear-ridden people had been transformed. Those who had previously trembled before the law were now proud to be arrested for the cause of freedom. With this feeling of solidarity around me, I walked with firm steps toward the rear of the jail.

Note: King was arrested 37 times and jailed 14 times.
Document 9: "...we would not appeal...."

Content Notes:

- Mandela was in the process of studying for his law exams which would fail a few days before the Rivonia trial verdict. His guards told him that he wouldn't "need a law degree where he was going," but Mandela continued to study because he "did not want to consider the alternative." *(Long Walk to Freedom, p. 372)*

- The harsh verdicts that Mandela and his compatriots were given signaled that the government intended to make an example of them. The judge fully expected Mandela and the others to appeal, which, they had decided, would only undermine the moral stance they were taking. If the death sentence were given, that would be occasion for a long speech Mandela had prepared.

- Mandela knew Walter Sisulu from his earliest days in Johannesburg. On page 95 of *Long Walk to Freedom*, Mandela talks about their friendship:

  I have mentioned many of the people who influenced me, but more and more I came under the wise tutorage of Walter Sisulu. Walter was strong, reasonable, practical, and dedicated. He never lost his head in a crisis; he was often silent when others were shouting. He believed that the ANC was the means to effect change in South Africa, the repository of black hopes and aspirations. Sometimes one can judge an organization by the people who belong to it, and I knew I would be proud to belong to any organization in which Walter was a member.

- Govan Mbeki, longtime friend and confidant of Mandela, is described this way in *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 186:

  I knew his work, for as a student I had read his booklet "The Transkei in the Making." Govan was serious, thoughtful, and soft-spoken, equally at home in the world of scholarship and the world of political activism. He had been deeply involved in the planning of the Congress of the People and was destined to the highest levels of leadership in the organization.

Teaching Tips:

- Share with students the second Content Note. Considering the main question of this DBQ, *What made non-violence work?*, is receiving a harsh penalty from the judge worse than or better than the minimum penalty King received in Document 8? Why?

- During the Rivonia trial which lasted several months, there were, among other protests, night-long vigils for Mandela and his friends at St. Paul's Cathedral in London. Must willingness to go to jail or the gallows be widely known for it to be effective?
Rivonia, South Africa
(June, 1964)

That night, after discussion among ourselves, Walter, Govan, and I informed counsel that whatever sentences we received, even the death sentence, we would not appeal. Our decision stunned our lawyers. Walter, Govan and I believed an appeal would undermine the moral stance we had taken. We had from the first maintained that what we had done, we had done proudly, and for moral reasons.... Our message was that no sacrifice was too great in the struggle for freedom.

... If we were sentenced to death, what then would happen? ... I told (my counsel) that I would have a lot to say. I would tell (Judge) de Wet that I was prepared to die secure in the knowledge that my death would be an inspiration to the cause for which I was giving my life. My death – our deaths – would not be in vain; if anything we might serve the greater cause in death as martyrs than we ever could in life.

Source: Photo by Jürgen Schadeberg.
Document 10: Salting the Lion’s Tail cartoon

Content Notes:
• This caricature was done by an Italian artist, who used the theme of the Salt March to convey a sympathetic view of Gandhi. Gandhi is shaking salt on the tail of a very gentle lion, a traditional symbol for Great Britain. Cartoons about Gandhi’s movement to bring independence to India were very mixed, depending on the conservative or liberal bent of the newspaper.

• Gandhi felt himself to be a failure. Two nations, not one, were given home rule by England. And because some Hindus lived in the predominately Muslim areas now called Pakistan, and some Muslims lived in the predominately Hindu areas now called India, there was a great deal of bitter upheaval, leading to fighting and killing. Gandhi blamed himself, and undertook a fast of seven days, from which he came near to dying. But Gandhi’s actual death was at the hands of a Hindu assassin who shot him in the chest as the holy man was on his way to prayers one evening. It is important to realize that Hindus, Hinduism being the formal religion of Gandhi, thought he was giving too much away.

• Here is what Louis Fischer has to say on page 176 of his book Gandhi concerning Gandhi’s success:

Like all human beings, Gandhi must be measured by what he wanted: he wanted one indivisible nation led and peopled by big individuals, free and unafraid in a world similarly constituted. He would not accept less than that. In the last year of his life, therefore, Gandhi must be measured by what he did not want. His goal had never been the ejection of the British and substitution of government by Indians. Two-part independence sired by religion out of hate and power lust and delivered in a pool of blood gave him no pleasure.

• Despite all that Gandhi was not able to accomplish, he is regarded as the father of modern India.

Teaching Tips:
• Have students discuss: Perhaps the most important aspect of political cartooning is to recognize the humor or the absurdity or the pathos of a situation. What are some of the aspects of Gandhi’s campaign for Indian independence that could be cartooned?

• Ask students to guess what the main symbols in this cartoon are. (Britain is often depicted as a lion. This lion is small and content, like a house cat. The salt shaker, of course, suggests the Salt March. Gandhi is shown sitting down with a little smile on his face. He seems gentle, like the lion.)

• What is Gandhi’s relationship with the lion? Did Gandhi regard the British as “the enemy”?

• Give students the information contained in the second and third Content Notes. Have them evaluate the relative success of Gandhi.

• Does it matter how the rest of the world saw Gandhi? Was it a necessary part of his non-violent movement to have the sympathies of the rest of the world?
Salting the Lion's Tail

This cartoon shows Gandhi salting the tail of the British lion.
Document 11: March on Washington button

Content Notes:

- American journalists were reluctant to make a cartoon figure of King as they didn't want to appear disrespectful of him. This is a rare situation for any public figure, and still rarer for someone who wants to introduce radical change, as King did.

- The "I Have a Dream" speech delivered at the 1963 March on Washington is generally considered King's finest moment. It brought the struggle for civil rights into the national arena by showing that the battle waged mostly in the South for "public rights," was also being fought in the North for "private advancement." Certainly, of all the words that King wrote or spoke, the ones from his "I Have a Dream" speech are the most familiar to Americans.

- The question of whether King was successful in achieving his goal is addressed by Gunnar Jahn, the chairman of the Nobel Committee for 1964, the year that King received the Prize:

  [Martin Luther King] is the first person in the Western world to have shown us that a struggle can be waged without violence. He is the first to make his message of brotherly love a reality in the course of his struggle, and he has brought this message to all men, to all nations and races.

Teaching Tips:

- Share the information in the first Content Note with the students. Have them discuss whether they agree that printing a cartoon of King might be seen as disrespectful. Might there also be a concern on the part of a newspaper for sales and lawsuits? Might newspapers be showing consideration about who their readership was? What does all this have to do with non-violence? (Three areas where pressure can be brought to bear in a non-violent movement are conscience, profits and politics.)

- Have students describe what they see in the button. Does the message of the button square with the words of Martin Luther King in the quote below?

- Was embracing the enemy important to the success of the civil rights movement in America? Explain.
"I have a dream
that one day on the red hills of Georgia
the sons of former slaves
and the sons of former slave owners
will be able to sit down together
at a table of brotherhood."

Martin Luther King, August 28, 1963
Document 12: “And the winners are ...” cartoon

Content Notes:

• The cartoonist, New York-based Ranan Lurie, was born in what is now Israel.
• The cartoon in this document suggests that Nelson Mandela was able to achieve something which Gandhi was not, namely the bringing together of two groups of people.
• The issue of whether Mandela was successful is one he discusses in his autobiography: “On the evening of May 2, Mr. De Klerk made a gracious concession speech. After more than three centuries of rule, the white minority was conceding defeat and turning over power to the black majority.”
• To the quote under the cartoon, Mandela adds:
   I knew as well as I knew anything that the oppressor must be liberated just as surely as the oppressed... When I walked out of my prison, that was my mission, to liberate the oppressed and the oppressor both. Some say that has now been achieved. But I know that is not the case. The truth is that we are not yet free; we have merely achieved the freedom to be free, the right not to be oppressed. We have not taken the final step of our journey, but the first step on a longer and more difficult road. For to be free is not merely to cast off our chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others. The true test to our devotion to freedom is just beginning.

• Mandela invited King’s widow, Coretta Scott King, to his inauguration celebration as he tells us on page 619 of his autobiography:
   That evening, the ANC was planning a victory celebration at the ballroom of the Carlton Hotel in downtown Johannesburg... Mrs. Coretta Scott King, the wife of the great freedom fighter, was on the podium that night (as I told the assembled crowd), “You have shown such a calm, patient determination to reclaim this country as your own, and now (with) joy...we can loudly proclaim from the rooftops – Free at last! Free at last!”

Teaching Tips:

• Reading political cartoons accurately is an art. What is this cartoon saying with the boxing glove metaphor? With the two different-colored arms? With the caption?
• Ask students to discuss: how important was the objective of bringing together two different groups of people (the “oppressor and the oppressed” as Mandela refers to them in his autobiography) for Mandela? for South Africa? for King? for the United States? for Gandhi? for India?
• Was uniting the oppressor and the oppressed a necessary part of non-violence?
"It was during those long, lonely (prison) years that my hunger for the freedom of my own people became a hunger for the freedom of all people, black and white."

Nelson Mandela
# DBQ Rubric

**Document Based Question**  
**Score Scale 0-21**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Core</th>
<th>Points</th>
<th>Expanded Core</th>
<th>Points</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Introduction</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Utilizes a hook/grabber</td>
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<td>2. Incorporates background knowledge</td>
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<td>3. Has an acceptable thesis</td>
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<td><strong>Body Paragraphs</strong></td>
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<td>4. Relates topic sentences to thesis</td>
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<td>Expands beyond the basic core of 1-15. Students must achieve a basic score of 15 before earning ANY expanded core points.</td>
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<td>(1 point per body paragraph)</td>
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<td>(up to 3 points)</td>
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<td>5. Uses all documents</td>
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<td>6. States argument</td>
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<td>7. Provides evidence and demonstrates understanding of the documents by using them to support an argument; may misinterpret no more than one document</td>
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<td>8. Analyzes point of view or bias (if possible in given DBQ)</td>
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<td>9. Document reference (citations)</td>
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<td><strong>Conclusion</strong></td>
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<td>10. Restates thesis</td>
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<td><strong>Conventions</strong></td>
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<td>Grammar, spelling &amp; neatness</td>
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**Subtotal** 18  
**Total 21**