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Thoreau's civil disobedience from Concord, Massachusetts: global impact

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Major wars or battles, political revolutions, scientific breakthroughs, or profound social changes often constitute substantial historical turning points. The nineteenth century was a period of intense struggle for America, wrestling with its identity and unity, the quest for emancipation, and conflicts with Mexico. Amid these turbulent times, an initially inconspicuous essay, "Civil Disobedience," penned in 1849 by a then-unknown Henry David Thoreau, proved to be a turning point that eventually changed the world. The essay provided the framework for a conscience-driven protest, which, when applied on a mass scale, gave the world an effective and non-violent method of war. The power of the voice rooted in conscience and courage, an approach sans violence, inspired "successful" movements across cultures, countries, and time. The essay Civil Disobedience laid the foundation for a conscience-driven, non-violent struggle against injustices that changed the course of human history and remains the best hope for fighting injustices in the future. While less recognized in the annals of popular culture than the political machinations of Machiavelli or the strategic doctrines of Sun Tzu, Thoreau's essay on civil disobedience has wielded a far more profound influence. In a world still riven by conflict and injustice, Thoreau's 1849 essay offered the most impactful turning point in humanity's struggle against injustice. It remains as compelling as ever, offering a blueprint for confronting tyranny not with arms but with the power of human conscience. It serves as a reminder that revolutionary changes sometimes begin with the quietest voice.

KEYWORDS

non-violence, Satyagraha, conflict, Israeli-Palestine conflict, revolution, Nazi

Introduction

On April 6, 1930, The New York Times reported a crisp Associated Press cable: "Mahatma Gandhi manufactured salt from seawater at Dandi this morning, thereby breaking the British law establishing a monopoly on salt manufacture" (see Figure 1; The New York Times, 1930; Mahatma Gandhi Walking to Shoreline during Salt Protest, 2024). This act of rebellion marked the commencement of a mass civil disobedience campaign in India, ultimately contributing to the British Empire's downfall in 1947. This event not only signaled the end of centuries of British dominion but also inspired a wave of non-violent movements and revolutions worldwide over the next century and a half. History is often shaped by singular incidents or anecdotes that precipitate revolutions, wars, or inventions, transforming societies for generations. The foundation for Gandhi's march and the backbone of many subsequent non-violent movements can be traced back to a century earlier and thousands of miles away in the United States (Sinha and Mitra, 2011). In 1849, in the town of Concord, Massachusetts, a then-obscure writer named Henry David Thoreau published a short essay titled "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" (shortened to



FIGURE 1
Mahatma Gandhi and some followers marched to the shore at Dandi to break the unjust British salt laws

Civil Disobedience in later editions) (see Figure 2; On the Duty of Civil Disobedience, 1849; Gandhi, 1983; Resistance to Civil Government, 1849; Thoreau, 2009; Thoreau, 2019). This essay, advocating for a conscience-driven, non-violent resistance to government injustices, laid the groundwork for twentieth-century movements against colonialism, civil rights abuses, communism, and apartheid, significantly altering the course of history (The New York Times, 1930; Mahatma Gandhi Walking to Shoreline during Salt Protest, 2024). The central tenet of Thoreau's essay provided a framework and inspiration that continues to influence contemporary movements, demonstrating the power of an idea - an essay - to turn the course of history.

Throughout human history, the struggle against oppression has been a recurring theme, often manifesting as violent or armed resistance. However, a different voice emerged in mid-nineteenth century America, advocating for an alternative approach. This voice was that of Henry David Thoreau, an American writer, activist, and environmentalist, whose seminal essay "Civil Disobedience" redefined resistance to government injustices as an act of conscience and courage (Walls, 2017). He presented a novel method of protest that relies on personal integrity and non-violence (Walls, 2017).

While the historical roots of nonviolent resistance can be traced back to the peaceful philosophies of ancient India, including Jain and Buddhist traditions, the secession of the Plebs, and the stoic defiance of early Christians against the Roman Empire, it was Thoreau's articulation in "Civil Disobedience" that provided a clear blueprint for nonviolent resistance, influencing the course of modern history (Walls, 2017). According to Hegel, history is a dialectic process where the synthesis of opposing ideas fosters new understandings and advancements for humanity (Hegel and Sibree, 2004). Thoreau's work exemplifies this process, transforming the notion of resistance on its

head from a violent struggle to a method of non-violence rooted in conscience (Thoreau and Meltzer, 1963). The context and legacy of "Civil Disobedience" serve as a reminder of the importance of learning from pivotal historical events. By understanding the shifts that have shaped our past, we can better comprehend our present and forge a path toward a more just and peaceful future.

Thoreau and civil disobedience

Thoreau was sui generis, a gadfly of his times. Critics, both during Thoreau's life and in the years following, often focused more on his personality than his ideas (Walls, 2017; Thoreau and Meltzer, 1963). He lived during the ascent of the Transcendentalist movement, challenging conventional views on religion and society (Schreiner, 2006; Buell, 2006). Known for advocating simple living in his book, "Walden, "Thoreau was far from an isolated figure; he was actively involved in the era's pressing concerns (Walls, 2017; Richardson and Moser, 1988).

In the tumultuous 1840s and 1850s, the United States grappled with the Mexican-American War, the moral and political implications of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and teetered on the brink of Civil War. Thoreau was a staunch supporter of the anti-slavery movement; he supported radical abolitionist John Brown and the Underground Railroad (Walls, 2017; Richardson and Moser, 1988). He viewed the American war with Mexico as unjust and believed that it would extend slavery's reach (Walls, 2017). He protested these government policies by not paying taxes for 6 years. He instead courted arrest as an act of defiance and public statement (Walls, 2017; Thoreau and Meltzer, 1963; Richardson and Moser, 1988). When Ralph Waldo Emerson visited him in jail, he questioned, "David, what are you doing there?" Thoreau

"Civil Disobedience" (Abridged) ~ (1849) by Henry David Thoreau

I HEARTILY ACCEPT the monto, — That government is best which governs lears; and should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systemsically. Carried out, it family amounts to this, which also I believe propered for it, all will be the kind of government which key will have Government is at best but an expedient; but most government are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient. The objections which have been brought against a standing army, and they are many and weighty, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient. The objections which have been brought against a standing government deserve to prevail, may also at last be brought against a standing government exceeds the standing and the standing government itself, which is only the mode which the people have chosen to execute their will, it equally halls to be abused and povered before the people can act through it. Witness the present Mexican war, the work of comparatively as for individuals using the standing government as their tool comparatively as for individuals using the standing government as their tool

But, to speak practically and as a citizen, unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask for, not at once no government, but at once a better government. Let every man make known what kind of government

After all, the practical reason why, when the power is once in the hands of the people, a majority are permitted, and for a long period continue, to rule, is not because they are most likely to be in the right, nor because this seems interest to the minority, but because they are physically the entropers. But a face that the properties of the propertie

which followed them out again without let or hindrance, and they were really all that was dangerous. As they could not reach me, they had resolved to punish my body, just as boys, if they cannot come at some person against whom they have a spite, will abuse his dog. I saw that the State was half-witted, that it was timed as a lone woman with the sities respons, and that it did not know its friends from its foes, and I lost all my remaining respect for it, and pitied it.

Thus the State never intentionally confronts a man's sense, intellectual or mornal, but only his bood, his senses. It is not armed with superior wit or concept, but with superior physical strength. I was not born to be forced. I become the superior physical strength. I was not born to be forced. I become the superior physical strength. I was not born to be forced. I become the superior physical strength. I become the superior physical strength of the superior physical strength

FIGURE 2

Henry D. Thoreau's essay "Civil Disobedience".

soldiers, colored, capstais, corporal, privates, powder-monkeys, and all, marching in adminishe order over hild adds to the wars, against their wilks, ay, against their common sense and consciences, which makes it very wilks, ay, against their common sense and consciences, which makes it very estimating indicates, and produces a palpitation of the heart. They have no pacecably inclined. Now, what are they? Men at all? or small movable forst and magazines, at the service of some unempropleous man in power Private Navy Yard, and behold a marine, such a man as an American government can make, or such as it can make a maw with its black arts — a mere shadow and reminiscence of humanity, a man taid out alive and standing, and and reminiscence of humanity, a man taid out alive and standing, and

"Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note As his corse to the rampart we hurried; Not a soldier discharged his farewell sho O'er the grave where our here we have a

The mass of rem serve the state thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies. They are the standing many, and the militial silence, constables, passe constitute, etc. In most cases there is no free exercise whatever of the judgment out of the mental sense; but they gut themselves on a manufactured that will serve the purpose as well. Such command no more respect than men of stars or a lamp of eff. They have the same sort of worth only as horses and dogs. Yet such as these even are commonly esteemed only as former, and they are the same of the bodies, server the same of policitains, bowyers, mainteens, and office bodies, not the same policitains, bodies, and as they arely office bodies, not the same policitains, bodies, mainteens and office bodies, not the same policitains, bodies, mainteens and office bodies, not the same policitains, bodies, and as they arely manufacting it, as God. A very few, as horses, patiests, marriary, reformers in the great sense, and sens, serve the state with their consciences also, and so mocessarily resist if for the most part, and they are commonly treated as

rijust laws exist; shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to menned them, and obey threm until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress seen at once? Men generally, under such a government as this, think that every ought to wait until they have persuaded the majority to alter them. They sink that, if they should resist, the remedy would be worse than the evil. But sink that, or the sink of the sink that, or the sink of the sink of the sink of the sink that of the sink of the sink of the sink that of the sink of sink before it is hurt? Why does it not encourage its citizens to be on the alert to point out its faults, and do better than it would have them? Why does it always crucify Christ, and excommunicate Copernicus and Luther, and pronounce Washington and Franklin rebels?...

If the injunities is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government left in go, left in go, perchance it will were smooth—certainly the machine will were out. If the injunities has a spring, or a pulley, or a rope, or a crask, exclusively for itself, then perhaps you may consider whether the remedy will not be swore than the end; but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another; then, it say, yread the law. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine. What I have to do it so see, at any

I men this American government, or in representative, the State government, of merchy, and free to leave, once a year — non-one— in the person of its standerictly, and free to leave, once a year — non-one— in the person of its standerictly, and free to leave the state of treating with it on this back, of expressing your little satisfaction with and two for it, is to day it leas. My viril satisfact, the tate gathers; in the very personner of the state. My viril satisfact, the tate gathers; in the very personner that it quarrit — and le has volutatively chosen to be an agent of the government. How shall here ver know well what he is and does a sufficient of the government, or as a man, until he is oblighed to consider whether he shall reser to. In a length for, the whom has respect, and see of the caperative through the state of the state o

Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison. The proper place to-day, the only place which Massachusetts has provided for her freer and less desponding spirits, is in her prisons, to be untertual and locked out of the State hole per out at an allocked out of the State hole per out at an expense.

bready put thomselves out by their principles. It is there that the flagility leave, and the Mexica princered purpose, and the foliation come to pished the verage of this race, should find them; on that separate, but more five and servings of this race, should find them; on that separate, but more five and servings of this race, should find them; on that separate, but more five and the serving of the serving

have paid to poll-tax for its years. I was put into a juil once on his second, froe on high, and, all node condensing the walls of reloid atone, we or three feet thick, the above of social and iron, a foot thick, and the iron was of the reloid to the poll-tax of the pol

famously replied, "Ralph, what are you doing out there?"—a moment that epitomized his civil disobedience approach as a conscience-driven resistance against the state (Buell, 2006; Lysaker and Rossi, 2010).

He was released early by his aunt's intervention, and his incarceration was largely symbolic. He later transformed his reflections on the experience into an essay in 1849, initially titled "Resistance to Civil Government" and later posthumously reprinted as "Civil Disobedience" (On the Duty of Civil Disobedience, 1849; Resistance to Civil Government, 1849; Walls, 2017). The essay represented his joie de guerre against tyranny. It was a call for resistance unlike any before, urging resistance through conscience and non-violent disobedience. The words, "How does it become a man to behave toward this American government today?" remain relevant today (The New York Times, 1930; Walls, 2017; Thoreau and Meltzer, 1963; Richardson and Moser, 1988). Filled with candid dissent, the essay was intellectual yet accessible, though it did not gain immediate impact. It remained a minor ripple in New England's history until 1907 when Mahatma Gandhi discovered it and integrated its principles into his struggle against colonialism (Gandhi, 1983). From then on, it cemented its place as a significant turning point in history that laid the foundation of global movements against injustice.

Civil disobedience and Gandhi's Satyagraha movement

Thoreau's singular essay on Civil Disobedience provided the intellectual backbone for the iconic nonviolent resistance movements that shaped the world in the last century and a half. Gandhi discovered Thoreau's essay in 1907 as he was building his nascent methods of

protest against the British colonial government in South Africa (Gandhi, 1983; Plato et al., 2012). He first experimented and corresponded with Leo Tolstoy during his struggle in South Africa. While in India, he molded and perfected Thoreau's principles of civil disobedience into a mass movement called "Satyagraha" to fight against British colonial rule (Sinha and Mitra, 2011; Gandhi, 1983). The world outside India saw and heard firsthand about the power of Thoreau's essay when it was applied on a mass scale during the Dandi Salt in April 1930 (see Figure 1; Mahatma Gandhi Walking to Shoreline during Salt Protest, 2024; Plato et al., 2012). The multiple arrests and jail times that Gandhi courted through his decades-long struggle against British colonial rule in India mirrored Thoreau's protest in Concord in 1848. Gandhi used a variation of the direct quote from Thoreau's essay as he was imprisoned following the Dandi March: "For a government which imprisons any unjustly the true place for a just man is also a prison" (Gandhi, 1983).

Gandhi famously remarked, "The only tyrant I accept in this world is the still voice within," which clearly echoes Thoreau's emphasis on individual conscience (Gandhi, 1983). Perhaps nowhere is it more explicitly stated than in his own words when Gandhi acknowledged, "I am indebted to Thoreau's essay on civil disobedience for the formation of my own thoughts on the subject" (Gandhi, 1983).

Gandhi's legacy of civil disobedience on King and Mandela

Years later, in the 1960s, across the globe, at home in the U.S., Martin Luther King Jr. adopted a Thoreau-inspired, Gandhian strategy

of civil disobedience to combat racial segregation (Walls, 2017). King's nonviolent civil disobedience protests, such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Birmingham Campaign in 1963, reflect the principles espoused in Thoreau's essay, "A Statewould prepare the way for a still more perfect and glorious State, which also I have imagined, but not yet anywhere seen" (The New York Times, 1930). It is vividly demonstrated in King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail" that it is a moral imperative to resist unjust laws. King's own words, "Noncooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good," in fighting racial segregation is congruent with Thoreau's emphasis on conscience to fight against unjust laws of slavery in 1849 (Walls, 2017; King, 2024).

Nelson Mandela is an iconic leader and a global inspiration for his battle against apartheid. Initially, Mandela embraced non-violent methods before shifting to violent resistance (Mandela et al., 2010). However, it was his return to non-violent tactics that ultimately changed the apartheid-torn South African society. Like Gandhi, Mandela's struggle against a racist regime was girded by personal conscience and moral integrity. Both were lawyers and spent time in the same Johannesburg's Old Fort prison—Gandhi in 1906 and Mandela in 1962. However, unlike Gandhi, Mandela abandoned his initial non-violent approach to resistance against the apartheid regime and joined the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1961. "Nonviolent passive resistance is effective as long as your opposition adheres to the same rules as you do," Mandela stated as a reason for the pivot in resisting apartheid (Mandela et al., 2010). This move toward armed struggle led to his involvement in the Rivonia Trial and subsequent imprisonment in 1964. Mandela's 27-year incarceration, initially at Robben Island prison, captured the world's imagination. During his Robben Island incarceration, he read the works of Gandhi, Thoreau, and other classics and recommitted to the power of non-violent disobedience (Mandela et al., 2010). This philosophical shift not only marked his post-incarceration approach and presidency but also influenced the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee. Mandela's embrace of the principles of morality, conscience, and non-violence in combating apartheid and its aftermath is a critical aspect of his legacy. He acknowledged the profound impact of these ideals in his autobiography, Long Walk to Freedom, highlighting the philosophical foundations that guided his leadership.

Impact of civil disobedience in the late twentieth century

In 1989, Václav Havel successfully led the non-violent Sametová revoluce (Velvet Revolution) against a despotic regime of Communist rulers in Czechoslovakia (see Figure 3; Mitchell, 2012; Prague, 1989). It was based on nonviolence and individual conscience and was inspired by Gandhi's movement and, ultimately, Thoreau. The Communist rulers repeatedly imprisoned him for decades until he engineered the fall of the regime. The influence of Thoreau's essay and the principle of individual conscience in civil resistance was articulated in one of Havel's famous essays, "Politics and Conscience," from 1984 (Havel and Wilson, 2018). Havel's quote, ".... While the state is a human creation, human rights are the creation of God," is a direct variation of Thoreau's essay when he says, "State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power" (Havel and Wilson, 2018). He made a compelling case for conscience-driven

change that comes from the dignified human "I" (Mitchell, 2012; Havel and Wilson, 2018). Havel's Velvet Revolution was the first of the "Color revolutions," a series of non-violent government changes that took place in post-Soviet states like Georgia, Ukraine, and Yugoslavia during the early 21st century (Blaisdell, 2016; May, 2015). Thus, the principles for these Color revolutions echo Thoreau's civil disobedience.

Discussion

The reverberations of Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience" extend beyond these iconic figures and into the twentieth-century and the current-century struggles against the iron grip of communism and dictatorships. The movements led by leaders like Lech Walesa in Poland, Aung San Suu Kyi in Myanmar, and the Dalai Lama in Tibet all bear the hallmarks of Thoreau's civil disobedience (Havel and Wilson, 2018; May, 2015; Chenoweth, 2021). They showed that cooperative action initiated by conscience-driven individuals is a formidable force of change that turns history.

Nonetheless, significant questions remain and are oft debated whether the principle of Thoreau-inspired civil disobedience will work against regimes that are willing to be violent, genocidal, and do not respect fundamental human rights, in other words, like the Nazi regime or brutal dictatorships. Will it be effective in today's complex, interconnected world with abundant, unverifiable information and short attention spans? Over the past two decades, scholar and social scientist Erica Chenoweth has meticulously researched and analyzed these questions (Chenoweth and Stephan, 2012). She reaches a compelling conclusion: non-violent civil resistance outperforms violent uprisings in the long term, preserving human lives and achieving success. Chenoweth emphasizes that, although Thoreau champions civil disobedience as an individual stance against unjust government, its maximum potential to drive change requires collective, cooperative, coordinated, and sustained effort (Chenoweth and Stephan, 2012).

Furthermore, while Nazi Germany was an extreme situation, Thoreau's principles succeeded against colonialism, communism, apartheid, and dictatorships. It should be noted that these, too, were brutal regimes and were not some enlightened but misguided governments. In the case of Nazi Germany, the internal resistance attempts against Hitler were small, ill-coordinated, fractured, and primarily involved armed approaches (Hoffmann, 1996). Germany had no large-scale, coherent, and sustained non-violent resistance movements (Chenoweth, 2021; Hoffmann, 1996). However, such non-violent resistance was applied against Nazism successfully, outside of Germany, in Denmark, and Norway, which resulted in the prevention of what might have been mass slaughters (Levine, 2000). Civil disobedience also appears to have failed against the Communist government of China. This was most iconically symbolized by the 1989 June Fourth incident, also known as the Tiananmen Square protests (see Figure 4; Tiananmen Square Agitation, 2024). A similar lack of effectiveness was also seen in the protest against the regime that the Hong Kong Federation of Students led in 2014-2015. The reasons for the failure, Chenoweth contends, are the lack of cohesion, organization, sustenance, and the eventual petering out of the protests in the wake of violent suppression tactics by the regime. She suggests that for a non-violent disobedience movement to succeed, it will require organized and charismatic leadership that is sustained over the years and does not cower in the wake of brutal



FIGURE 3

The balcony from which the persecuted civil rights activist and later president Václav Havel spoke to hundreds of thousands on Wenceslas Square in Prague in the autumn of 1989.



FIGURE 4
The iconic image of a solitary student protestor standing up against the military might of the Communist dictatorship in China from the 1989
Tiananmen Square protests.

suppression. Thus, short-term non-violent disobedience may fail even if it is intense and iconic. Her work provides historical evidence that over the long arc of struggles against tyranny, the sustained, coordinated, and large-scale implementation of Thoreau's principles is more likely to succeed than violent uprisings.

Similarly, can Thoreau's non-violent civil resistance solve one of the most intractable political issues: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and a war that is raging currently? Historical evidence suggests that Thoreau's principles may offer the best chance even in the confines and the context of the specific conflict. Historical evidence points to significant progress and optimism following non-violent Palestinian protests (the first intifada) in response to the killing of 17-year-old

Mohammed Abu Sisi in 1987, which directly contributed to the Oslo Accord between Rabin and Arafat (Kober, 2014). While the future cannot be known with certainty, the Thoreau-inspired turning point in history might yet offer the best solution if applied sustainably and cooperatively.

Thoreau's influence extends beyond governmental protest to environmental movements, labor rights, resistance against gun culture, education, and LGBTQ rights, demonstrated by figures such as Greta Thunberg, Cesar Chavez, Sandy Hook parents, Malala Yousafzai, and Harvey Milk, respectively (Chenoweth, 2021). The space constraints limit a detailed discussion of Thoreau's influence on these movements, but his legacy is undeniably profound.

While political writings often become dated, confined to their specific time and context, Thoreau's essay transcends these limitations, fostering a timeless dialogue that continues to inspire and adapt to the challenges of new injustices. Thoreau's essay, which began as a small ripple in 1849, has created lasting reverberations. It represents a significant historical turning point, introducing a revolutionary method to combat the injustice that challenges our evolutionary primal instinct for violence to settle differences. The world emerged as a much better place for that.

Data availability statement

The original contributions presented in the study are included in the article/supplementary material, further inquiries can be directed to the corresponding author.

Author contributions

SR: Conceptualization, Formal analysis, Investigation, Methodology, Resources, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing.

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