.....a tribute to

GANDHI



.....by the

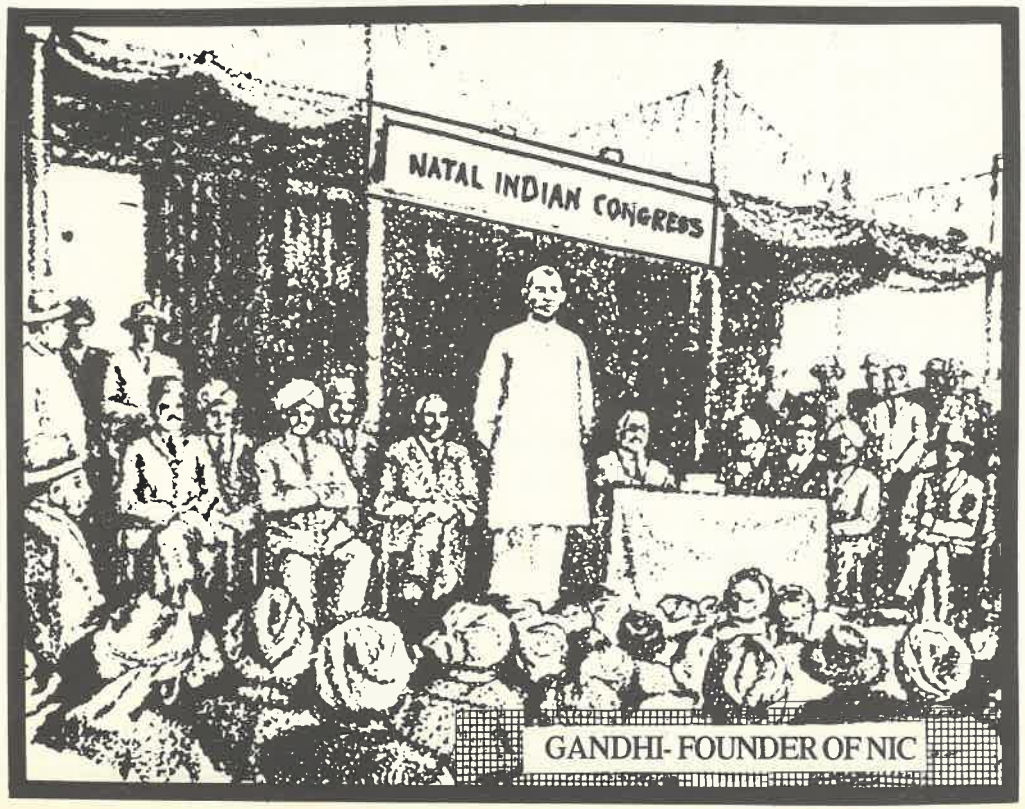
HINDU STUDENTS ASSOCIATION
MEDICAL SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

PROGRAMME

3 August 1983 (WED) : GANDHI PHOTO EXHIBITION
BROWN COMMON ROOM
12.00 - 4.00 p.m.

4August 1983 : GANDHI
by Mr GEORGE SEWPERSADH
CHAIRMAN : NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS .

1.00 p.m.
L2



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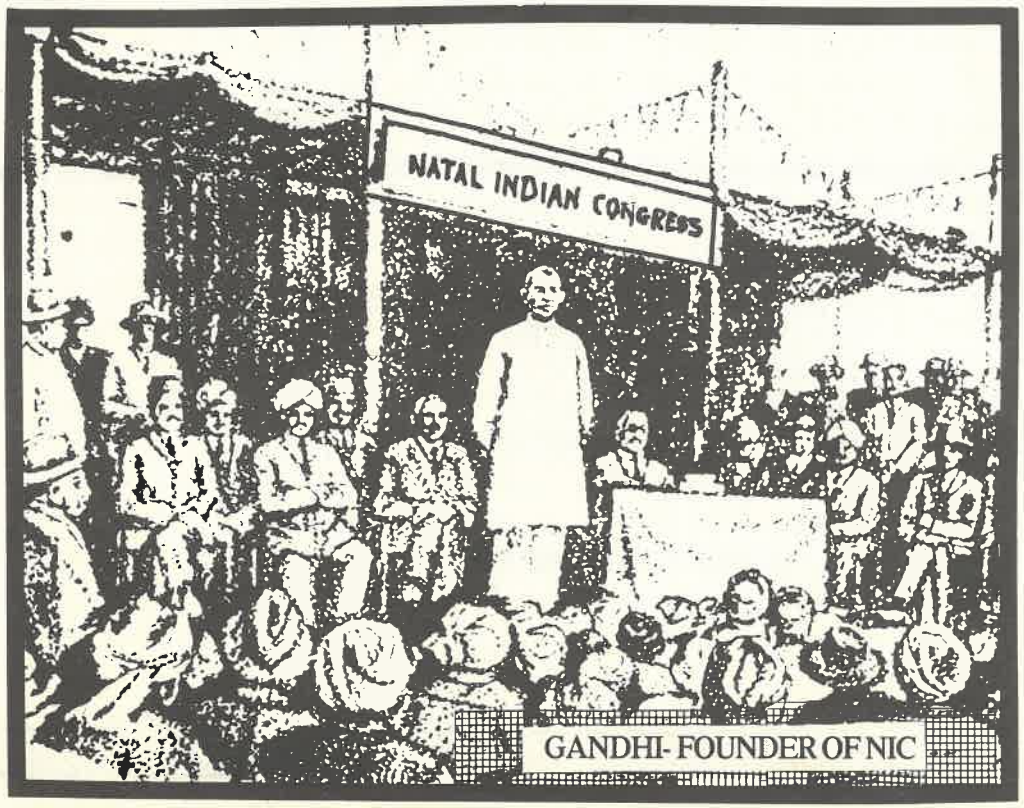
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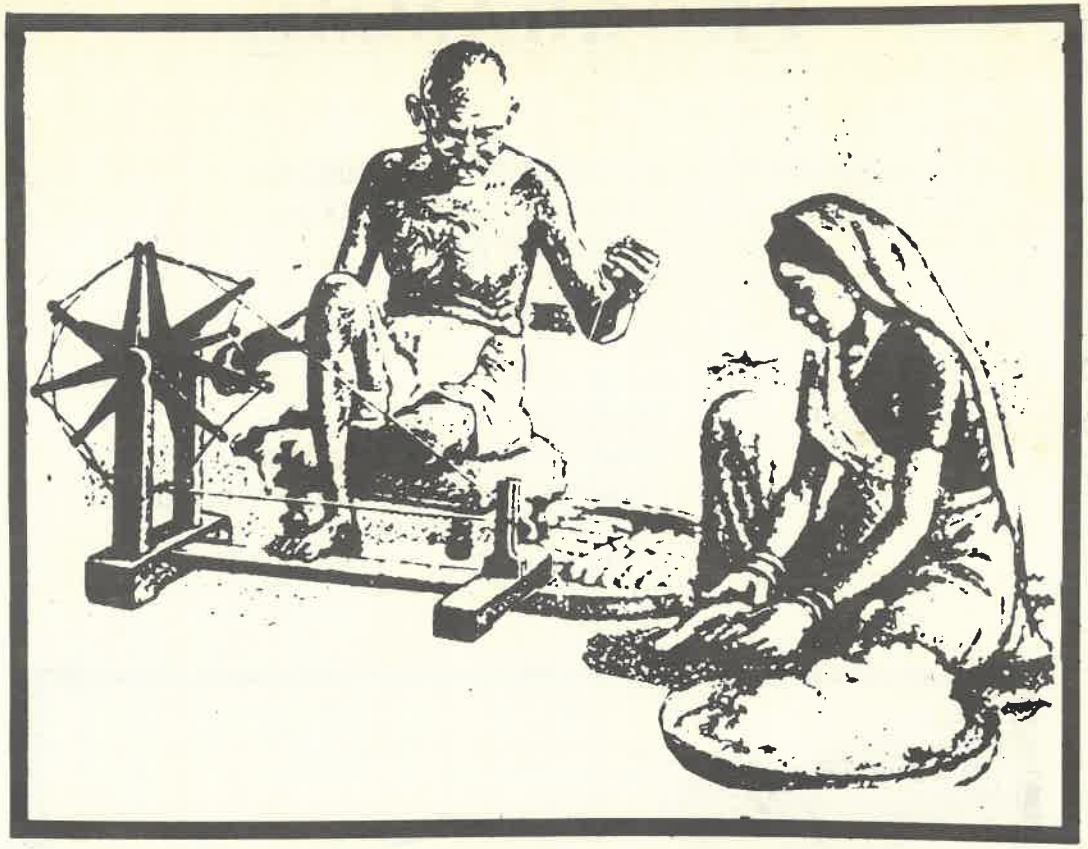
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* special thanks to
- Dr HENNING (DOCUMENTATION CENTRE - UDW)
- GANDHI PHOENIX SETTLEMENT
- TOMMY and BOBBY
- Mr S. S. SINGH
- HINDU STUDIES DEPT. - UDW
- HSA - UDW
- MSRC
- HSA WORKING COMMITTEE



Beloved Gandhi

THE LEGACY OF GANDHI

Like all great historical figures, MAHATMA GANDHI was a very controversial man. His philisophy of life and his religious practices stemmed largely from Vedic Scriptures. What is certain is that he moved millions and millions of people to act for freedom and dignity againts imperialism. The main field of the Mahatma's activity was politics; it is here that his dedication to freedom and justice find their avenues of expression.

MAY HIS SPIRIT GUIDE US TO THE RIGHT PATH.

ARTICLE ON

G A N D H I

Draft for the Reader's Digest

1987

(The article has not been compared with the final version .)

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Gandhi - the myths behind the legend

By 1904, South Africa's coloured and Indian communities had started a slow journey towards political awareness. Leaderless for many years, both groups had at last found men to champion their causes. One was a young lawyer called Gandhi - the other a doctor named Abdurahman. Gandhi was a firm believer in race and class divisions - Abdurahman in an alliance between coloureds and whites. Before long both would be taught painful lessons...

TINY, SKELETON-THIN, TIMID and painfully shy, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi could never be described as an imposing figure. But for almost four decades he directed a political philosophy which blossomed briefly in South Africa, emerged triumphant in India and took root in dozens of other countries. Called passive resistance, it offered to millions of rightless (and usually weaponless) people around the globe a non-violent option in the universal fight for political rights. As his popularity boomed, often on waves of myth and emotion, Gandhi became almost a saintly figure in the eyes of his followers. Yet the young lawyer who arrived in southern Africa in 1893 was no saint. A more apt description would be 'racial purist' and supporter of class segregation. For certainly the Gandhi who lived and campaigned in South Africa was a far cry from the statesmanlike Gandhi who in the 1920s played such a strong unifying role in the struggle to break the British stranglehold on the Indian sub-continent. Indeed, when he cut his ties with South Africa in 1914 South African Indians showed few political gains and in many ways were as divided as ever.

Gandhi came to South Africa for two reasons only: money (£105 for 12 months' work was a princely sum in those days); and to resurrect a floundering legal career. His new bosses, members of an elite caste, were as uncompromisingly racist as their white counterparts in their dealings with Africans. And Gandhi was no exception. When Transvaal authorities built separate entrances in public buildings for blacks and whites, it was he who agitated for further segregation between Indian and African. It was un-

fair, he argued, to expect Indians to share facilities with savages. On another occasion he said: 'About this mixing of the Kaffirs with the Indians, I confess I feel most strongly. I think it is very unfair on the Indian population and it is an undue tax on even the proverbial patience of my countrymen.'

Yet Indian society itself was divided into three distinct classes: Indentured (or contract) labourers (see page XXX) were by far the majority and made up the lowest class - without rights and desperately poor, they were shamelessly exploited by both their white masters and their own 'superior' classes; Although ex-indentured workers (those who had completed their contracts and had decided to stay in southern Africa) made up a rapidly expanding middle-class, by far the dominant group in the Indian community was a small, upper-caste Gujerati 'merchant class'. Unlike the indentured workers who had been driven to Natal by poverty in India, the merchants had voluntarily decided to come to the country. Once they established themselves, they used their greater financial resources to swallow up most of the businesses of ex-indentured workers. By the turn of the century almost all the wealth in the Indian communities of Natal and Transvaal was concentrated in the ranks of this group.

Ironically, it was their adroitness at accumulating wealth which forced the merchants into painful political decisions in the final decade of the 19th century. In 1894, the Natal Legislative Assembly, irked by the growing affluence of Indian businessmen gave notice of a law aimed at preventing more Asians from qualifying for the vote. At first glance the proposals seemed unlikely to harm merchant interests. The fact that only 300 Indians were registered voters (as opposed to 10000 whites) was a clear indication of Asian political apathy. But many merchants saw the threat to their franchise rights as the thin end of the wedge - and they were correct. Discussion on the Franchise Amendment Bill soon took on ominous tones.

Politicians, supported by newspaper editors, businessmen and workers, began to aim most of their barbs at the merchant class - and as anti-Indian feeling grew, so did proposals for additional laws and by-laws to counter the 'coolie' threat. The worst of these, as far as the merchants were concerned, was a proposal to give municipal authorities additional powers to counter a claimed 'Indian health hazard'. Similar moves by the Transvaal government - notably the notorious Law 3 of 1885 - had resulted in attempts to move Indians to locations far from the lucrative white markets. Now the Natal authorities were embarking on a similar scheme.

Merchant opposition to the Bill - overseen by Gandhi - consisted of letters to newspapers, statements from whites vouching for Indian 'cleanliness', protests to the British and Indian governments and a petition with more than 9000 signatures. The signature campaign was the most concerted Indian political action ever. But it was pre-

cisely for that reason that it backfired. Claiming it was an Indian conspiracy to swamp whites - the total number of signatures equalled the number of white voters in Natal - the authorities concentrated all their energies into persuading the British government to agree to the passing of the Franchise Bill...

A direct result of the anti-Indian campaign in Natal was the formation on 22 August 1894 of the Natal Indian Congress - the first 'permanent' political organisation to strive for the rights of Indians. Although in theory it was open to all, its £3 annual membership fee discouraged all but the very wealthy from joining. Nevertheless, in a significant development, many western educated ex-indentured workers - their commercial interests also threatened by government hints of a reduction in the number of Indian civil servants - joined Congress. Despite this, leadership positions and political strategies within Congress continued to reflect merchant interests.

In 1896 Gandhi returned to India where he started a countrywide campaign on behalf of the merchants. It took the form of letters to newspapers, interviews with top nationalist leaders and a series of public meetings. In South Africa Gandhi had shown no interest in indentured workers, and in fact was remarkably ignorant of their plight. But in India he tried to use them as a lever to win concessions for the merchants. Thus, in correspondence with Indian government officials he argued that the continued availability of 'coolie' labour should be made dependent on the scrapping of laws which affected the commercial interests of the elite.

Gandhi's actions led to a British government veto of the Franchise Bill. As tempers flared, Natal officials claimed that Indians had become the colony's biggest political threat. More serious though was the intensity of anti-Indian feeling among the white working class. Rumours (subsequently verified) that at least one Natal company planned to import skilled, but cheaper, Indian workers led to a spate of protests and calls for an end to labour importation.

By the time Gandhi returned to Natal, hostility was threatening to spill over into violence. Daily dockside demonstrations kept him and 800 other passengers on board ship for almost a month as officials tried to defuse the situation. When they were finally allowed to disembark, Gandhi was assaulted. Only the intervention of the police commissioner's wife, who took him into her home, saved him from serious injury. Later, as a mob outside the house chanted, 'We'll hang old Gandhi from the sour apple tree,' officials were forced to disguise him as a policeman and smuggle him out of a back entrance.

The British government, meanwhile, alarmed at the uproar in the colony offered the Natal authorities a compromise. Britain would agree to the passing of the Bill, said colonial secretary Joseph Chamberlain, if Indians were not specifically mentioned in its provisions. Subtly reword-

ed, the Franchise Bill was then rushed through the Legislative Assembly. Two more pieces of anti-Indian legislation - the Immigration Restriction Bill and the Dealers' Licences Bill - quickly followed. The terms of the Immigration Bill - prospective immigrants had to possess £25 and speak English - effectively put an end to Indian immigration. But the Dealers' Licences Bill, which empowered municipal authorities to refuse trading licences on the grounds of 'insanitation', contained even graver implications for the merchants. It was a threat to their very existence. Stunned, they lost all enthusiasm for the fight - and in 1901 when Gandhi returned to India he was convinced that the cause of the elite in Natal was lost.

In 1902 Gandhi was persuaded to return to South Africa and quickly became embroiled in Transvaal politics. In 1903 he founded the 'Indian Opinion' newspaper and less than a year later started the Phoenix self-help settlement near Durban. The 'Indian Opinion' especially would play an important part in spreading the philosophy which gave rise to passive resistance.

Under the new British administration, merchants in the Transvaal believed they would be given greater freedom to pursue their commercial interests. But instigated by arch-segregationists Alfred Milner and Godfrey Lagden, the new administration tackled the question of separate trading areas for Indians with greater urgency. Law 3 of 1885 and the 'uncleanliness' of Indian business premises again came under the spotlight. Under the Republican government many merchants had escaped being moved to locations. Now they faced a new threat...

Gandhi's response was to launch a new body - the British Indian Association - to fight evictions. The by now familiar letter-writing and petitioning followed. Locations were for 'kaffirs', not useful citizens, he argued in one letter. Lagden's response was to rename the locations - they became bazaars. Ironically, the need to import 10000 indentured labourers to reconstruct the Transvaal railway system bought the merchants some time. The Indian government would only allow labour recruitment if Indians who had traded before the war were given licences to trade in their pre-war sites. But more trouble was on the way...

It started in 1906 when the Transvaal government passed a law making it compulsory for Indians over the age of eight to carry a Pass bearing their thumbprint. The Passes had to be carried at all times and had to be produced on the demand of a police officer.

Indians reacted angrily to the new measure and at a mass meeting attended by more than 3000 representatives - including a Chinese delegation - the famous Satyagraha ('truth force') Oath was taken: no one would apply for registration and attempts to enforce the Act would be passively resisted, it was decided.

Gandhi then set off for London where he won a promise from the Colonial Secretary, Lord Elgin, that the Act would

be withdrawn. But Asian jubilation was shortlived. In January 1907 Transvaal became a self-governing colony, and the first action of the new administration was to reintroduce the Pass law (Act 2 of 1907). This time Lord Elgin said: 'Everyone has the right to go to hell in his own way.' Despite government threats of jail, barely 500 out of a possible 7000 had registered by the deadline of 30 November. On 28 December the first arrests were made. By the end of January more than 2000 Asians had been jailed or deported. Gandhi himself went to jail several times. But then several leading figures in the protest movement left the colony rather than face repeated arrest, and amid rumours that opposition to the Act was about to collapse, Gandhi and the Chinese leader, Leung Quin, concluded an agreement with Transvaal Colonial Secretary Jan Smuts. The terms, according to Gandhi, were that the Act would be repealed if everyone registered voluntarily. Gandhi, harshly criticised for agreeing to this compromise, resolved to be the first to register. But on his way to the registration offices he was attacked and beaten up. Smuts, who denied promising Gandhi anything, did not repeal the Act and the Satyagraha movement degenerated into chaos with members engaging each other in verbal slanging matches.

The Pathan community was particularly opposed to giving fingerprints and Gandhi came again under fire when it was discovered that he had accepted an offer from Smuts that wealthy Indians need not give their prints. Although Gandhi publically forgave the people who assaulted him, privately he tried to stop the radicalisation of his movement. Thus after two other prominent members had been attacked, he wrote to Smuts, naming the culprit and suggesting that he be deported under the Immigration Restriction Bill. 'I believe he has no documents,' he wrote.

In the end, conflict within the movement, bad organisation and a lack of funds took its toll. Between 10 February and 9 May 1908 most of the Transvaal Asian community had voluntarily registered for fingerprinting. After promising beginnings, passive resistance had failed its biggest test.

Box

Abdurahman and the APO

A hum of expectancy swept through the International Winter Gardens in Hanover Street, Cape Town, as Abdullah Abdurahman rose to deliver a speech which was destined to thrust him into the forefront of national politics.

'We are here,' he began, 'to protest against the disabilities that have been placed on our fellow-kinsmen in the

Transvaal and Orange River Colony...'
It was 22 March 1904 and a hushed silence fell over the crowd as the young, Scottish-trained doctor, described the next day by the 'South African News' as being 'possessed by a thoroughness and thoughtfulness wanting in many members of Parliament', continued his address...
Two years had passed since the Peace of Vereeniging had shattered black hopes of 'equal rights for all civilised men south of the Zambezi.' For the demoralised, leaderless coloured communities of southern Africa, they had been wasted years - years of waiting in vain for British government intervention.
Now a grandson of a slave couple was trying to kick them out of their political stupor. Abdurahman's speech was forceful, prophetic and tinged with just enough bitterness to prick the consciences of his audience. Long before he finished speaking he had convinced them that at last they had found a spokesman who could articulately voice their political aspirations. In the coming years they would be proved correct.
Reserving most of his anger for the British government, Abdurahman lashed out at them for turning a blind eye to the continued denial of coloured rights in the northern colonies. And although he praised the political system of the Cape, where a 'colour-blind' qualified franchise existed, he warned, prophetically: 'We may even expect that the evil effects and pernicious influences of the barbarism practised in the north may extend to this Colony, and undo much that we gained in the past.'
Yet in spelling out the grievances of his northern countrymen, Abdurahman also demonstrated a racist streak. In Brandfort in the Orange River Colony, the term 'native' included 'all coloured subjects of his Majesty', he complained. In the same vein, he hit out at the regulation which forced coloureds to live in locations and to ride in cabs marked 'natives'. Certain-

ly, at the start of his political career, Abdurahman shared with the majority of his followers a contemptuous dislike of Africans and on at least one occasion referred to them as 'barbarous natives'. But as the assault on black rights gathered momentum in the early years of the 20th century, he would be forced into a drastic rethink. Within a year of his Winter Gardens address, Abdurahman had become president of the African Political Organisation, formed by John Tobin in September 1902 to strive for coloured rights. But the APO had failed to keep its promise, allowing itself to be torn apart by bitter infighting between supporters of the two main white political parties in the Cape - the Afrikaner Bond and the Progressives.

Nevertheless it took Abdurahman less than five years to rebuild the organisation into a representative mass movement, with 111 branches throughout South Africa. As the APO flourished, so did Abdurahman's stature rise. Already a city councillor, he later became a provincial councillor and a confidant of many white politicians. And many who knew him - both black and white - claimed repeatedly that had he been white he would have gone on to become one of South Africa's greatest parliamentarians.

At first many of the APO's activities under Abdurahman continued to focus on the political plight of coloured people in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. But although a string of fiery anti-Afrikaner speeches further enhanced his standing among his followers, it had little effect on the politicians of the former Boer republics. Indeed, what emerged quite clearly was that every time Abdurahman criticised white-power proponents he was merely highlighting the fundamental weakness of black protest politics: A commitment to working within the law left its activists with few options once their criticisms, compromises, pleas and petitions had been rejected.

An added weakness of early 20th century black politics was the reluctance of many organisations to forge any sort of unity with groups outside clearly defined 'tribal' lines. Thus, while Abdurahman proved to be a doughty fighter for coloured rights in the northern colonies, he was quite prepared (at first, anyway) to see Africans denied that same rights. To further complicate matters, Africans were deeply suspicious of any moves towards cooperation with coloureds.

By 1910, however, Abdurahman had slashed through the barriers which divided the two groups. In many ways he was forced to. Moves to grant self-government to the former Boer republics on the same segregationist terms as the Peace of Vereeniging were greeted with alarm by black political groups. Abdurahman, acknowledging the need for a massive show of black opposition to these measures,

started tentative moves towards cooperation with Africans. When an APO delegation consisting of Abdurahman, Matt Fredericks and Peter Daniels went to London in 1906 to protest against the proposals, they did so on behalf of all black people. Although the mission failed, the APO's new stance helped to break down long-standing barriers between coloureds and Africans.

In 1907, when the South African Native Congress called a crisis meeting to discuss the impending unification of South Africa, the APO was prominently represented. And later when a deputation set off for London to protest against the racist provisions of draft South Africa Act (see page XXX), Abdurahman and Fredericks were among the delegates.

Abdurahman's tenure as president of the APO lasted 35 years - until his death in 1940 - and through most of that period he was its sole policy-maker. Looking back, his decision to seek closer ties with Africans was a watershed in coloured politics. It meant that for the first time coloureds had to choose between a less-than-equal alliance with white South Africans or unity with the black majority. The debate which this sparked continues...

Univ. of Durban-Westville
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Durban 4000.

Dear Mr Cunningham

In reply to your request of 18 January I have pleasure in enclosing an article on the University's Documentation Centre. As I have assumed that the reader may have a limited knowledge of the Indian South African, I have included a few background facts. However please comment if it's too long and if there is anything in the contents which does not meet with your approval.

Yours sincerely
D. G. J. Denning.

NB
Please acknowledge receipt of article.

CLASS : _____



D O C U M E N T A T I O N C E N T R E

UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN-WESTVILLE

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PRETORIA NEWS

Gandhi's grandson is ambassador

New Delhi – A grandson of Mohandas Gandhi has been appointed ambassador to South Africa, where the Indian independence leader began to champion civil rights 100 years ago.

Gopal Gandhi, now in the Indian embassy in London, will soon leave for his new job in Johannesburg, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

"I am naturally thrilled about the prospect of going to a country where my grandfather made such a formidable reputation and where my father was born," Gopal Gandhi was quoted as saying yesterday by the Press Trust of India.

His father, Devdas, was born in Durban in 1900 where Gandhi was practicing law. Three other grandchildren of the man India calls "the mahatma" live in South Africa.

Gopal Gandhi will be the second Indian ambassador to South Africa since forming diplomatic ties after the collapse of apartheid.

Gandhi's fight for the rights of Indians, coloureds and blacks at a time when few voices were raised against apartheid has endeared India to South Africa's leaders. – **Sapa-AP**

1760/1482

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BUSINESS DAY JHB

Gandhi's grandson for SA post

A GRANDSON of Mohandas Gandhi has been appointed Indian ambassador to SA, where the Indian independence leader began championing civil rights nearly a century ago.

Gopal Gandhi, now in the Indian embassy in London, would take up his new post shortly, the Indian foreign ministry said yesterday.

"I am naturally thrilled about the prospect of going to a country where my grandfather made such a formidable reputation and where my father was born," Gopal Gandhi was quoted as saying by the Press Trust of India news agency yesterday.

1760 / 1483

DR HENNING

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STAR

SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY

NAASHON ZALK



Mahatma's grandson ... Gopalkrishna Gandhi, author, playwright and high commissioner-designate of India, arrived yesterday in South Africa. His father Devdas Gandhi was born here in 1900.

1760 / 1484

Herring

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Date 01 JUL 1996
PRETORIA NEWS

India's envoy arrives in SA

Johannesburg – Indian high commissioner designate Gopalkrishna Gandhi arrived in South Africa yesterday afternoon to take up his post in the country.

Mr Gandhi, the grandson of Mahatma Gandhi, will take up his official duties when he has handed his credentials to President Mandela.

Describing his arrival in South Africa for the first time as "an experience beyond compare", he said this was a "land where an epic struggle has culminated in the righting of a great wrong and the removal of a great shame". – **Sapa**

1760/1485

Dr Henny

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Date 1 JUL 1996

VOLKSBLAD

Gandhi se kleinseun kom in SA aan

Korrespondent

JOHANNESBURG. – Mnr. Gopalkrishna Gandhi, aangewese nuwe hoë kommissaris van Indië in Suid-Afrika, het gister in Johannesburg aangekom vir 'n termyn van drie of vier jaar.

Mnr. Gandhi is die kleinseun van Mohandas Gandhi, die Mahatma, wat in 1893 na Suid-Afrika gekom het en 21 jaar lank gebly het om te veg vir die regte van Indiërs in die land.

Mnr. Gandhi, wie se pa, Devdas, in 1900 in Suid-Afrika gebore is, het met sy aankoms gister op die Lughawe Johannesburg aangedaan gesê dit is moeilik om te beskryf hoe dit voel om die eerste keer sy voete op Suid-Afrikaanse bodem te sit.

Hy het gesê Indië sien uit daarna om in die toekoms nog verder met Suid-Afrika saam te werk op ekonomiese, wetenskaplike en tegnologiese gebied.

Mnr. Gandhi was tot onlangs die direkteur van die Nehru-kultuursentrum in Londen. Hy is ook 'n skrywer en dramaturg.

1760/1486

Herring 15

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Date 01 AUG 1996
DIE BURGER OOS-KAAP



Mnr. Gopalkrishna Gandhi

Kleinseun van Gandhi in SA

JOHANNESBURG. — Mnr. Gopalkrishna Gandhi, aangewese nuwe hoë kommissaris van Indië in Suid-Afrika, het gister hier aangekom vir 'n termyn van drie of vier jaar.

Hy is die kleinseun van Mohandas Gandhi, die Mahatma, wat in 1893 na Suid-Afrika gekom en 21 jaar lank gebly het om te veg vir die regte van Indiërs hier.

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Mnr. Gandhi, tot onlangs die direkteur van die Nehru Kultuursentrum in Londen, is ook 'n skrywer en dramaturg.

1760 / 1487

High commissioner's dream comes true

Jean-Jacques Cornish
DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

Coming to South Africa has been a lifelong dream for Gopalkrishna Gandhi, who presents his credentials to President Mandela in Pretoria today as India's high commissioner to South Africa.

"There was never a time that family conversation did not have South Africa at its centre. My father, Devdas, was born here and spent his formative years in Durban," says Mr Gandhi.

Mr Gandhi, who came to South Africa having headed up the Nehru Institute in London for four years, is the grandson of India's legendary nationalist leader Mahatma Gandhi.

"South Africa was very much a part of my father's life. He lived here for his first 15 years and spoke about it with nostalgia and deep affection. I remember distinctly him telling me that he was sure that maybe not in his lifetimes, but in ours we would be be able to visit the country of his birth."

Mr Gandhi's knowledge of South Africa was enhanced by an uncle and aunt and their children, who continued to live in South Africa and visited India from time to time.

"My comprehension of South Africa was given a sudden clarity when Arun, a cousin who is resident in the US, wrote *A Patch of White* in the early '60s.

Visiting London at the age of 11, Mr Gandhi first met Trevor Huddleston. "He made an instant and deep impression on my sub-adult mind. From him I learned that Christian was as much an adjective as it was a noun."

Mr Gandhi does not recall feeling any pressure being raised in what is one of India's most famous families.

"India is different from other countries," he says. "Mahatma Gandhi is regarded by Indians differently from other national leaders. He is regarded as a common inheritance – everyone's legacy, somewhat in the tradition of saints."

The natural descendants of such a person tend to be looked upon somewhat differently from those of people in public life. There isn't the pressure that there might be on the children of people in power or high office who wield clout, as opposed to inner influence.

"In school if I or my brothers had regarded ourselves as different we would have cut very odd figures. We were aware from the start that our grandfather could not be the property of his family. He was a whole climate of values and you can't privatise the climate."

> **'Mahatma Gandhi is regarded by Indians as a common inheritance – everyone's legacy, somewhat in the tradition of saints.'**
>
> **Gopalkrishna Gandhi**

After school and university in New Delhi, Mr Gandhi became a journalist before joining the Indian administrative service. He served in local government and was posted to the High Commission in neighbouring Sri Lanka. He served as secretary to the President of India before being posted abroad as Cultural Minister to the High Commission in London.

Among the four books he has written is a collection of Mahatma Gandhi's observations on South Africa.

"Mahatma Gandhi left South Africa in 1918 and this building we are in was built in 1912. I like to think he saw it sometime. He knew Pretoria very well.".

As to his new role, he speaks with a humility that would do credit to his grandfather.

"To say I have come with goals would be less than just to the two years of important work already done here. It would be self-congratulatory to say I've come with a specific agenda.

"My predecessor was responsible for determining and taking formative steps towards strengthening bilateral ties between our countries .

"The government of India is alert to the demands of bilateral relations. This strikes a responsive chord in the leadership of this country. My task is to take that forward. I regard my role here as continuing the work of cementing our bilateral ties.

"These ties seem to me as being without parallel, not only because of the extraordinarily link which Mahatma Gandhi provides, but because India and South what is broadly termed as the concerns of the south. They have been assigned this role by geography, by history and by their social complexities.

"I do think not think there are two countries where all the different levels of economic development and upward social mobility are present simultaneously.

"These similarities represent a tremendous opportunity. Before our eyes we have success and failure in rapid succession. We can benefit from the success and learn from the failures.

"For example, we see the RDP against our experience of planned economic development. India has a nuclear reactor and windmills at the same time. Both countries are not moving in a geometric pattern. We are able to and required to proceed in 100 directions at 100 speeds at the same time."

On the issue of trade and investment, Mr Gandhi recalls that even during British colonial rule, Indian enterprise could never be stifled.

"India is in a position to make virtually every single thing it requires internally. To add to that and meet requirements of modernisation, we are now importing know-how and attracting foreign capital which puts us in position to produce even more.

"The Indo-South African trade connection can reach new heights when we identify relative competitiveness. With our joint commission and agreements due to be signed we'll see that happen in a major way.

"We can't compete with other, more fortunate, countries in offering lines of credit. But we can still identify areas of direct co-operation so our trade is mutually balanced. The emphasis has to be on balance. Both of us have strong markets that need constant nourishing. During reconstruction we can share know-how in fields like telecommunications.

"There is so much India has achieved in rural penetration of technology that we can offer for South African consumption. We are not only excited by what is happening here, we are able to understand the inner processes. India resonates to what is happening in South Africa."

India's refusal to sign the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty, of which South Africa has become a leading exponent, is a potentially thorny bilateral issue but Mr Gandhi believes it can be overcome.

Mr Gandhi is proud of the achievements of the South African Indian Community.

"That they had to equip themselves for a new role in the most bizarre, artificial society, makes the fact that Indian South Africans can be found at the top of every field even more incredible.

"I would love to see some of them visit India because it would be so educative for them to see how people like them

Date 06 AUG 1996
PRETORIA NEWS

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Gopalkrishna Gandhi, India's high commissioner to South Africa.

1760 / 1488

Hennig

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THE CITIZEN JHB

Indian envoy presents credentials to Mandela

INDIAN High Commissioner Gopalkrishna Gandhi yesterday presented his credentials to President Mandela, saying South Africa had become a model to countries cherishing democracy.

Mr Ghandi paid tribute to Pres Mandela for his role in the fight against apartheid and described him as the Jewel of India.

A statement by the Indian Commission in Pretoria said Mr Gandhi had noted that 1996 marked the 50th anniversary of the first formal links between the African National Congress and the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress.

South Africa and India were now partners in meeting the challenges of reconstruction and development in their respective countries.

Pres Mandela said relations between the two countries dated back to 1861 when the first Indian labourers arrived in the country.

The next landmark was in 1894 when human rights champion Mahatma Gandhi set up the Natal Indian Congress, which had been the first organised and disciplined opposition group in South Africa.

In 1946, India raised the issue of apartheid in the United Nations, labelling it a crime against humanity.

Pres Mandela said he looked forward to close and substantial relations between India and South Africa. — Sapa.

1760/1489

Dr Henry

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BUSINESS DAY JHB.



President Nelson Mandela receives the credentials of India's high commissioner to SA, Gopalkrishna Gandhi, who is the grandson of Mahatma Gandhi, at a ceremony in Pretoria yesterday. Gandhi, who is an author and playwright, has published a book entitled Gandhi and South Africa. Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

20 JAN 1997
NATAL WITNESS

1760/1490

Function honours arrival of Gandhis

by SHARON DELL

INDIA'S High Commissioner to South Africa, Gopalkrishna Gandhi, yesterday attended a centenary function to commemorate the landing of his grandmother, Kasturba Gandhi, together with her husband, Mahatma Gandhi, and her two sons, in Durban 100 years ago.

The function, which was held in the Mahatma Gandhi Hall in Durban, was organised by the 50th Anniversary Council of the 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign, and was attended by many distinguished members of the Durban community.

Well-known KwaZulu-Natal community worker Virginia Gcabashe delivered a speech on behalf of Deputy Justice Minister Dr Manto Tshabalala to commemorate the historic event. Tshabalala, who was to be guest of honour at the function, was required to attend an urgent cabinet meeting.

In her speech, Tshabalala paid tribute to Kasturba Gandhi for her role as an "architect of India's freedom" and as a "great resistor, who laid the basis of our freedom in South Africa".

Kasturba was 20 years old when she arrived in the British colony of Natal in 1887 — a time when all black South Africans and women of all race groups were denied parliamentary voting powers. Kasturba was imprisoned by the government for her participation in the Defiance Campaign, launched to protest against unjust laws.

Tribute was also paid during the ceremony to Mama Nokukhanya Luthuli who, together with her husband, Chief Albert Luthuli, was instrumental in organising the Defiance Campaign of 1952, which saw democrats of all race-groups following in the non-violent footsteps of the Mahatma and Kasturba.

The appointment of Gopalkrishna Gandhi as High Commissioner to South Africa was officially welcomed. The meeting gave its full support to the resolution adopted on National Women's Day 1996, when all government structures were asked to perpetuate the names of women freedom fighters by naming public buildings, places and roads after them.

The meeting also welcomed the formation of the Liberation History Foundation, which aims to "record all the important milestones in the long walk to freedom" and bade farewell to India's Consul-General, Latha Reddy, who is to take up a new post in Europe.



Gopalkrishna Gandhi, India's High Commissioner to South Africa, stands with community worker Virginia Gcabashe in front of a portrait of Gandhi's grandmother, Kasturba Gandhi, who landed in Durban 100 years ago. — Picture by NASH NARRANDES

26 APR 1997
NATAL ON SATURDAY DBN.

1760/ 1491

A city atones for its shame

Freedom of Maritzburg for Gandhi

It was a moving moment yesterday when Gandhi's grandson accepted the freedom of the city of Pietermaritzburg on behalf of his illustrious grandfather, the architect of resistance against injustice. **AAKASH BRAMDEO** reports

Pietermaritzburg reversed more than a century of shame when it bestowed the freedom of the city posthumously on Mahatma Gandhi in an historic ceremony yesterday.

On a cold winter's day 103 years ago, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, then a young lawyer off to fight his first case in Pretoria, was thrown off a train at Pietermaritzburg station because his skin was the wrong colour.

Yesterday, amid a gala-like atmosphere, "Sleepy Hollow" awoke to give Gandhi's grandson, Gopalkrishna Gandhi and President Nelson Mandela a rousing welcome as they steamed into Pietermaritzburg station on an engine similar to the one which had pulled the train on which Gandhi had travelled.

Mandela, who had earlier received the freedom of the city from the local council, conferred the same honour on Gandhi.



NEW-FOUND FREEDOM: President Mandela confers the freedom of Pietermaritzburg to Mahatma Gandhi's grandson, Gopalkrishna Gandhi

Picture: NICKI SZLOVAK

It was accepted by his grandson, who is also the Indian High Commissioner.

Mandela, sporting a greyish version of his famous Madiba shirt, waved to the huge crowd who crammed into every vantage point.

Some waved flags while others burst into praise songs and freedom chants.

Amid a standing ovation, he said: "Today we are righting a century-old wrong. This station, once one of the world's most notorious symbols of discrimination, intolerance and oppression, today proclaims a message of dignity restored.

"In contrast to that shameful day, Pietermaritzburg, and indeed South Africa, is sending a message of hope, affirming the noble values espoused by Gandhi.

"Those values had a profound influence on our liberation movement and on my own thinking. They inspire us today in our efforts of reconciliation and nation-building.

"This is a token of our appreciation to Gandhi for his contribution to the birth of the new South Africa."

Gopalkrishna Gandhi said it was "with a sense of deep gratefulness and humility" that he accepted the award which highlighted the "unshakeable solidarity" India shared with South Africa.

He said his grandfather had been transformed after the racist incident.

"Porbandar on India's western coast launched my grandfather to physical life.

"Pietermaritzburg, on South Africa's eastward flank, launched him to public life.

"With this gesture (the freedom of the city), South Africa is telling the world once again that racism belongs now to the past.

"It has gone like the train that steamed away from here on a winter night 103 years ago," he said.

In India, as in South Africa, we m

BY GOPALKRISHNA GANDHI

A single oak stands outside my office in Pretoria. Old but strong-boled, its thick green crown outdoes all the jacarandas down the road. Even in their purple prime. The wife of the man who raised the building was, so we are told, as protective of the tree, which was not her property, as of the house, which was. Sometimes, so we are also told, she flourished a gun from her balcony seat to scare tree-molesters away. Protectiveness is cousin to possessiveness.

The year of this redbrick building's birth is inscribed on its "forehead": 1912.

Kings and commoners from all of southern Africa gathered that year in Bloemfontein to found, under the presidency of John Dube – that leader of Drakensbergian strength – the African National Congress, making it a red-letter year for South Africa. And another defining event took place that same year as well, making it memorable for both India and South Africa.

GK Gokhale, an Indian leader of Himalayan stature, arrived here that year to study the plight of Indian South Africans. He parleyed with Botha, Smuts, Fischer and received assurances of nondiscrimination that were broken with cynical disdain, within weeks of Gokhale's return to India. This betrayal accelerated the great 1913 resistance campaign of Indian South Africans.

The resistance was led by Gandhi, who after scoring a signal success here went on to India to be hailed there, by the late 40s, as father of the nation. Dube's initiative took some four and a half decades more to bear fruit. But fructify it did, with Nelson Mandela reporting "completion of task" to his founder's hallowed memory in 1994.

Our oak has witnessed all that. The births of two nations, the making of their fathers. But it is witnessing more.The births of new tensions. The making, not of fathers but of sons and daughters, who challenge history. Challenge it to relate to their lives, to come alive, to turn real.

This is the generation that has, or thinks it has, its two feet on the ground. That regards idealism passé, ideology wooden.

This is the generation that thinks not in terms of revolution or reform, but rands and rupees. It likes the touch of the vote; it prefers the feel of the note.

Can it be faulted? After all, our revolutions, our struggles, were for an improved level of life, of prosperity; not just for political freedom. And so when the ticker-tapes of jubilation at our political victories in India and South Africa drift down, limp, when it becomes time to leave the stadiums of celebration for home – "do you call this hole home?" – the adrenalin abates.

And rumblings of a more familiar kind begin a dance in the stomach. Then moves on to the brain.

There are those in India and in South Africa whose management-by-objectives wisdom says this lack of ideals and idealism, this cynicism, runs to a pattern.

Don't you worry, they tell us, give it a generation or two, economic growth via liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation will do it; there will be jobs, there will be trade, there will be a trickling down ... And while the sons and daughters wait for the drops to get to the belly, they have the telly! The telly bought on hire purchase.

The fathers waited. In the Johannesburg



The horrors of genocide continue in Rwanda with the slaughter of 37 peasants in the of Tutsis returned from eastern Congo, where they had lived in exile for 30 years. Th on continuing the bloodletting they began in 1994. ***See Sunday Dispatches, front***

Helen Suzman turns 80 with her fight for human rights an

BY TERRY VAN DER WALT



A naughty smile flashes across Helen Suzman's familiar face and without warning she kicks me gently on the foot, exclaiming: "How did you find out it was my birthday? I have a shrewd idea."

Her 80th birthday this Friday somehow causes this internationally renowned South African politician embarrassment, so much so that she is getting away from the attention by flying to Britain to be with her children and grandchildren this week. "I am embarrassed because I don't believe this is something to celebrate," she said.

In an interview at her home in Illovo, Johannesburg, Suzman spoke of the need to

02 NOV 1997
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D O C U M E N T A T I O N C E N T R E

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NATAL MERCURY

Omar to attend Gandhi function

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

THE high commissioner of India and his wife, national Justice Minister Dullah Omar and the national adviser to the state president, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, will attend a Gandhi/Natal Indian congress 125th birthday and centenary celebration in Pietermaritzburg on Saturday.

The function will take place at the Gandhi statue in Church Street. It will be preceeded by a Gandhi Peace Walk from Royston Road in Mountain Rise, starting at 2.30pm.

Simultaneously, a peace walk for the aged will start from the railway station. Both groups will then converge at the statue.

Pietermaritzburg NIC stalwart and activist Dr M Motala will give a short account of the contribution made by the NIC during the fight against apartheid and cultural items will also be featured. All members of the public are welcome.

1760/1396

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Date 8 NOV 1995
NATAL WITNESS

City plaque a tribute to Gandhi

THE incident which triggered Mahathma Gandhi's political career over 100 years ago was commemorated yesterday when a memorial plaque to him was unveiled at the Pietermaritzburg railway station.

Foreign dignitaries and well-known local figures gathered to pay tribute to Gandhi and to remember the incident when he was evicted from a first-class compartment of a Natal Government Railways train because he was not white.

The inscription on the plaque reads: "This plaque commemorates the incident on June 7, 1893 when a young lawyer, Mohandas Gandhi was ejected from a first class compartment of a Natal Government Railways train. The incident on this platform launched Gandhi on his political career and he became one of the greatest men of the 20th century".

The plaque was erected by Spoornet and regional public affairs manager, Selby Dlamini, said the plaque will serve as a constant reminder of Gandhi's respect, dignity and tolerance.

The plaque was unveiled by the Indian Consul-General in South Africa, Latha Reddy. Reddy said the incident which the plaque marks was a turning point in history which Gandhi too acknowledged as the beginning of his struggle for justice and freedom.

She said Gandhi was a "remarkable man" who has inspired and continues to inspire many people around the world. "Mahathma Gandhi does not belong to India alone because his message is universal," Reddy said.

The director of the Pietermaritzburg Publicity Association, Dick Jones, said the plaque will be a tourist attraction which will "add to the long list of attractions in the Heritage City".

— Witness Reporter.



Promod Gupta (manager of Air India in Durban), Alderman L.S. Moodley and Maharaj-kumari Meenakshi Devi (daughter of the Maharajah of Mysore) were among the guests at the unveiling of a commemorative plaque in Gandhi's honour at the railway station yesterday. — Picture by MIKE MATTHEWMAN

1760/1397

1760/1398

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VOLKSBLAD

Gandhi-seëls in SA, Indië uitgereik

Korrespondent

PRETORIA. – Mahatma Gandhi gaan van Maandag af op twee Suid-Afrikaanse posseëls pryk. Twee soortgelyke seëls word terselfdertyd in Indië uitgegee.

Die Suid-Afrikaanse Poskantoor sê filateliegeskiedenis word met die uitgawe van dié seëls gemaak aangesien dit die eerste keer sal wees dat Suid-Afrika saam met die Indiese posadministrasie só 'n uitreiking doen.

Die Poskantoor sê die gesamentlike seëluitgifte is ook 'n simbool van toekomstige samewerking tussen die twee lande.

Dit word uitgegee ter herdenking van Gandhi se geboortedag.

Die uitgawe bestaan uit 'n 60c-standaardposgeldseël en 'n seël van R1,40 vir internasionale gebruik, 'n miniatuurvel en twee gedenkkoevertе wat deur Alan Ainslee ontwerp is.

Die Ainslie-ontwerp is op albei lande se seëls gebruik, maar die kleure verskil en die bewoording is onderskeidelik in Engels en in Afrikaans, en in Engels en Hindi.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi het in 1893 na Suid-Afrika gekom en ten tyde van sy verblyf van sowat 20 jaar hom vir die erkenning van menseregte en die demokrasie beywer.

1760/1399

Dr Henning

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Date 30 SEP 1995 10

NATAL WITNESS

Stamp to commemorate Gandhi

A POSTAGE stamp in commemoration of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi will be issued on Monday.

The stamp will be a joint launch by the South African Post Office and the Indian Postal Administration and is a symbol of future co-operation between the two countries.

Monday's launch will be attended by Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo and the Indian High Commissioner to South Africa, Madhav Mangalmurti. They will be launching the issue which comprises two stamps (60c standard postage and R1,40 international postage). The stamps will be on sale at all post offices from Monday and can also be ordered from Philatelic Services, Private Bag X505, Pretoria, 0001, fax (012) 311-6042. — WR.

1760/1400

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PRETORIA NEWS

India and SA's historical ties

India believes it has something to share with South Africa because of the impact of Mahatma Gandhi on the politics of both nations.

It was now striving to build up better relations with this country in terms of trade and culture, said Dr Yolanda Sadie, of the Rand Afrikaans University's political studies department.

Dr Sadie, who recently returned from a six-week tour of India, told the Pretoria branch of the SA Institute of International Affairs, trade had soared after India's decision to reopen diplomatic relations with South Africa after 40 years.

"India still feels that our two nations have something to share with each as a result of Gandhi's sojourn in South Africa," she added.

Gandhi lived in this country at the turn of the century, and was a leader of India's path to independence in the 1940s.

Ms Sadie said that the Indian caste system, a form of social apartheid which had been outlawed in 1955, was still a source of bitterness in that country, and that the constitution still referred to class differences. There were very few cross-caste activities, including marriage.

"Although there is no longer the 'untouchable' class, social practices in India die hard," she added.

– Special Correspondent

Thousands will join in Gandhi Peace Walk

Part proceeds to go to restoration of Tolstoy Farm

By Jameel Chand

Thousands of peace-loving South Africans are expected to take part in the Gandhi Peace Walk commemorating the 117th anniversary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi next weekend.

Among them are top dignitaries including Albertina and Walter Sisulu, Jessie Duarte, Ahmed Kathrada and Johannesburg Mayor Issac Mogase.

The peace walk which starts at the Lenasia Civic Centre will end at Tolstoy Farm – the residence used by the great humanitarian and leader during his stay in South Africa at the turn of the century.

According to the organisers, the march has two distinct purposes.

"Firstly we would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm the message of the Mahatma that people are capable of living together peacefully in a common brotherhood," said Kirtee Menon.

Secondly, part of the proceeds raised will go towards the restoration of Tolstoy Farm as a historic heritage site for South Africa.

Money raised will also be donated to Hope, the Lenasia based organisation looking after street children.

"This, we believe, is in line with the philosophy of the Mahatma," she added. "One of the saddest things that has perhaps befallen us has been the vandalism of Tolstoy Farm.



In his latter years ... Gandhi the pacifist.

What used to be a centre for resistance against racial and ethnic oppression has deteriorated into a truly unsightly eyesore," said Menon.

Only the walls remain. The roof, windows and even the flooring have either been damaged beyond repair or stolen all together.

"Not only has a historic building been vandalised but a memory as well.

"We have undertaken to assist in the rebuilding of Tolstoy Farm in conjunction with the Gandhi Centennial Council which hopes develop the farm into a conference centre," said Menon.

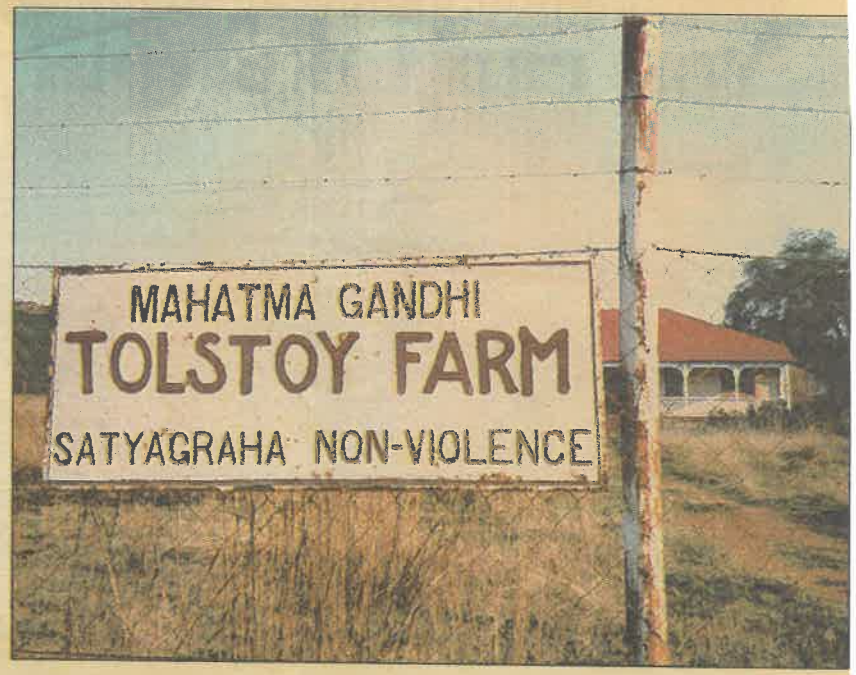
The conference centre is planned to keep alive the spirit of Gandhi in a very active and real way.

"South Africa is a traumatised society in which the effects of violence affects each and every one of us on a daily basis. The Gandhian philosophy of 'Satyagraha' or non violence is perhaps as relevant today as it was during the Mahatma's days," she explained.

Menon confesses that one of the most difficult tasks facing her and fellow organisers is showing that the walk is not an "Indian thing".

"People assume that just because it is being organised from Lenasia and because the name Gandhi is in it implies that it is for Indians only.

"Gandhi was not only a leader of the Indian people but a leader of all South Africans. His struggle was against all forms of oppression and his philosophy for all of mankind," said Menon.



Walk for peace ... part of the proceeds of the Gandhi Walk will go toward the restoration of Tolstoy House where he stayed while in Johannesburg.

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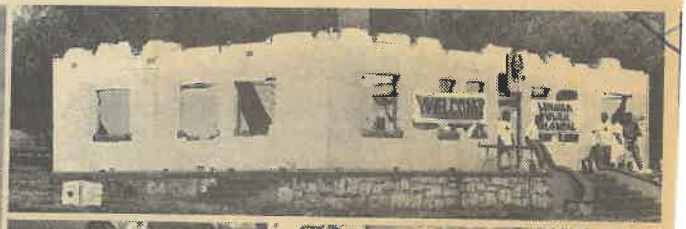
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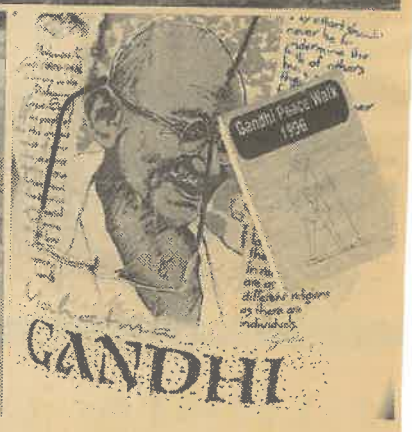
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BUSINESS DAY JHB.









Members of the Indian community, left and middle, yesterday took part in a 7km peace walk from the Lenasia Civic Centre to Gandhi's old farm Tolstoy in Lawley, top right, to raise funds for its restoration.

Pictures: ROBERT BOTHA

1760/1403

Hemming
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THE CITIZEN JHB
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India struggles to preserve Gandhi legacy

By Narayanan Madhavan

NEW DELHI. – His statue can be found in almost every Indian village. Every town has at least one street named after him. His message of non-violence and uprightness is taught in every school.

But as India celebrates its 50th year as an independent nation, many believe that Mahatma Gandhi, its spiritual founding father, is now more of a political token than a role model in the nation he led to freedom from British rule in 1947.

Born on October 2, 1869, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, popularly called Mahatma or the Great Soul, fell to a Hindu fanatic's bullets in 1948, five months after India became independent. Gandhi was a great preacher of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Inspired

His decades-long non-violent movement has inspired leaders like exiled Tibetan leader Dalai Lama and Nelson Mandela.

But in India, his followers say the values he stood for are under assault.

Gandhi preached non-violence but political violence is common in India. Gandhi's economic dream of self-sufficient villages has been replaced by a quest for global links and high technology that critics say throw people out of jobs.

Gandhi believed in austere living, but his followers are worried about increasing consumerism in India.

Gandhi often defied authorities wilfully to court arrest and uphold the principles he stood for. But leaders of the Congress party, which Gandhi controlled for years, have been busy moving bail applications in corruption cases.

"The Congress says it has the legacy of Gandhi. But they have slaughtered it so many times," said economist LC Jain, a staunch follower of Gandhi.

When Congress, its leader mired in a corruption scandal, needed to choose a new chief last month, eyes turned to a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi.

"They have realised that only the Gandhi cap can give them salvation," Sitaram Kesri, a Gandhi follower who was imprisoned during the freedom movement, said after being tapped to replace former prime minister PV Narasimha Rao.

Mr Rao resigned as party chief following a court summons in a criminal conspiracy case.



MAHATMA GANDHI . . . supporter of non-violence

"Let me tell you. I have to fight it out. We have to fight corruption at every level," Mr Kesri said.

Mr Kesri said decades in power had changed the party, but added that the Congress, which has ruled India for all but four years since independence, could still come back despite its worst electoral debacle this year with help from right people.

"Even today, 16 000 freedom fighters get out to campaign for us because of Mahatma Gandhi's memories," Mr Kesri said.

"The moment they (Congress workers) remember the tears of the poor, people will rally around."

Mr Kesri said Gandhi's legacy survives, pointing to India's existence as the world's largest democracy for 50 years. Congress, he said, also followed Gandhi's economic values in its own way.

"If you go through his articles, he has pleaded for small industries and cottage industries, and the government has all along been giving priority to this," Mr Kesri said.

Mr Kesri defended India's five-year-old economic reform programme, which critics say is at odds with Gandhian principles of self-reliance and small industries.

He said even global giants supported small ancillaries that provided jobs to poor people.

But critics like Mr Jain say that today's police control of crowds was anathema to Gandhi, who believed in the power of commoners and social reformers like himself, not the state apparatus.

Economic reforms now put people last, not first, Mr Jain said. "Now they are talking of a human face in economics. Gandhi had the whole human body in mind. If somebody had mentioned human face in his presence, he would have revolted."

Campaigners

Mr Jain said Gandhian values are not common among politicians, but in society he said they can be found in the non-violent protests led by environmental campaigners and women's groups campaigning against prohibition.

"It (Gandhian change) is not coming through the state, it is coming through the society," Mr Jain said.

Gandhian thinkers are also cheering a recent constitutional amendment which has made elections to village councils, called panchayats, mandatory with a third of the seats reserved for women. There will also be quotas for low castes.

"Its (village self-rule's) importance in reconstructing politics cannot be minimised," Mr Jain said. – Reuter

1760 / 1404

Date 28 OCT 1996
THE CITIZEN JHB

'Put off sale of Gandhi's letters'

NEW DELHI. – Acting after an appeal from the Indian Government, Mahatma Gandhi's former secretary has asked a London auctioneer to put off next month's sale of the freedom fighter's letters.

"The government says speculators will make money out of it and research scholars will be deprived of the material," said Venkataraman Kaly-anam, 75, who was secretary to Gandhi for three years until his assassination in 1948.

He said the correspondence includes drafts of six letters from Gandhi, a social reformer and father of India's resistance movement, to his friend Louis Mountbatten, the last British viceroy.

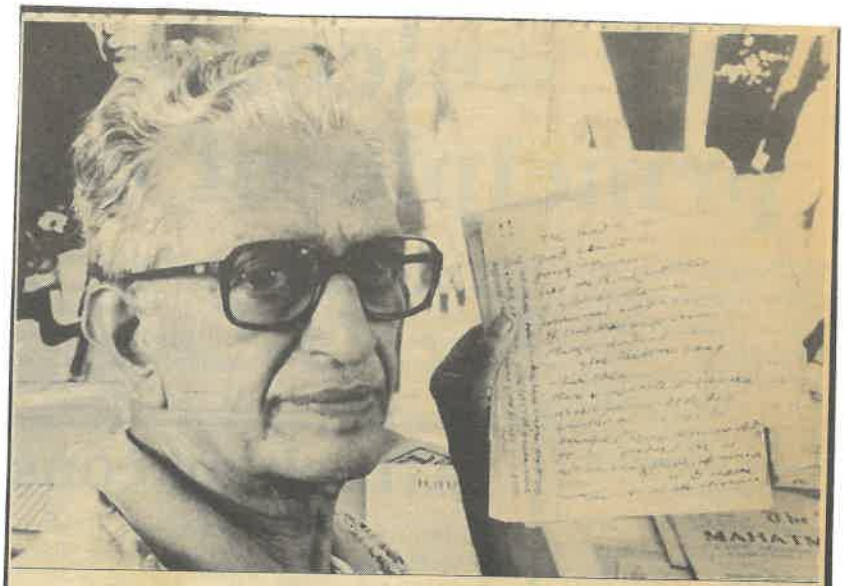
Sotheby's auction house had estimated that the 450 documents would fetch about 55 million rupees (R7 million), Mr Kaly-anam said on Saturday.

He said he planned to donate the money to a Hindu temple being built in Kapaa, Hawaii, but faxed a letter to Sotheby's last week asking that the November 14 auction be deferred.

"An official from the prime minister's office phoned me a few minutes ago, saying they want the documents to be kept in India for the benefit of research scholars," he said.

"If the government wants the papers, it will have to compensate me for the loss from cancelling the auction," he said. "I have also laid down other conditions, which I am not prepared to disclose to the Press."

He said an official from the prime minister's office was scheduled to meet him in Madras today. – Sapa-AP.



VENKATARAMAN KALYAMA, 75, who was secretary to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the father of India's independence movement, holds aloft letters in Madras that were written by Mohandas Gandhi, which Sotheby's was to auction in London on November 14. Mr Kalyanam said he had asked Sotheby's to defer the auction following a request by the Indian Government.

1760 / 1405

Hearings
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Phone 370403 Fax 374307 Telegraphic Address: "NEWSCUT"
Date 13 NOV 1996
THE CITIZEN JHB

Gandhi papers to return

MADRAS. – Mahatma Gandhi's former secretary yesterday asked the Indian High Commission in Lon-don to collect papers written by India's independence hero from an English auctioneer and return them to India.

Venkataram Kalyanam Iyer told AFP he had written to Indian High Commissioner LM Singhvi to collect from Phillips auctioneers the 70-odd items, written in English on the back of old envelopes and circular letters.

Among the 450 pages, which have never been made public, are drafts of letters to Winston Churchill and the last Viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten, and drafts of articles for magazines and "Monday speeches" read by his followers when the Mahatma observed a day's silence every week. – Sapa-AFP.

1760 / 1406

Herring
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Date 15 NOV 1996 21 NOV 1996
WEEKLY MAIL (Guardian)

Sale of Gandhi's letters called off



Kamal Ahmed

THE auctioneers Phillips announced in London this week that the sale of more than 450 pages of handwritten speeches and letters by Mahatma Gandhi, due to be auctioned this week, was being abandoned.

A cornucopia of claim and counter-claim, powerful interests and government pressure left Phillips with a sale nobody wanted.

Just a month earlier it had seemed such plain sailing. In a blaze of publicity, Phillips had described the documents as "a major archive of the 20th century". For £1-million (about R7,7-million) or so, the hundreds of scribblings in Gandhi's spidery hand, on topics as diverse as letters about the independence of India to his personal musings on sex, was there for the taking.

At the centre of the sale that never was is Venkaparam Kalyanam, Gandhi's secretary in the 1940s. For 50 years he looked after a case of Gandhi's writings which he had typed and transcribed.

In the late 1980s, Kalyanam offered the documents to the Saiva Siddhanta Church, a Hindu foundation based in Hawaii. Kalyanam decided to donate the papers to the foundation, led in the US by a man named Sivaya Subramuniyaswami, to raise money for a new temple the church is constructing in Hawaii.

Subramuniyaswami first approached Sotheby's, Phillips's arch rival, with the papers. Sotheby's approached the Indian High Commission to make a few checks before they decided to progress.

"I declined to give my blessing when I was approached on behalf of Sotheby's," said Dr Laxmi Mal Singhvi, the Indian High Commissioner. "They commendably declined to auction the papers when it was brought to their attention that the right and title to the papers was open to serious question."

Kalyanam and the church had made a crucial mistake in failing to inform the Navajivan Trust, the charity Gandhi set up in 1929 and to which he had left all rights to any work "whether printed or unprinted".

The church then approached Phillips with the same papers. But it, too, had failed to check with Gandhi's trust, something easily achieved with a phone call. Hearing of the sale, an official of the Nehru Memorial Museum in Delhi visited Kalyanam to tell him that the papers should be sent back to India. Kalyanam was warned that the sale may even be illegal and that the trust was taking legal action.

A series of tense meetings of Phillips's lawyers followed, against the increasing background noise of dissatisfaction from the Indian High Commission, which kept up a campaign against the sale with faxes and phone calls.

The church crumbled on November 8. It wrote to Singhvi saying that the news of Gandhi's will was a "startling revelation". The sale was off.

1760/1407

Hennig

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Office 23, 2nd Floor, 57 Pine Street, Durban, 4001
Phone 370403 Fax 374307 Telegraphic Address: "NEWSCUT"

Date 27 NOV 1996 THE CITIZEN JHB.

Gandhi heir gets control of ashes

NEW DELHI. – Mahatma Gandhi's great grandson yesterday won control of a wooden box in a bank vault that he claims contains the ashes of modern India's founding father.

The Supreme Court ordered a government-owned bank in the eastern state of Orissa to yield the box to Tushar Arun Gandhi, who has pledged to scatter the purported ashes of his great grandfather in the mighty Ganges River.

The sealed box, measuring 45cm by 45cm by 50cm , was deposited with the State Bank of India in Cuttack town on November 29, 1950.

Gandhi was shot dead by a Hindu fanatic on January 30, 1948, five months after India, spurred by the apostle of non-violence, won independence from Britain.

Control

The box bears the inscription "it contains the ashes of Mahatma Gandhi", the Supreme Court said in a 10-page judgment that responded to a request by Tushar Arun Gandhi to take control of the box, stored in the bank's safe deposit vault.

Earlier this year after a flurry of Press reports about the supposed ashes, Gandhi's great grandson ran into a bureaucratic wall when he asked for the box to "complete the last rites as per the Hindu religious practice".

The state's chief minister said the tale was "a big hoax", but that he was willing to have the contents chemically tested to see if they were truly Mahatma Gandhi's ashes. – Reuter.

1760/1408

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Date 28 NOV 1996
PRETORIA NEWS

Court rules on Gandhi's ashes

Sapa-DPA

New Delhi – The Indian Supreme Court has ordered the ashes of the father of the Indian nation, Mahatma Gandhi, which have been preserved in a bank vault in India for the last 46 years, to be immersed in the River Ganges, reports said yesterday.

The court, while settling a petition filed by Tushar Arun Gandhi, great grandson of the Mahatma, ruled that the ashes must be disposed upon a mutually agreed site and date on the River Ganges with reverence and dignity meriting the occasion.

The mortal remains of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the architect of India's freedom from British colonial rule, had been kept as a "safe deposit article" at the State Bank of India in Cuttack city in the eastern Orissa state since 1950.

Gandhi was shot and killed by a Hindu fanatic on January 30 1948 while he was on his way to address a prayer meeting in New Delhi. He was later cremated in the Indian capital and a mausoleum has been raised at the spot which is called Rajghat.

After the cremation, the ashes were distributed to many places to immerse them in various "sacred rivers". Hindus usually immerse the ashes of the dead in the holy rivers as an attempt to cleanse the soul on its way to heavan.

The urn containing the ashes reached Orissa in the first week of February 1948 and a part of it was immersed in the Mahodaddhi near Puri town and in other rivers in the state soon afterwards.

Many voluntary organisations were also given some ashes to be immersed. The ashes in the bank vault since November 1950, kept in a sealed wooden box, may have been returned by some of them.

A two–member bench of the country's highest court refused to accept on Tuesday the Orissa government's plea that the urn was a "hoax" being played by the nationalised bank. The judges said there was no need to doubt the entry in the bank's register, merely because the government records did not contain any note about the urn.

08 JAN 1997
THE CITIZEN JHB.

1760/1409

Gandhi's ashes due for Ganges

NEW DELHI. – The ashes of Indian freedom campaigner Mahatma Gandhi will be immersed in the Ganges this month after sitting in a bank vault since 1950, the United News of India (UNI) reported yesterday.

The decision was made after India's Supreme Court ruled the ashes, held in the State Bank of India in the eastern city of Cuttack, should be handed back to Gandhi's great grandson Tushar Arun Gandhi.

He is expected to pick up the ashes on January 13, UNI said, and put them in the Hindu holy river Ganges near Allahbad in the country's north on January 30 — the 49th anniversary of his assasination. – Sapa-AFP.

14 JAN 1997
THE CITIZEN JHB.

1760/1410

Gandhi ashes row rages

BHUBANESWAR, India. – Mahatma Gandhi's great grandson wants to take the purported ashes of India's apostle of non-violence on a national pilgrimage before immersing them in the Ganges, but he will have to go to the Supreme Court first.

The high court of the eastern state of Orissa said on Sunday that the wooden urn which Tushar Arun Gandhi says contains his great-grandfather's ashes has to be taken directly to the Ganges and not around the country.

Complicating the affair, the state's chief minister says the box does not contain Mr Gandhi's ashes.

"The high court registrar has told me that the urn cannot go around India as I have planned but it has to go directly to Allahabad for immersion," Tushar Arun Gandhi said in the eastern city of Bhubaneswar.

After a fast and much media attention, Tushar Arun Gandhi in November won control of the sealed box, which had been in a vault in the State Bank of India in Cuttack town since 1950.

Mr Gandhi was shot dead by a Hindu fanatic on January 30, 1948, five months after India, spurred by Gandhi's campaigning, won independence from Britain. He was cremated in Delhi.

The box, measuring 45 cm by 45 cm by 50 cm, bears the inscription "It contains the ashes of Mahatma Gandhi".

But the state's chief minister has called the claims that the box contains Mr Gandhi's ashes "a big hoax". – Reuter.

Whites tried to kill Gandhi 100 years ago

DOUGLAS ALEXANDER, a Durban-based freelance journalist, describes the events of the day, 100 years ago, that his grandparents saved Mahatma Gandhi from a mob.

MAHATMA GANDHI, that great man of peace and passive resistance, narrowly escaped being lynched by irate white colonists on a day of ugly mob scenes in Durban, exactly 100 years ago on January 13.

How different Indian and world history would have been had the rioters succeeded.

Only the quick thinking of Durban's chief constable of the day, 55-year-old British-born Richard Charles Alexander, and the pluck of his wife, Jane, saved him.

For the angry white inhabitants were out to get the 27-year-old London-trained Indian lawyer, whose intrusion on local politics they resented and whom they wrongly suspected of planning to flood Natal with Indian settlers. The so-called "Asian Invasion" was a sore point with the white colonists of Natal, which then comprised 400 000 blacks, 50 000 whites and 51 000 Indians.

In a previous stay in South Africa, from 1893-96, Gandhi not only proved an able lawyer but championed the disenfranchised and legally disadvantaged



PEACE-LOVING: Mahatma Gandhi narrowly escaped being lynched by irate white colonists on a day of ugly mob scenes in Durban 100 years ago.

But it didn't. White agitators demanded that the ships return to India with their passengers, who would be "pushed into the sea" if they tried to land.

Finally, on January 13, 1897, the boats were allowed to enter port to disembark their travel-weary

and people tried to hang Gandhi from a lamppost, but author Jack Jewell is among those who question this, pointing out that there was no mention of a rope "in the very full contemporary account in the Natal Mercury of January 14 1897".

At this dangerous juncture the diminutive Mrs Alexander arrived while taking a late afternoon stroll from her home in nearby Medwood Gardens.

Recognising the hapless Gandhi, she went to his rescue with flailing parasol, forcing the mob back until police help arrived. "Such was her dignity that the shouting, angry mob fell aside," said a report.

After a brief rest at the main police station alongside Medwood Gardens, the unbowed Gandhi insisted on continuing to the home of his friend Parsee Rustomjee, near the corner of Field and Queen streets, where his wife and sons were already sheltering. Although it was barely 700-metres from the police station to the Rustomjee house, and Durban was but poorly lit by 600 paraffin lamps, news of Gandhi's whereabouts quickly spread.

By 8pm the Rustomjee house and store were surrounded by a tightly packed white mob, many of them drunk, who pelted the roof with stones and chanted: "Hand over Gandhi or

Only the quick thinking of Durban's chief constable of the day, Richard Charles Alexander, and the pluck of his diminutive wife, Jane, wielding her parasol, saved Gandhi from being lynched by the angry mob that day.

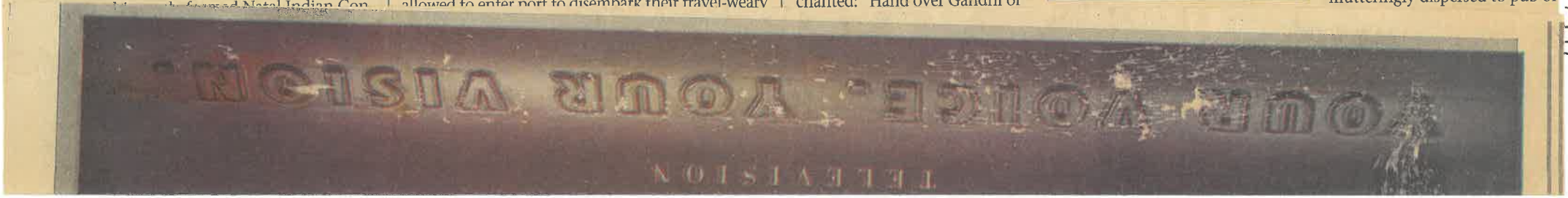
premises by a rear service door, which the mob had overlooked, with instructions to undress and hand Gandhi his uniform to escape in. Two white detectives were also slipped into the building and soon all three emerged.

Gandhi was in a uniform and a makeshift turban, and the detectives were disguised as an "Indian" merchant and a driver, with the help of blacking.

Helped by the poor street lighting, they slipped through the crowd unnoticed and made their way to the police station. Stubbs, who co-ordinated the getaway, later wrote: "I must say Gandhi had guts all right and never turned a hair."

When Stubbs gave him the pre-arranged all-clear signal, the Super halted the singing and smilingly broke the news that Gandhi had recently walked through them and was safely in police custody.

"It's a lie, it's a lie," yelled the bewildered mob. To appease them, Alexander let them choose a party of four to search the building, at the same time leading them in singing "And we'll hang old Gandhi on a sour apple tree". Eventually the baffled searchers emerged to report that the quarry was indeed gone, whereupon the mob slowly and mutteringly dispersed to pub or



20 JAN 1997 CAPE TIMES 17607 / 1411

1760 / 1412

27 JAN 1997

THE CITIZEN JHB.

Gandhi controversy goes on

NEW DELHI. – The last remaining ashes of Mahatma Gandhi will be laid to rest this week. The simmering controversy over his character and his legacy to India will not.

The notion of Gandhi's name being tainted with controversy of any sort would seem inconceivable to most people abroad, where the memory of the former freedom campaigner and advocate of non-violence is revered – even by the British.

When Tushar Gandhi, however, immerses the final portion of his great grandfather's ashes in the Ganges in Allahabad on January 30 – they were discovered after lying untouched and forgotten in a bank vault for almost half a century – it will be against a background of sporadic but insiduous bickering.

The criticisms, which have gone on for years, have homed in on Gandhi the man and Gandhi the politician.

Tushar has clearly been ground down by the debate.

"Today, sometimes, I wonder if India is ashamed of Gandhi," he says.

"Gandhi is just a figure in India's school history text books. There is so much ignorance about him."

During his lifetime, most of Gandhi's critics were to be found, not surprisingly, within British colonial ranks.

Winston Churchill called him a half-naked fakir. Lord Wavell, Viceroy of India between 1943 and 1947 – India's year of independence – reportedly wrote in his diary: "The more I see of that old man the more I regard him as an unscrupulous and old hypocrite; he would shrink from no violence and bloodletting to achieve his ends."

Among his own people Gandhi almost reached deity status. But there were critics – even in his own family. – Sapa-AFP

28 JAN 1997
THE CITIZEN JHB.

1760/1413

100 guards for Gandhi ashes

NEW DELHI. – A 100-strong paramilitary unit will guard the last remaining ashes of Mahatma Gandhi when they are handed over to his great grandson today, the United News of India (UNI) reported.

The Rapid Action Force personnel would guard the ashes of the former freedom campaigner when they are released from a bank vault in the eastern city of Cuttack where they had remained unnoticed for almost half a century.

The urn is due to be handed over to Tushar Gandhi at 3.30 pm, then put on public display in a park before being taken to the pilgrimage town of Allahabad in a decorated railway carriage.

The ashes are due to be immersed in the holy waters of the Ganges on Thursday in the presence of Indian Prime Minister HD Deve Gowda.

Gandhi's ashes were distributed across India's states for immersion in the country's holy rivers following his murder by a Hindu fanatic in January 1948.

The ashes discovered in Cuttack, however, had been kept back for use in a monument before they were forgotten. – Sapa-AFP.

29 JAN 1997
PRETORIA NEWS

1760/ 14 14

ASHES ON FINAL MISSION

Cuttack (India) – To the cry "Long live Mahatma Gandhi", the great grandson of modern India's founding father yesterday took his ashes out of a bank vault on a final pilgrimage to the Ganges River.

About 1 000 onlookers sang songs and watched Tushar Arun Gandhi emerge from the State Bank of India in the eastern city of Cuttack, carrying on his head a reddish wooden box containing what he said were his great grandfather's ashes.

The ashes are to be immersed in the Ganges at Allahabad city tomorrow, the 49th anniversary of the assassination of the Mahatma. – **Reuter**

Gandhi's ashes are immersed in Ganges – 49 yrs on

ALLAHABAD, India. – The ashes of Mahatma Gandhi were immersed in the holy Ganges river here yesterday, but the final pilgrimage of "the father of the Indian nation" failed to attract large crowds, witnesses said.

In a united show of apathy the crowds, including the prime minister, shunned Gandhi's last rites 49 years after his death.

The ashes, reclaimed earlier this month by Gandhi's great-grandson after they had been mislaid in a bank vault since 1948, were sprinkled over the waters by his relatives in front of around 2 500 people.

Tushar Gandhi, who fought a two-year legal battle before getting back the ashes, led the ceremony from a jetty where the Ganges and Yamuna rivers meet in this pilgrimage town.

Prime Minister H D Deve Gowda, who had announced he would attend the event, was not present but offered prayers to Gandhi in the Indian capital.

An official spokesman did not give any reason for his absence.

Murdered

Gandhi, popularly known as "Mahatma" (great soul) and "bapu" (father), was murdered by a Hindu fanatic on January 30, 1948, a year after Indian independence. His ashes were shared out among the Indian states for immersion in the country's rivers.

Part of the ashes sent to the state of Orissa were mislaid and only rediscovered two years ago in a bank vault in the eastern city of Cuttack.

The lack of people attending yesterday's ceremony was surprising, since around 100 000 pilgrims were already in Allahabad for an unrelated Hindu festival.

Few of them, however, were drawn to the Ganges.

Tushar reached the jetty at the head of a fleet of 14 boats, while the small crowd chanted "Long live Mahatma Gandhi. May he be immortal."

He poured some Ganges water into the copper urn before pouring out its contents. He bowed his head, with his hands folded, then immersed himself in the river to end the brief ceremony.

The poor turnout matched the lack of interest during Tushar Gandhi's highly-publicised, 550-km train journey from Cuttack to Allahabad.

Officials said no more than 100 people gathered at each station on the journey, while around 5 000 of Allahabad's 800 000 population paid homage to Mahatma Gandhi's memory yesterday morning at a specially-erected tent where garlands of flowers were draped around his portrait.

Tushar Gandhi, however, said he was not disappointed with the turnout. – Sapa-AFP.



TUSHAR GANDHI (Bearded, left) is joined by other relatives as he carries an urn containing part of the ashes of his great-grandfather, Mohandas Gandhi, India's independence leader, to be placed at a viewing gallery in Allahabad yesterday. The ashes were later immersed in the Ganges River.

31 JAN 1997
THE CITIZEN JHB.
1760/1497

31 JAN 1997
DIE BURGER (OOS-Kaap)
1760/1416



Mnr. Tushar Gandhi (middel) en lede van sy familie strooi gister die laaste as van sy oupagrootjie, Mahatma Gandhi, in die heilige Gangesrivier by Allahabad. **Foto: AP**

Gandhi se as vind laaste rusplek in heilige Ganges

ALLAHABAD. – Die laaste as van Mahatma Gandhi, vader van die Indiese nasie, is gister in die Gangesrivier gestrooi – presies 49 jaar ná sy dood.

Die as, wat vroeër vandeesmaand deur Gandhi se agterkleinseun opgeëis is nadat dit sedert 1948 in 'n kluis van 'n bank gelê het, is oor die rivier gestrooi terwyl 2 500 mense toegekyk het.

Mnr. Tushar Gandhi wat twee jaar in die hof geveg het om die as te kry, het die geleentheid gelei.

Mnr. H.D. Deve Gowda, premier van Indië wat aangekondig het dat hy die geleentheid sou bywoon, was nie daar nie. 'n Amptelike woordvoerder het geen rede vir sy afwesigheid verstrek nie.

Mnr. Gowda en pres. Shankar Dayal Sharma het egter wel in 'n praalgraf in die hoofstad, Nieu-Delhi, vir Gandhi gebid.

Gandhi is op 30 Januarie 1948 – 'n jaar ná onafhanklikwording – deur 'n Hindoe fanatikus vermoor. Sy as is onder die provinsies verdeel om in die riviere gestrooi te word. – (Sapa-AP)

02 FEB 1997
The Sunday Independent.
1760/1417

Gandhi's mystic legacy is under attack in the turmoil of secular, modern India

BY SIDHARTH BHATIA

New Delhi – Mahatma Gandhi's name has an almost mystic resonance in India and in most other parts of the world, including South Africa.

India's high commissioner to Pretoria is a grandchild and the recent co-production of a film on his early years as a lawyer in Natal have only served to reinforce that bond.

This week Gandhi's ashes were poured into the River Ganges to mark the 49th anniversary of his assassination, and later this year India will celebrate the half-century of the independence he lived and died for.

But the truth is the man's political and social legacy is dead in modern India. Gandhi, who was killed by an assassin's bullet in New Delhi on January 30 1948, is alive more through stony monuments and in platitudes than in any real sense.

His economic ideas were never taken seriously and his steadfastly moral approach seems a strange anachronism in India's corruption-ridden politics. But most politicians at least used to pay lip service to the man whose strategies and sheer moral courage defeated the strongest imperial power of its time.

Now the man is being subject to outright abuse and ridicule. A politician got into what is increasingly becoming a fray by stating that Gandhi could not be described as the "father of the nation". India as a nation went back several millennia and at best Gandhi could be credited with having led the battle for independence from British rule. This argument is insidious because several right-wing Hindu political parties have been trying to portray India as an ancient and great Hindu civilisation with a long tradition of nationhood, thus concluding that Muslims and other minorities are "foreign" elements. This goes completely against the secular and pluralistic agenda of modern India and by undermining Gandhi, these parties want to negate everything he stood for.

The truth is that when the British arrived, India was not one country and certainly not one nation in the ethnic sense. The modern idea of India was forged when it became one administrative unit under the British.

For all practical purposes, Gandhi, and most of what he stood for, has lost its importance in today's India. – *Foreign Service*

24 APR 1997
THE CITIZEN

1760/1418

Station to be named after Gandhi

DURBAN. – A railway station would be named after India's Mahatma Gandhi to honour one of South Africa's greatest leaders, President Mandela announced in Durban yesterday.

He did not say which station would be named after Gandhi, who led a passive resistance protest against racial discrimination in the early 1900s. The protest resulted in the Indian Relief Act being passed in 1914.

Pres Mandela was addressing more than 40 000 school children at a Hare Krishna festival for the children of the Rainbow Nation in Durban's Kings Park Stadium. Tens of thousands of children received food parcels before entering the stadium.

Pres Mandela said Indian Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral would visit South Africa as his guest next month.

Mr Gujral was sworn in on Monday after the fall of HD Deve Gowda's Front government, international news reports said.

Pres Mandela said South Africa wanted to strengthen its ties with south-east Asia out of respect for the local Indian community.

Rain did nothing to dampen the spirit of the children who pushed and shoved their way towards the stage, where Pres Mandela, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, KwaZulu/Natal premier Dr Ben Ngubane and African National Congress provincial leader Jacob Zuma were seated. – Sapa.

26 APR 1997
THE CITIZEN JHB.

1760/1419

Mandela, Ghandi now Freemen of Pmb

MARITZBURG. – President Mandela yesterday accepted the posthumous conferral of the freedom of Pietermaritzburg on Indian leader Mahatma Ghandi.

Pres Mandela was yesterday morning also granted the freedom of the city.

Yesterday afternoon's ceremony took place at the Pietermaritzburg railway station where Ghandi was thrown off a train in 1893 for being an Indian travelling in a first class carriage.

The incident led to his passive resistance campaign against racial discrimination.

Pres Mandela said: "Today we are righting a century-old wrong.

"This station, once one of the world's most notorious symbols of discrimination, intolerance and oppression, today proclaims a message of dignity restored.

"Ghandi's magnificent example of personal sacrifice and dedication in the face of oppression was one of his many legacies to our country and to the world.

"The values of tolerance, mutual respect and unity for which he stood and acted had a profound influence on our liberation movement and on my own thinking," Pres Mandela said.

He said as South Africa's people had been the agents of their own liberation, defying oppression and deprivation, they were now critical to the reconstruction and development programme, both as beneficiaries and as the driving force.

Pres Mandela earlier visited Imbali town hall where in 1961 he delivered his last public address before he was arrested in 1962.

Yesterday's proceedings were delayed by 30 minutes due to congestion caused by thousands of children and residents who lined the streets of Pietermaritzburg to welcome the president. – Sapa.

Madiba, Gandhi remake history in Pietermaritzburg

BY HEIDI GIBSON AND BRENDAN SEERY

There was a palpable, poignant sense of *deja vu* as the slim, dapper, intellectual Indian man stepped down from a steam train at Pietermaritzburg station on Friday.

Gopalkrishna Gandhi, grandson of Mahatma Gandhi and now India's high commissioner to South Africa, came humbly to receive the freedom of the city of Pietermaritzburg on behalf of his grandfather.

Just less than 103 years ago, the Mahatma, known then as an up-and-coming lawyer, Mohandas K Gandhi, was thrown off a train at Pietermaritzburg because he had the temerity to ride in a first-class compartment reserved for whites.

The incident was a turning point for Gandhi. It set him on his path of non-violent resistance to oppression and colonialism, a path which culminated in India's independence from Britain in 1947. Gandhi's involvement in the non-violent resistance campaign in South Africa was also the precursor to the central role played by the Indian community, through the Transvaal and Natal Indian congresses, as allies of the African National Congress in the South African freedom struggle.

After being welcomed to a Pietermaritzburg markedly changed from the colonial town which was the scene of his grandfather's humiliation, Gopal Gandhi said: "When Gandhi was evicted from the train, an Indian visiting South Africa fell, but when Gandhi rose, an Indian South African rose".

Another father of his country's freedom, Nelson Mandela, conferred the posthumous freedom on the Mahatma.

Handing over the freedom scroll Mandela said: "Today we are righting a century-old wrong. This station, one of the world's most notorious symbols of discrimination, intolerance and oppression, today proclaims a message of dignity restored."

Gopal Gandhi, speaking only weeks after the return of Mandela from his third visit to India, emphasised the similarities in the histories of South Africa and India. He also pointed to the developing importance of both countries in challenging the existing world political and economic orders.

"The freedoms of Asia and Africa are of similar coinage as indeed are the strivings of all the developing nations," said Gandhi, adding that the "larger world remains discriminatory and unequal".

The Indian high commissioner accused the "world's powerfully armed countries" of raising "barriers of protection or preference". "Whenever they seek to exclude the world's developing nations from a rightful share in the world's resources, or in political organisations, they eject a passenger from what they regard as their first-class compartment".

Earlier in the day the convoy carrying the president to the city hall was mobbed by school children waving colourful flags. The delay forced proceedings to start late.

To the accompaniment of Johnny Clegg's famous song, *"Asimbonang'UMandela" (We have not seen Mandela)*, Madiba entered the hall, pausing to greet those lucky enough to be inside while outside thousands milled around Commercial street, which was closed to traffic.

Time was not only turned back to the scene of Gandhi's infamous humiliation, but it also turned back for Mandela himself.

After 30 years, Mandela again entered the Arya Samaj hall in Imbali, where he made his last public speech before his arrest.

That event was the All-in-Africa conference, attended then by 1 000 delegates. It was in the same hall that Mandela made a speech calling for a "non-racial democratic South Africa" and gave the government until May 31, 1961 to convene a convention in order to do so.

On Friday he walked up the steps and into the hall, after first spending a few minutes dancing Madiba-style with members of the Zibukezulu technical high school choir.

Shan Pillay, the freelance photographer who captured on film Mandela's original appearance in the hall 30 years ago, was there to witness the occasion. So too was one of the "foot soldiers of the struggle", Alfred Duma of Ladysmith.

Describing the event, Pillay said on that night he and Creina Alcock had eventually burgled their way into the back of the hall only to find themselves on the front stage.

"No-one knew who we were and everyone just assumed we were part of the conference," said Pillay who then watched as "this earnest young lawyer from Johannesburg" addressed the crowd.

"I never thought I would ever be given the chance to stand on the same platform again," he said.

27 APR 1997
The Sunday Independent

1760/1430

The father of South Africa's freedom, Nelson Mandela, awards the freedom of the city of Pietermaritzburg to Indian high commisioner Gopalkrishna Gandhi, who received it behalf of his grandfather, Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Indian freedom struggle PHOTOGRAPH: GRANT ERSKINE

(2) 27 APR 1997
THE SUNDAY INDEPENDENT

30 May 1997 / 1160/1421
Weekly Mail (Guardian)

Gandhi's farmhouse demolished

THE remains of Mahatma Gandhi's farmhouse outside Lenasia have been demolished, despite efforts to declare the site a national monument, reports **Ann Eveleth**. The chairman of the Transvaal Gandhi Centenary Council, Narotam Patel, said he had cleared the final remnants off the site on Tolstoy Farm earlier this month, following the building's deterioration due to vandalism and lack of funding.

The National Monuments Council has been trying since 1993 to have the site declared a national monument, but has failed to secure the centenary council's permission.

Gandhi lived on the farm at the time of World War I and developed much of his Satyagraha philosophy there.

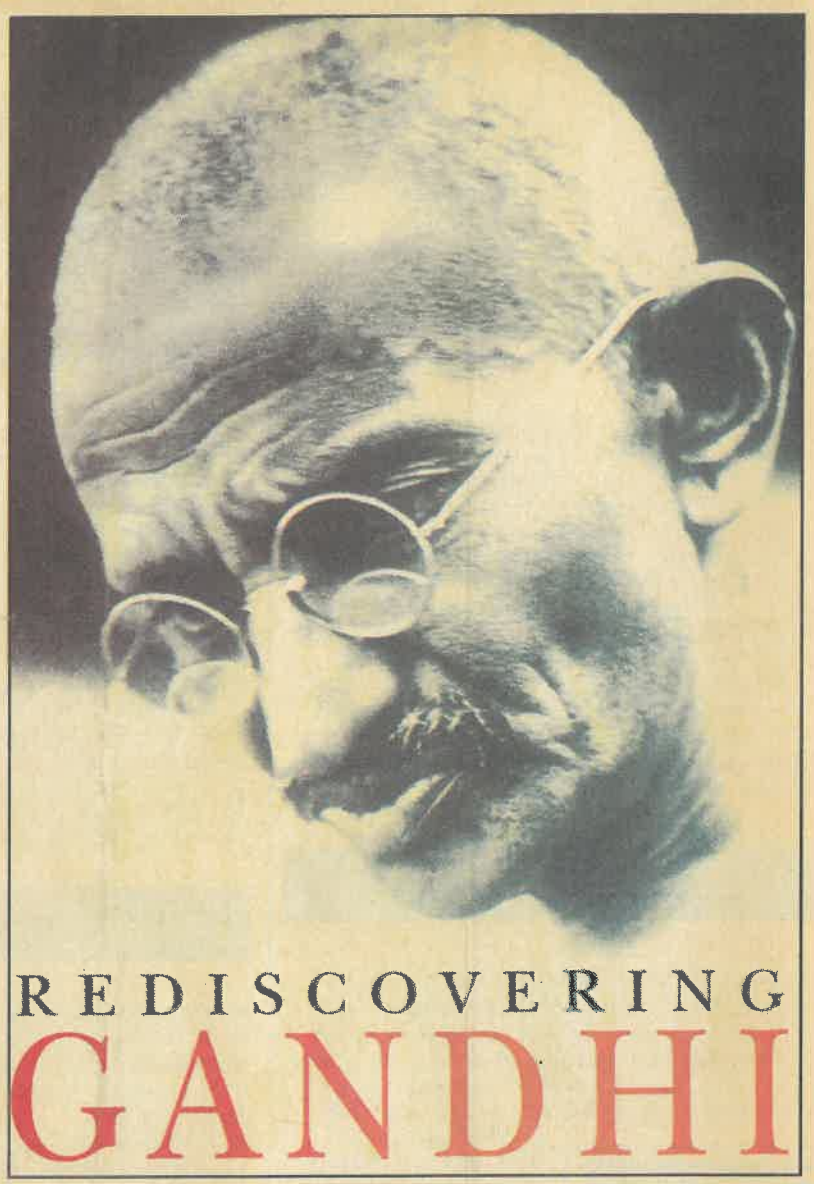
23 JUN 1997
NATAL MERCURY

1760/1422

review

Patrick Leeman

New insights into great man



THE MAN BEHIND THE SAINT: The cover of Yogesh Chadha's book.

MAHATMA GANDHI remains a towering figure in 20th Century history, and will go down as one of the outstanding moral figures of the past 100 years, if not the millennium.

This month marked the 51st celebration of the launch of the 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign in Durban, sparked off by Gandhi's activities in the city from 1906.

His reputation for sanctity in his personal life continues to be a subject of controversy in some quarters, however.

This trend may have to do with an ongoing obsession with "debunking" the "not so rich but famous", on the other hand.

The question remains: was he the "saint" as represented by Richard Attenborough in his epic film, Gandhi? Was there no manifestation at all of the "sinner" ?

Yogesh Chadha, who gave up all his other commitments to write the biography, explores this, and other related questions, in *Rediscovering Gandhi* (Random House).

Chadha maintains that Gandhi's greatness – indeed, his uniqueness – lies in his role as an innovator in politics.

"Far from being a mere theoretician or analyst, he loved humanity with surprising compassion," the author writes.

"In fact, he endeavoured to found a new political order.

"He was the first in human history to extend the principle of non-violence from the individual to the social and the political plane."

An interesting aspect of Gandhi's personality is that he seems to have developed an early interest in eccentrics of all kinds – Indian as well as English.

Some indication of the fallible Gandhi is found in Chapter 4 – Briefless Barrister – where the author refers to the jealousy the Mahatma felt in regard to his wife.

Arriving in Bombay from London to take up the legal profession, Gandhi had time to "quarrel with his wife."

Chapter 5 – Unwelcome Visitor – chronicles in meticulous detail Gandhi's stay in Natal between 1893 and 1910.

It was at this time that the lawyer turning activist came into contact with Christianity.

Gandhi, the author notes, could not accept Christianity as the greatest religion, nor did he advocate Hinduism as being such.

"He did not understand the multitude of sects and castes, and the institution of untouchability.

"If the Vedas (Hindu sacred books) were the inspired word of God, why not also the Bible and the Koran?." he asked.

"He recoiled from the competitiveness of religion."

Gandhi was impressed by the austere and devotional life of the Trappist monks at Mariannhill.

None of the brothers ate fish, fowl or meat, nor did they partake of eggs, Chadha writes.

However, the nuns had meat four times a week because, as the guide showing him around, put it "the sisters were more delicate than the brothers". This revelation somewhat distressed Gandhi, but he felt compensated by the Trappists' other habits of simplicity.

There is a lot of concentrated reading in this book. It is 500 pages long, but worth ploughing through.

I am always suspicious when a book is billed as "the definitive biography".

Is that not a matter for posterity to decide?

In the final analysis, one has to admire the Gandhi as seen through the eyes of this biographer.

He steers clear of the hagiographical approach – the name given to the biography of a saint – and looks at the man as a human being, shorn of the myths which have surrounded him.

In conclusion, Chadha writes that the Mahatma would have been distressed by the execution of his assassin in 1948.

The attacker was hanged in accordance with the law of India prevailing in 1948.

"All perpetrators should be won over through love," Gandhi had written.

1760/1423

29 JUN 1997
SUNDAY TRIBUNE

DELHI LETTER



S VENKAT NARAYAN

Gandhi's statue to go up in Washington

A statue of Mahatma Gandhi, the hero and architect of Indian independence, will be installed in Washington. The United States government has approved the idea in principle. If all goes well, the Gandhi memorial will be in place by next January 26, the day India became a republic with its own constitution in 1950.

It could be installed in a triangular park opposite the Indian embassy in the US capital. The US National Park Service, the main authority overseeing such installations, cleared the proposal at a hearing early this month unanimously, and with much enthusiasm.

A master sculptor will make a bronze statue of the Mahatma. It will then be shipped to Washington.

"It will take four to five months to cast such a statue, but it will be done within the anniversary year," says Shiv Mukherjee, the spokesman in the Indian embassy in Washington. The golden jubilee celebrations of Indian independence begin on August 15, the day the British colonialists left for home in 1947, and will last one whole year.

An act of congress is all that is needed for the statue to be installed. US congressmen Frank Pallone and Bill McCollum, co-chairmen of the India caucus in the house of representatives, have already introduced a Bill to authorise the Indian government to establish a memorial in the Mahatma's honour.



CAST IN BRONZE: Mahatma Gandhi

"Gandhi's contribution to the causes of democracy, freedom and human rights are felt to this day, not only in India, but throughout the world, including here," Pallone declared in a statement submitted to the national capital memorial commission.

1760/1424

04 JAN 1998
SUNDAY TRIBUNE

DELHI



LETTER

S VENKAT NARAYAN

Vote for Gandhi as man of the century

Tushar Gandhi, Mahatma Gandhi's incorrigible great-grandson, is at it yet again! He was in the news last time for immersing the last known urn of the great man's ashes at Allahabad, at the confluence of the three holy rivers Ganga, Jamuna and the mythical Saraswati on January 30 last year.

Earlier he also made news by suing global TV tycoon Rupert Murdoch, whose Star TV channel broadcast a chat show during which certain defamatory references were made to the mahatma.

This time, Mumbai-based (Bombay) Tushar Bhai has undertaken a brand new mission: To get the world to vote for Mahatma Gandhi as the most important man of the 20th Century. He's just joined a group called the "Mahatma Gandhi, the Person of the Century Committee".

Its avowed aim is to mobilise people across the globe to propose Gandhiji's name for *Time* magazine's poll to identify 100 people who most influenced events in this century. The magazine will decide on the "Person of the Century" at the end of 1999.

Quite sure

Says Tushar: "We formed the committee in Mumbai last week as we are not only keen, but quite sure, that "Bapu" will be chosen as the Person of the Century." Tushar is the grandson of the mahatma's second son, Manilal Gandhi. The businessman-crusader has teamed up with two like-minded friends – K Pandyan and Vijay Mukhi, both information technology professionals – for cyber-lobbying to make Gandhiji the Person of the Century.

The fact that Gandhiji did not bag the Nobel Peace Prize even though he succeeded in liberating India from the British does not deter Tushar.



MAHATMA GANDHI

He explains: "My great grandfather may not have won that coveted prize. But most of the awardees, such as Nelson Mandela, the Dalai Lama and Mother Teresa, have acknowledged that they have learnt a lot from the way he lived his life. That is why I'm sure Bapu stands a chance of winning this honour."

Tushar and his friends are inviting Indians, non-resident Indians as well as all those who admire Gandhiji across the globe, to contact the group and use its e-mail address (*jan30@mahatma.org.in*) to make Gandhiji the Person of the Century. Incidentally, *Time* magazine has been inviting nominations through Internet (*http://www.time.com*) for its list of 100 top personalities.

A *Time* panel of experts will then pick from one of these hundred for the top honour by 1999.

eflect on an apostle of non-violent protest

Gandhi's death is an appropriate time to practise his message of peace: I C MEER writes

up in the cause of black liberation in the United States. But Gandhi had failed to make humanity follow the path of non-violence, and he died a lonely man, fully conscious of human failings in his own beloved India.

Gandhi perhaps belonged to the 21st Century. Some say he was too far in advance of his time. His "soul-force-technique" of *Satyagraha* may still become the saving force of humanity in the new millennium. And as we ponder his legacy to the world when we observe the 50th anniversary of his death, we record with pride that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was a South African who has left a priceless legacy of struggle for justice and truth in our country.

He pioneered the passive resistance struggle against racial oppression in South Africa during his 1906-1913 struggle against the detested pass laws, the poll tax, the provincial barriers and the right of recognition of Hindu and Muslim marriages. His name and the name of his wife Kasturba have a pride of place in the liberation history of our country.

In 1894, when Gandhi founded the Natal Indian Congress, there were no African liberation organisations in South Africa. In the Eastern Cape the Imbumba was the first



MAHATMA GANDHI
Barrister in Johannesburg in 1900

African organisation established in 1882 by African Christians to oppose racism. If the ANC had existed in 1894 with its membership open to all, it is said that Gandhi would have joined it and not formed the body that he did. But the ANC was formed 18 years later in 1912, and it was only in 1986, long after the death of Gandhi, that its membership was opened to Indian South Africans.

Gandhi's great legacy to South Africa is the fearless opposition to racial oppression, and sacrifice for the cause of justice and freedom. He organised the first opposition to the pass laws with burning of the hated documents, and numerous passive resistance actions against the pass laws followed thereafter. He was the first person to organise strike action, in the coal mines and the sugar industry in Natal in 1913, and thus created a useful precedent for our workers in later years.

His great compassion towards his fellow human beings was reflected in the Bambata uprising when, as a stretcher bearer, he personally saved the lives of many African wounded, whom the white nurses refused to nurse. And he continued to evolve until his compassion enveloped the whole world.

In South Africa he had united the Indian community belonging to the Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Parsee faiths. And it is here that he learned that Indian South Africans, facing the common enemy of racism, had totally rejected caste divisions. Thus in 1915 he arrived in India with the call for Hindu-Muslim unity and the ending of the evils of caste divisions.

Liberation history records that passive resistance was used as a weapon against the pass laws on numerous occasions by the ANC and African women. In 1946 the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congresses jointly rekindled the Gandhian Representation Act aimed at land restrictions and denial of non-racial franchise.

This was followed, in 1952, when the South African Indian Congress and the African National Congress jointly launched the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign in which Nelson Mandela and his ANC Youth League colleagues played leading roles, laying the foundation of the politics of alliance, which fully developed with the birth of the Freedom Charter.

Indeed, the South Africa Gandhi has left us with is a great legacy on which we reflect on this occasion when the world mourns the death of this outstanding apostle of peace, and celebrates his life.

I C Meer is a member of the KZN Parliament and president of the Liberation History Foundation.

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16 JAN 1998
Natal Mercury

1760/1426

I

CHALLENGES OF THE 21ST CENTURY

AN OUTLINE

BY ARTHUR GAVSHON

(FOR THE INDIRA GANDHI MEMORIAL TRUST, NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 1991)

DOCUMENTATION CENTRE
UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN-WESTVILLE
Accession No. 1362/165
BRN
Class No.

CHALLENGES: AN OUTLINE

FROM ARTHUR GAVSHON

TWO PRIMARY CHALLENGES await the policy-makers of the 21st century.

The more immediate dimensions, demands that they should clean up the mess in the affairs of humankind which 20th centurions leave behind.

Their second test, and it may prove the greatest future leaders will face, is to catch up with and build upon the achievements of scientists.

Consider the record of the past 90 years, first in matters international, them in the realm of understanding and controlling the forces of nature.

On order in the World:

Great wars and small ones have taken a toll of scores of millions. Poverty, famine, disease stalk whole continents. Rampant nationalism, racism, religious conflict bedevil relations between states and within states. Weaponsry in some regions supercedes the need for schools, hospitals, homes. Massive debts piled up before the millenial turn will need to be redeemed by tomorrow's generations. Degradation of the environment threatens to transform climatic patterns, ocean levels, food production.

This catalogue of calamities is sorry enough. But sadder still is the reality that the objective conditions which contributed to them still exist and are unlikely to change while nations differ over concepts of democracy, of civilization, of human rights. And so long as nation - states conflict over values, attitudes, interests they will continue to perceive their security to be at risk.

A key questions to be addressed, then, is whether the objective conditions which have contributed to past conflicts and violence can be changed ever?

Oscar Wilde, whose humanism outstripped his diplomacy, once insisted : "A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not even worth glancing at."

Those sharing his idealism would spurn the scorn of the realists who profess to see the world as they think it is. They would argue that if the powers were to enter the 21st century without a vision of being able to achieve something better than what has gone before, then the lessons of this millenium would possess little rational meaning. It would instead imply that the processes of multinational expansionism, of bank impossed indebtedness, of chronic and

grinding poverty, of global warming and all the rest are beyond control, largely irreversible, constituting doom-laden vehicles of inevitable disaster and destruction.

Yet around the world few societies would contemplate these implications. Most still yearn for their particular, private brands of Utopia. To disavow them would spell surrender.

For them, and even for the most cynical realists, the 20th century was by no means devoid of the promise of better things to come, of trail-blazing achievements. Look, they say, at the promise which lies ahead and which could apply to us as well as to them.

The Scientific Revolution

Within a relatively brief timespan 20th century scientists have pushed back the frontiers of knowledge and information about the forces of nature further than all their predecessors in history.

They have detected and understood the basic nature of matter. They have begun unravelling the mysteries surrounding the structure of the universe. They have discovered the molecular processes of what to us means life. They have revolutionised geophysics plus the physics of computing and communications.

I am not a scientist and will leave it to others to interpret the tremendous significance with which these advances are endowed. It is enough for me merely to point out that :

* The new technologies that stem from these discoveries have extended not only the capacities of the human mind but also with it the ability to destroy the planet.

* Physics coupled with biology has enabled the men of medicine to understand and begin to master the molecular mysteries of life and the rules governing genetics and the origin of diseases. Thus the start of the human genome project which ultimately, may be able to provide answers to the cause and treatment of anything from AIDS to cancer. And, perhaps the most importantly, the workings of the human brain and its connection with the human mind.
* The Fusion between computers and communication systems has heralded the advent of the information revolution that can transform societies in a global sense. Transmission of knowledge and data on every conceivable subject and issue through a system of millions of computers and communication outlets to people every where in time will translate the concept of the global village into a reality.

ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

At this time of historic geopolitical change and shifting power alliances where stands the United Nations? Its future as the power house of the much vaunted new world order could be crucial if a cooperative global system to preserve peace is to emerge in the millenium ahead. But its past has been less than auspicious.

The UN was set up to sublimate the craving by people everywhere for international peace and understanding after the slaughter and suffering of world war 2. Rarely did it satisfy that craving. The nationalism of member governments from the start transcended the idealism of the UN's founding fathers. Each of its past five Secretaries-Generals in varying degree fell captive to the rivalries generated by the east west cold war. The demands and dangers emanating from the super power dual transcended the urgent new challenges which arose to confront the world community. They were the challenges of the Post colonial era, of sudden social and economic change, the seeming disinclination of political leaders to listen to or hear, what their scientists had to say.

Those who wrote the UN charter stressed that the organization should be served by men and women of intellect, independence and morality, strong enough to withstand the maneuvering and manipulation of governments concerned primarily with promoting their own sovereign interests. Soon disenchantment began to set in. Nationalisms did more than shatter the unity of the war time allies; they also engulfed the infant international civil service turning dreams of universal peace into night mares of political cynicism. Major governments put away their principles and set out to staff the UN secretariat with nominiees more loyal to their sponsors than to the global community.

Within its first few years two developments profoundly damaged working relations between secretariat staff and successive secretaries -generals:

In 1948 incumbent secretary general Trygve Lie laid down under a general assembly directive, that none with facist or nazi connections could join the staff. 4 years later this provision vanished from the rules. Ultimately it made the appointment of Kurt Waldheim possible in an affair that tarnished the UN.

* In 1949 Lie reached a secret written agreement with the US state department allowing US agents to screen all American members of the Secretariat on political grounds. As years rolled by this screening system was extended to almost all UN employees and non American staff members of the specialised agencies. This secret process went on until cancelled by a US court

responding to a challenge by an American candidate for a post.

These developments, initiated during the era of Senator Joe McCaarthy, continued long after his disappearance and served mainly to reflect official US efforts to undercut the internationalism that was to have been embodied in the UN mission. It Also could be seen to reflect an American wish to control the world body.

That wish still is alive. It resurfaced recently when the leader of a UN team charged with the task of checking out Iraq's nuclear capacity sent all the evidence he had collected not first to UN head quarters but to the US state department. That official was an American.

This is a secret segment of UN histroy that has its own special message for the officials who manage, and the states which comprise, the United Nations of the 21st Century.

The world body exists to serve the interests of all its members if any sort of coherent, enduring international order is to ensure the cause of peace, understanding, cooperation.

Unless it does so it will survive only as a monument to hopes lost and forlorn and the end of history will be long postponed.

HIST/19

(1447/12)

From: M.K. G.
To : Lord Ampthill.,
London – 30/10/1909.

My Lord

I have for sometime past been wishing to place before your lordship the result of my observations made here during my brief stay on the nationalist movement among my countrymen.

If you will permit me to say so, I would like to say that I have been much struck by your lordships candour, sincerity and honesty of which one notices nowadays such an absence among our great publick men. I have noticed too that your imperialism does not blind you to matters of justice and that your love of India is genuine & great. All this coupled with my desire to withhold nothing from your lordship regarding my own activity about matters as they may have a direct or an indirect bearing on the struggle in the Transvaal if, it does not require me to inform you of what I have seen.

I have made it a point to see of every shade of opinion. Opposed as I am to violence in any shape or form, I have come to have into contact with the so called extremists who may

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be better described as the penalty (gapbig) of violence. This I have done and in ____ to it possible to Convince them of the error of their ways. I have noticed that some of the members of this p.ty are passessing a high degree of morality, great intellectual ability and lofty self sacrifice.

Pg 3

They — and —— influence on the yong Indians here. They are acting. Unsparing in their efforts to impress upon latter their convictions.

One of them came to me with a —— to convince me that I was wrong in my —— and that nothing but the use of violence —— or open or both in is likely to bring about redress of wrongs if.

An awakening of the national Consciouness is unmistakeable. But among the majrity it is in a crude shape and there is not a Corresponding Spirit of self sacrifice. Everywhere I have noticed impatience of British rule.

In some cases the hatred of the whole race is ——. In almost all cases distrust of British rules. them is —— on their minds. They ( ) are supposed to do nothing unofficialey?

Those who are against violence are so only for the time being. They do not disapprove of it. But they are too cowardly or too selfish to _____ their opinions _____. Some consider that the time for violence is not yet. I have practically met no one who believes that India can ever become free without resort to violence.

I believe that repression will be unavailing. At the same time I feel that the British rulers will not give liberally & in time's (form _____ selfishness of the British case is beyond description). The fault is not of men but of the system & the system is represented by the present civilization which has produced its _____

effect as well in the people? here as well? in India. India suffers additionally only in as far as it is exploited in the interest of the foreign capitalists. ~~In time~~

The True remedy lies, in my humble opinion, in _____ discarding modern civilization which is a negation? of the spirit of Christianity.

But this is a _____. It may then be just possible that the British rulers in India may at least do, as the Indians do and not impose on them _____ the modern civilization. of railways) machinery and

Corresponding ____ indulgent
habits ____ ~~longer~~ of slavery? of the
Indian people as they are of Europeans.
I therefore have no quarrel with the rulers.
I have every quarrel with their methods. I
no longer believe as I used to in Lord Macaulay.
As a bengalee through his minute of ____ on
education
And I do think that a great deal too much
is being made of facts Britannica.
Pg 6. To me the core of the cities like Calcutta
Bombay is a matter for sorrow? rather than ____
____? . Indian has lost in having
broken up a part of her village system.
____ these views, I share the national
spirit but I totally ____? from the methods
whether of the extremists or of the moderates
For . relies ultimately on violence -
Violent methods must mean acceptance of modern
civilization. Therefore of the same competition
one notice there and consequent ____ of
____ time morality. I should be interested
in the ____ as to who rules. I should
expect rulers to rule according to my wish?
Pg 7. otherwise I ____ to help them
I became a passive resister against them.
Passive resistance is soul force exerted
against physical force. In other words love
conquering hatred.

I do not know how far I have made myself understood & I do not know how far I carry conviction with me in my reasoning.

But I have put the case in the which — ? manner before my countryman. My purpose in ~~not~~ writing to your Lordship is twofold. The first is to tell your lordship that whenever I can get the time, I would like to take my humble share in national regeneration? and the second is either to secure your lordship's Co-operation in the ~~to write~~ or to invite work if it ever comes to me ~~to write~~ your criticism.

Pg8 The information I have given your lordship is quite confidential and not to be made use of ——— to my Countrymen. I feel that no useful purpose will be served unless the truth is known and proclaimed.

If you will persue the inquiry further I shall be pleased to answer any questions you may wish to put. ——— British have full knowledge of the contents of this letter.

If a discussion is considered necessary, I am at your service.

In Conclusion I hope I have

Entry as temple.

(275) p. 17(h)

B/9

G. MOHAMBRY NAICKER

WHAT I OWE TO MAHATMA GANDHI

UKZN Special Collections Gandhi-Luthuli Documentation Centre
Accession No. DOC 1381/24
BRN .....
Class No .....

A CATALOGUE OF THE CARTER-KARIS
REEL 13A No 2:XNI:84. UNISA.

G. MOHAMBRY NAICKER
DURBAN SEPT 16, 1948.

2:XNI:84

WHAT I OWE TO MAHATMA GANDHI

G. Mohambry Naicker

I WAS eight years old when Gandhiji left South Africa. I could not understand then the intricacies of politics or the meaning of the struggle which for two decades he had to wage against the authorities, but I have a very distinct recollection of the image that was stamped upon my young mind of the national hero whose name was a household word among the Indian community. I faintly realised in those early days the powers of the simple man who was to achieve in the fullness of time such miracles as even in their heyday warriors like Napoleon could only dream of. As the years went by I was able to assess the full power of the weapon of satyagraha which Gandhiji had perfected during his career as a public man in South Africa. When I reached the age of reason I began to make a deep study of the writings of Gandhiji, and although I became an adherent of his great principles, little did I think that it would fall to my lot to take up the

flaming torch he had left behind. I was scarcely prepared for such a task; I did not feel inclined to be in the forefront of the struggle that began half a century ago. Yet when the call came, the response in me was instantaneous. It was the voice of Mahatma Gandhi calling for action. Without any preparation, without any experience, without the slightest hesitation, I threw myself into the battle. With faith undiminished in the righteousness of the cause we had espoused, I became, with thousands of my fellow-countrymen, a satyagrahi. I made the vow of reaching the goal that we had in view, no matter what sacrifice was demanded of us.

Two years ago when I was locked up in the prison of Newcastle, I spent my time reading *My Experiments With Truth*. I had read this book many times before, but inside the prison walls the words came to have a different meaning for me. It was in Newcastle that he started his epic march with thousands of men, women and children; and somehow I felt that I too was in the crowd that marched past across the Transvaal border in serried ranks. I said to myself that, if only the spirit that animated our people in those days could once again be mobilized, how nearer would we all be to the goal! It was true that Mahatma Gandhi was now in India and not in South Africa, but did it really make any difference? Had we not promised to be pure satyagrahis? And whether the master was in our midst or engaged in a bigger struggle elsewhere, we had to show the mettle of our pasture. It is to the credit of the South African Indians that in 1946, when we decided to take up the challenge, Gandhiji sent his blessings from India. I knew an intense moment in the struggle, when I was sent to Pietermaritzburg gaol. Thirtythree years before, this prison had the privilege of holding an august prisoner: Mahatma Gandhi. It was here that Gandhiji made a pair of sandals which he presented to General Smuts. The time for personal contact with the great leader had now arrived. I decided to fly to Wardha with Dadoo, in order to receive more precise guidance in regard to future plans.

Never before was my soul so wrapt in joy. I had come into the breach with a very warm heart, but the pleasure I felt then was of a different kind. It was the joy one feels in doing one's duty. But to be with Mahatma Gandhi was like the vision of a dream. I was not going to meet a stranger. His teachings had become part and parcel of my life. His autobiography had been

my Bible, and in my leisure time I have been reading it over and over again. Yet to meet one's hero in flesh and blood was to be such a noble experience. During my air-borne voyage to Karachi and Patna and then by train to Harla in Bihar, where Bapuji had proceeded to stop the rising tide of a communal conflict, how many thoughts crossed my mind! I imagined flying to those regions where live only the choicest souls of the earth. When Dadoo and I arrived at Harla station, we were told that Gandhiji was putting up in a village a few miles away. The news of our arrival had preceded us, and we heard that Bapu was waiting for us. We were to have the privilege of being in audience with him for the whole day.

We were ushered in his room by Mridula Sarabhai. Gandhiji was sitting cross-legged with the spinning wheel in front of him. It was a quiet place. It appeared that we were the only visitors of the day. We had come to meet the Father of the Indian Nation, and the welcome we received was naturally that of a dear father to his affectionate children. We were in the presence of a king among men, and in an instant we felt the glamour of royalty in the house. We will never forget the warm smile which lighted upon both of us—the smile of the hero we had loved and admired for thirty years.

"Do you speak Gujarati, Naicker?" he enquired. I had to confess my ignorance of this language. "I understand your difficulties," he replied. "Besides your own Tamil, you have to study English, and therefore there is not much time left for other languages. Right, let us now do some talking."

We gave him an account of the progress of the struggle, and were quite surprised to find that, in the midst of his multifarious activities, he had found time to keep in touch with the latest developments of our satyagraha movement. Speaking for myself, he certainly knew more of South Africa and its problems than I could boast of! We discussed every phase of the struggle, and at every point he intervened with observations that had the effect of illuminating the subject. Throughout our talk he kept on emphasizing the central lesson of the satyagraha movement. He asked us always to remember that non-cooperation was not the weapon of those who found a shelter in a negative attitude of life; it was a most positive action leading straight to success if the principles

were not compromised on the way. India recovered her freedom by clinging to the principles of non-violence. South African Indians, he said, would see the milky way, if they followed the example of the mother country. He also advised patience. Success never comes in a flood, he said. He was particularly glad to know that even the children in South Africa had done their part in the latest struggle. He asked us to give his blessings to all of them. The long session was coming to an end. The gentle voice of Mridula Sarabhai announced that it was the scheduled time for rest, and it was not for Bapu to say 'no'. When we took leave of him he asked us to come again after we had completed our tour in India.

When we met for the second time, after six weeks, he was the guest of Dr. Syed Mahmud in Patna. From his rooms, across the wide lawns, we could see the beautiful banks of the holy Ganges. We reached the place long after the time which is normally scheduled for visitors and interviews, but Bapuji, in his great kindness, decided to see us. He was eager to know the response we had met from the various leaders in India, and he was glad to learn that everywhere we had received enthusiastic assistance. The plan of our campaign was drawn up by him personally. We were going away with his blessings, and this made our work all the more easy. He invited us to walk with him on the lawn, and while walking we gave him an account of our meetings all over India. At dusk we parted. He was good enough to enquire about our sleeping arrangements. "Will you sleep out in the open?" he asked. We answered in the affirmative. Before we separated Dadoo asked Bapu if we could attend his first prayer meeting. "Yes," he said, "if you can afford to be up at four."

We were feeling the strain of our various journeys throughout India. The climate also contributed to our fatigue. Bapu's doubt about our early rising was fully justified. We had a sound sleep, and we were only awakened by the hearty laugh of Gandhiji, when he saw us in our beds after he had finished not only the four o'clock prayer but his half an hour's walk. Leaping over our bed, he asked us in that affectionate voice, which I can scarcely describe, if we had a good sleep.

By his death, Gandhiji has come nearer to us. It is not in a spirit of mourning that we must honour the memory of the great departed. It is our pride and our

delight that he was born on Indian soil. It will be our privilege to follow his teachings. In the realization that our outlook will be informed by his ideals lies the hope of the whole Indian race. Let us strive so that his message may find practical application in the heart of all mankind.

Durban,
16-9-1948.

CHAPTER TWO - GANDHI AND CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH (DRAFT)

Introduction

The discovery of gold and diamonds hastened the incorporating of South Africa into the changing world economy. It fostered the shift from a pastoral to an industrial society. Also, it contributed to the transforming of agriculture. How this transition took shape as capitalism was implanted by force was called the 'agrarian question'.

The modernising of society, or cultural change under imperialism, was stepped up. Imperialism violated the independence of oppressed nations or their right to self determination. How to resist this came to be called the 'national question'. Renamed the 'native question' by imperialist rulers, it became a controversial and ideological issue.

When Mohandas Gandhi came to South Africa, he set up small experimental communities. In them he pursued his vision of co-operative commonwealth. This was similar to the utopian socialists a century earlier in the agrarian transition in Europe. Unlike the utopian socialists, and related to the national question, he grappled with an alternative modernity. This was focussed on India largely.

The Coming of Indian Indentured Labour

The activities of Gandhi must be set against the background of the use of Indian indentured labour in South Africa. Under imperialism the first Indians and Chinese came as slaves and convicts. When slavery was abolished in the Empire, the British government adopted new forms of labour. Indentured labour was one form. In the Cape Colony the children of ex-slaves were indentured. The Voortrekkers took the system into the interior.

To address differing needs in the colonies, the imperialists shifted labour around the empire. Learning from the West Indies and Mauritius, they sought indentured labour from India to work on the sugar cane and tea plantations of Natal. Drawn largely from South India and the Ganges Plain, the first labourers came from the 1860s. They were recruited with difficulty. 'Coolie catching' methods were often used..

The labourers entered into a contract with the employer to work for a specified period and wage. Theirs was a precarious form of labour, close to slavery. Placed under a special law, criminal and not civil liability was imposed. For any breach of contract, however small, the penalty was imprisonment with hard labour.

In 1862 one of the first strikes in the South African colonies took place. Indian labourers on the ***Umhlanga*** plantation engaged in passive resistance against the owner Henry Shire. Complaints of brutal and harsh treatment increased. Emigration was stopped in the 1870s. The so called Coolie Commission was set up. Many cases of ill treatment, withholding of wages and flogging were revealed.

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The Natal government was forced to heed the recommendations of the Commission to improve conditions. Emigration was resumed. There was a steady flow from India as new labourers replaced those workers on the plantations whose indentured status had expired . By 1872, only about half of the indentured workers continued to work on the plantations.

The rest became shopkeepers, domestic servants, fishermen, and market gardeners or entered other work. Able to acquire small plots of land, an Indian peasantry began to grow. White traders faced stiff competition from small Indian farmers and fishermen, as well as from merchants moving to Natal and the Transvaal as free immigrants.

To prevent more Indian traders coming in and indentured workers from settling, the colonial governments stepped up discriminatory laws. A three pound annual tax was imposed on ex - indentured labourers in Natal in the 1890s. For the next twenty years or so this became a huge chip on their shoulders.

Arrival of Gandhi

Mohandas Gandhi, an Indian lawyer, arrived in Durban in 1893. He came to take up a case against an Indian merchant in the Transvaal as requested by Dada Abdulla, a Durban merchant. The intention to deprive Indians of the franchise in Natal drew Gandhi into politics. In 1894 he became the secretary of the Natal Indian Congress which he started.

He was shocked to the core by the racism he experienced. Indian settlers were treated like pariahs with various restrictions imposed. Yet Gandhi had a great regard for the British Empire. This was illustrated when he organised Indian stretcher-bearers in the Anglo-Boer War. This took place between the British imperialists and Afrikaner nationalists at the turn of the twentieth century. His attitude was similar to other modernist leaders of black nationalist struggles in the colonies. Like them he used respectful methods to raise the plight of Indians. Petitions and delegations to the British government were organised.

But taking a step off the beaten path, Gandhi began to search for new forms of political struggle. Reading widely, he began to experiment with living a simple and self-sufficient life. From Thoreau he learnt methods of civil disobedience. He was overwhelmed by Tolstoy, who had an affinity for the simple life of peasants. Tolstoy had written a book called ***The Kingdom of God is Within You***. It spurred Gandhi's search for truth and non-violent methods of struggle. Hindu, Jain and other scriptures also inspired him..

South African influences on Gandhi's experiments have yet to be explored fully. One of these was the Catholic Trappist monastery at Mariannhill outside Durban. It had been set up by the monk Franz Pfanner. Visiting the monastery in 1895, Gandhi was impressed by its contemplative and communal way of life. Laid out like a rural European village, Gandhi toured the workshops, fields, schools, hospital and church. The monks did manual work in the fields, making roads and cutting wood. They also adopted a vegetarian diet.

Even though his early attitude itself appeared to be discriminatory, Gandhi compared the way the monks treated Zulu people to the rough handling of the white settlers. This gave him a different opinion on the native question he said later. He also met Father Bernard

Huss at Marianhill, although when this took place is debatable. Huss came to be called 'Social Apostle'. He helped to start the co-operative movement in South Africa.

Another probable influence on Gandhi was the Zulu Christian settlement set up by John Dube next to Phoenix Settlement. Dube helped found the African National Congress later. The two men were in contact. Both were influenced by the educational ideas of Booker T. Washington. These had wide impact in South Africa at the turn of the twentieth century.

After the abolition of slavery, a 'negro problem', a variant of the native question, arose in the American South. A political conservative, Washington sought to address this through the college he founded called Tuskejee. It combined education with labour in a new approach to industrial education. Propagating self help, students were encouraged to be self sufficient and self reliant. Learning to type set their compositions on the printing press at Tuskejee, they also learned farming methods and marketing skills.

Dube had visited Tuskejee. Although facing stern obstacles, he started the industrial school called Ohlange Institute in 1901 on his settlement. In the mode of Tuskejee, it combined a school with training facilities. Dube also founded the newspaper ***Illanga lase Natal*** in 1903. Eventually it was printed on Ohlange's own printing press. Dube followed Gandhi's campaign of non-violence with critical interest.

Other black nationalists in the South African colonies launched other newspapers at the same time. Intent on improving the status of black people, land, franchise and education were at the centre of their struggles. Gandhi was in contact with some of these leaders, especially Dr. Abdullah Abduraghman, founder of the African Political Organisation of the Coloured people. The latter publicised Gandhi's campaign in his newspaper.

First Experiment with Truth - Phoenix Settlement

With the aid of a few close friends, Gandhi started printing the newspaper ***Indian Opinion*** in Durban in 1903. It was a weekly paper published in English, Gujerati, Hindi and Tamil. M.H. Nagar, secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, became the first editor. Madanjit Viyavaharik was involved in the production of the paper.

The ***Indian Opinion*** lacked secure financial backing. Support from Durban merchants wavered. Most of the funding was coming from Gandhi's pocket. In 1904, worried by his paper's parlous financial situation, he came down from Johannesburg. When he left, his close friend Henry Polak gave him a book. Written by John Ruskin, it was called ***Unto this Last.*** In the twenty - four hour train journey to Durban, Gandhi found it difficult to put the book down. It was to change his life completely.

Political economists based their theories on the actions of self-interested individuals. By contrast, Ruskin wrote that the welfare of society depended on co-operation and morality, love and labour. He was critical of modern civilisation and averse to the enslavement to modern machines.

Gandhi later translated Ruskin's book into Gujerati. He called it ***Sarvodaya***, 'the welfare of all'. Its teachings he summarised as follows:

- The good of the individual was contained in the good of all
- A lawyer's work had the same value as the barber's, as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work
- A life of labour, i.e. the life of a tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman, was the life worth living.

Ruskin's 's book had an electric effect on Gandhi. He decided to move the printing press from the centre of Durban to a communal settlement based on co-operation. All would have a share in the land and the profits from the printing press. Both the means used and the end results would be important. Not only would this enable the paper to continue. It would also enable ***Indian Opinion*** to help build a different way of life.

A piece of land fourteen miles to the north of Durban and close to the Phoenix railway station was found. In all it was 100 acres in extent. Some of the functionaries in the press ridiculed Gandhi's ideas or were hesitant. But others did agree to settle at Phoenix. Zulu workers were employed on the settlement, but later the settlers provided labour themselves.. They shared in the work in the printing press for which each earned three pounds monthly. For their daily subsistence each worked a plot of land.

In their experiment in communal living, the settlers overcame hardships and ethnic, religious and cultural differences. Agriculture and work in the press were accorded spiritual value. In mixing the religions Gandhi aimed to teach tolerance. All religions were accorded equal respect. Phoenix represented a quest to lead a good and moral life in the mode of frugal peasants.

Production of the ***Indian Opinion*** was at the centre of life at Phoenix. In the communal settlements or ashrams Gandhi founded later in India, the spinning wheel occupied centre stage. ***Indian Opinion*** informed Indian settlers of their rights, giving them a voice. It was a guide, a source of information and education, and an organising and mobilising tool. It helped forge a new identity of 'Indianness' in an African colonial society. This was in the sense of the settlers belonging to one oppressed community, across ethnic, religious and class barriers. The colonial rulers forged a racial hierarchy. In doing so they sought to exploit the culturalist bias of the Indian oppressed.

Indian Opinion also contributed to the growing national struggle in India. It did this by publicising the sufferings of Indian settlers in South Africa in India. In addition, Gandhi wrote a series of articles in the paper which were incorporated into pamphlets and popularised in India. One of these was called ***Hind Swaraj*** - Indian Home Rule.

Gandhi migrated between his activities in the Transvaal and Phoenix. His communal experiments helped close the gap between the personal and the social, and the public and the private, recasting the meaning of family.. This had especial implications for the women on the settlements, including his wife Kasturba. She moved to Phoenix in 1906.

Harilal was Gandhi and Kasturba's eldest son. Much of his time in the next few years would be spent in jail in the Transvaal. Manilal, Ramdas and Devadas were other sons. Scholars at the school set up by Gandhi at Phoenix, they assisted in the press too. Theirs was a struggle to live their lives like their father, especially Manilal.

Among the founding settlers of Phoenix were Sam Govindswami Raju, Albert West and Maganlal, Chhaganlal and Anandlal Gandhi, nephews of Gandhi. Albert West, a printer from England, played an important role in the printing operations of ***Indian Opinion***. His wife and sister Ada helped in the press too. Raju was in charge of the machinery, printing and binding. There were various editors of the ***Indian Opinion***. Between 1906 and 1916 Henry Polak performed this role, followed by West and Manilal Gandhi. Anandlal worked in the press, was a carpenter and gardener and was central to the work at Phoenix. Chhaganlal came to edit the Gujerat section of the paper and looked after the accounts.

***Satyagraha* in Action 1906 - 1909**

The year 1906 was a turning point. It was when the Bambatha Rebellion took place in Natal.. In this struggle the Zulu fiercely resisted paying poll tax and the attempt to force them into migrant labour. They met with a savage response from the British in this last war of dispossession. It was a rite of passage from a pastoral to an industrial society.

Although he again organised Indian stretcher bearers, Gandhi was disturbed by the lashing by British soldiers of Zulus on the battlefield, leaving the wounded untended. This roused an awakening in him. He took a vow of celibacy. Also, his valorising of manual labour and his search for a political method.that was non - violent seemed to be confirmed.

With the Transvaal government seeking to restrict Indian settlement, the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance was passed in 1906. It proposed the re-registration and finger printing of all Indian men, women and children. They had to carry registration certificates. Failure to do so rendered them liable to fines, jail or deportation.

A network of organisations had come to be formed by Indian settlers in Natal and the Transvaal. Based on religious, cultural, caste, class or political interests, it shaped involvement in social movements. Over the years Gandhi skilfully drew on this resource. On September 11, a mass meeting was organised at the Empire Theatre in Johannesburg. It attracted traders, hawkers and other workers from across the spectrum

In defending the honour of India, the meeting vowed to refuse to submit to an unjust law. A resolution was drawn up. It stated that with God as witness all would resist the Ordinance unto death. Gandhi told resisters: Defy unjust laws. Show that you are brave. You alone will suffer the consequences of mistakes. The other side will be wholly spared. You may have your head broken, and be prepared to die.

Volunteer resisters signed the pledge Ram Sunder Pandit was the first one to go to jail. Over the next few years many more were arrested, sent to jail, beaten, tortured or deported. But they refused to co-operate with the 'Black Law'. When the government promised to repeal the Act, they agreed to register voluntarily. When it failed to keep its promise, a second campaign started. Many more were arrested, jailed and then released.

Among them were Gandhi, Thambi Naidoo and ex-indentured workers like Swami Nagappan and Joseph Royeppen. Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence was being turned into a weapon of struggle. Maganlal Gandhi helped him coin the term ***Satyagraha.***

Based on the power of love and truth, it supported close ties between the social and the personal.

Gandhi believed that the essence of ***Satyagraha*** was resistance based on moral strength. This was in contrast to ordinary passive resistance which was perceived to be a weapon of the weak. Gandhi gave up his law practice to devote his time to the campaign. To obtain their support, he met with the leaders of the Chinese indentured workers brought to South Africa to work in the gold mines at the turn of the century. One of the leaders was Leung Quinn. A corps of volunteers picketed outside government offices.

Again the Transvaal government repudiated its agreement to repeal the Black Law. Again the resistance campaign restarted. This time resisters decided to burn their registration certificates, and face the consequences. An assembly was called. Gandhi led the people in prayer. Participants then threw their certificates into a burning cauldron, cheering as they did so. About 800 certficates were burned. More imprisonments occurred, including of Gandhi. At the same time, some traders stepped up defiance of restrictions on crossing into the Transvaal.

Over 2,000 ***Satyagrahis*** eventually went to jail. South Indian and Hindustani working people were at the heart of the campaign. Most of the traders in Natal and Transvaal grew hesitant at the self-sacrifice required. This was apart from a few stalwarts such as A.M. Cachalia, Ebrahim Asvat, Parsee Rustomjee and Sorabji Shapurji Adajania. Some were also critical of Gandhi's style of leadership besides his methods of struggle.

Alternative Modernity

Like the other ***Satyagrahis,*** Gandhi was being changed by his experiences of struggle. During his time in jail in 1909 he reflected on these experiences. He renewed his interest in the ideas of Ruskin, and especially those of Tolstoy, with whom he corresponded. What he did not share with Tolstoy though was his fierce opposition to organised government.

That same year Gandhi participated in a delegation to England to present the South African Indian case. He was in London at the same time as the delegation of black nationalists who had journeyed to protest the forthcoming white union in South Africa. But the two delegations went their separate ways.

On the ship back from England Gandhi returned to writing ***Hind Swaraj***: A critique of modernity, it was a fundamental questioning of the bases of British imperialism in India. Key among these were the urban centres set up in India by the British with their modern technology. They aided in the exploitation and oppression of Indians, Gandhi believed.

Opposed to the uncritical acceptance of the challenge to culture and traditional ways of life, he wanted to show that ***Satyagraha*** could work in India. What he favoured was sustainable livelihoods based on the regeneration of village industries. He started to experiment with this in his communal settlements in South Africa. Later in India he took this much further.

Gandhi emphasized the dignity of manual labour. The majority, that is, the peasants, had the right to work. Devising an improved spinning wheel later, which could be used by village artisans, he also incorporated principles such as ***swadeshi***. It encouraged a form of home based production. In the face of imperialism, a village, locality or nation could strive to be as self sufficient as possible.

Hind Swaraj was an answer to the anarchists Gandhi had engaged with in England too. He also came into contact with groupings of these 'libertarian' socialists in the South African colonies. They had been gaining ground worldwide. As was seen earlier, they advocated the violent overthrow of the state and capitalism. These should be replaced by a society based on self management and decentralisation they argued.

The Second Experiment with Truth - Tolstoy Farm 1910 - 1913

Satyagraha had become a personal philosophy, a weapon of struggle and a way of life. Tolstoy Farm in the Transvaal, the second of the communal settlements founded by Gandhi, helped it to grow into a mass campaign also.

The resolve of the ***Satyagrahis*** had been waning even as the campaign grew protracted. Government had deported some, and fined and imprisoned others. The goods of traders had been confiscated. Because of this, and even though the Black Law had not been overturned, the ***Satyagraha*** campaign subsided.

If the campaign was to continue, resisters needed more intensive political and moral training in the weapon of non-violent resistance. Most immediately, Gandhi was worried about sustaining financial support for the families of male ***satyagrahis*** going to jail, largely workers. For the men themselves there were worries about the fate of their families. A number had lost their homes and livelihoods, even as their wives tried to keep both going.

The solution was for the families to live together in one place, to become members of a type of 'co-operative commonwealth'. Not only would this save money. Even more, the families would be trained to live a new and simple life in harmony with one another and with nature.

One of Gandhi's strongest supporters, the architect Hermann Kallenbach, came to the rescue. He bought 1100 acres of land at Lawley about twenty miles from Johannesburg in May 1910. The farm was placed at Gandhi's disposal for the purpose of the campaign. On it were 1000 fruit trees, two wells and a spring.

The aim was to make the farm a "beehive of industry" and to make the families self supporting. This would help them do battle with the Transvaal government for an extended period. Within six months the settlers had built living quarters for men and women, a communal kitchen, offices, a laundry, a school and workshops themselves.

Thambi Naidoo was in charge of marketing and sanitation on Tolstoy farm. His children were among those taught by Gandhi there. Born in Mauritius, he was chair of the Tamil Benefit Society in the Transvaal. Gandhi considered him to be one of those in the

forefront of the resistance movement. Very close to Gandhi, he went to jail a number of times.

One of the first resisters to settle on the Farm was Gopal Naidoo. He was placed in charge of the cooking. Working long hours, he was very economical in the use of foodstuffs. Albrecht was a poor disabled German brought to the Farm by Kallenbach. He helped the settlers deal with the many snakes on the Farm without fear. The daughter of a friend of Gandhi, Mrs. Jayakunvar Manilal Doctor helped at the Tolstoy Farm School.

Unlike Phoenix, both adults and children engaged in farming the land together. To save expenses, they changed their way of dress on the Farm, wearing work clothes made out of a coarse blue cloth. Learning from Marianhill, sandal making and carpentry departments were set up. The experiments with diet, nature cure, living in harmony with nature and ***bramacharya*** or celibacy, which were initiated at Phoenix, were taken further.

Tolstoy Farm became like a small village with families developing strong ties. The 70 - 80 settlers, both men and women, did everything themselves, learning to live a simple life in harmony with nature. The population came from a variety of places in India and elsewhere. They spoke Hindi, Gujerati, Tamil, Urdu and English. In terms of religion there were Hindus, Moslems, Christians, Jews and Parsees.

Gandhi continued with his teaching and religious experiment started at Phoenix. He had scant regard for formal education. But on Tolstoy Farm, as at Phoenix, he assumed the role of father of the community. He felt it was his duty to train the children himself. Education was based on character building. The main part of teaching consisted in telling stories. Similar to Tuskejee, manual work was combined with instruction.

For part of the day the children attended classes. The rest of their time was spent in maintaining the farm. A new feature on Tolstoy Farm, in comparison to Phoenix, was the vocational training that was introduced. The aim was to obtain the all round development of the children. In this way they could become self-supporting. Beyond that they learned to strive for the well being of the community.

The experiment in the co-education of boys and girls was the most difficult of tasks. Controversial methods were used. At the same time the practice to overcome religious differences was amongst Gandhi's "sweetest reminiscences" of the Farm. Through this the children were saved from "the infection of intolerance".

Resisters from Tolstoy Farm continued to defy the laws on an intermittent basis. Some sold fruit and vegetables without licences. Others crossed from Natal into the Transvaal without permits. From these settlers came the core of Transvaal ***Satyagrahis*** who took part in the final campaign in 1913.

Satyagraha Campaign of 1913

In 1913 ***Satyagraha*** grew into a mass campaign. Gandhi had been negotiating with the South African government since 1911 about the worsening predicament of Indians. A new Immigration Bill was being discussed. Early in 1913 Gandhi left Tolstoy Farm to move back to Phoenix together with his school. From here he recruited volunteers to defy

the new Bill. Although the Natal Indian Congress broke ties with him, the ***Satyagraha*** campaign broadened to include women and especially workers on a large scale.

There was especial focus in ***Indian Opinion*** on the working conditions of the indentured labourers. Not only was there a high rate of suicide. Some returned to India rather than suffer further indignities. Others sold their children because of the heavy financial burden imposed by the three pound tax on the families of ex-indentured labourers. Editor of the ***Indian Opinion*** Henry Polak went to India to publicise their plight. This led to a campaign there to end the system of indentured labour in South Africa.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale played an important role in the campaign. A member of the Imperial Legislative Council in India, he was Gandhi's political 'guru'. In 1911 the Indian government stopped further migration to South Africa of indentured workers. But the three pound tax on the ex-indentured remained. Also, plantation owners continued to press for retention of the indentured system. Indian workers spilled their frustrations when Gokhale visited South Africa in 1912.

With their livelihoods and household responsibilities at stake, African and Coloured women of the Orange Free State had begun a passive resistance movement against the pass laws in 1912. There were numerous confrontations with the police in 1913. Many women went to prison for refusing to carry passes. ***Indian Opinion*** reported on these happenings. What needs to be explored more was how Dr. Abduraghman of the Coloured APO, inspired by Gandhi's ***Satyagraha*** approach, contributed to this pass campaign.

The ***Indian Opinion*** also reported on the Land Act of 1913 and the major strikes in 1913 and 1914 involving thousands of white workers. Leading strikers were deported. Gandhi advocated co-operative methods of resolving the strikes, based on negotiations and dialogue. By contrast, the campaign against the Black Law had ground to a halt.

At a mass meeting in Johannesburg a resolution to restart ***Satyagraha*** against the Immigration Bill was passed. Women were drawn into the campaign for the first time. Most were wives of husbands who had gone to prison, or who belonged to the Hindu Women's Association in the Transvaal. What strengthened their resolve was that in March 1913 the Cape Supreme Court had declared only Christian marriages to be legal. All Moslem and Hindu marriages thereby became illegal.

Kasturba Gandhi declared that she would rather go to prison than be declared an unlawful wife. A group of sixteen ***Satyagrahis*** from Phoenix, led by Kasturba, travelled to Charlestown in Northern Natal. It included three other wives of Phoenix settlers. They were Mrs. Jayakunvar Manilal Doctor, Mrs. Kashi Chhaganlal Gandhi and Mrs. Sanhole Maganlal Gandhi. Gandhi had prepared the women, pledging that he and the other men would take care of the children and all the household chores if the women went to prison.

The group crossed from Charlestown to Volksrust in the Transvaal without a permit. They were arrested and sentenced to three months in prison in Pietermaritzburg. Another group of women resisters, trained at Tolstoy Farm, who had crossed into Natal, joined them in prison. It included most of the family of Thambi Naidoo. About six had gone into battle with babies in their arms. Mrs. Veeramal Naidoo, Thambi's wife, was pregnant.

This group had first challenged the licensing laws, going to Vereeniging to hawk without licences. Early in October 1913 Thambi Naidoo initiated a campaign in Newcastle to protest the three-pound tax. This had become a festering sore for the workers. The women went to Newcastle according to plan, meeting with the workers and their wives. They persuaded the railway workers and miners to go on strike.

But it was the arrest and imprisonment of the women that especially angered and roused the Indian community. Between four and five thousand coal miners laid down their tools and went on strike in Newcastle in October 1913. They marched into town demanding an end to the three-pound tax. The victims of police brutality, they were barricaded in the mine compounds by their employers. A spontaneous strike broke out. There was violent confrontation. Several strikers were killed or injured.

The number of strikers grew. Some decided to join the ***Satyagrahis***. Led by Gandhi, a big march to cross the Transvaal border was planned. Taking place in eight stages, it involved over two thousand men, women and children. The marchers hoped to flood the prisons. Gandhi and the other leaders faced the challenges of feeding and accommodating them.

When arrested the ***Satyagrahis*** surrendered peacefully. They sometimes gave false names to the police. This was to ensure that especially the well-known ***Satyagrahis*** would not be overlooked for arrest. Gandhi was arrested three times and released. Other leaders like P.R. Naidoo took over. Even when these leaders were arrested the march continued. The marchers aimed to reach Tolstoy Farm. A male marcher, Nagappen, died after being detained. Kasturba Gandhi came out of jail with her health shattered. Mrs. Veeramal Naidoo gave birth the day after her release.

Shivpujan Budree was one of the youth who had attended the Phoenix school who was sentenced to three months hard labour. Gandhi's younger sons went to jail as ***satyagrahis*** at various times between 1910 and 1913. Valliama Munuswami Mudliar was a sixteen year old from Tolstoy Farm who joined the final struggle in 1913 and who was imprisoned. Refusing early release, she became ill in the atrocious prison conditions in Pietermaritzburg. Soon after her release she died.

The protests spread from the mines to the sugar cane plantations of Natal. Around 15,000 farm workers went on strike. Troops opened fire on them. Some were killed and many were badly injured or beaten senseless by their employers. But inspired by the example set by Gandhi for the honour of India, the workers did not retaliate. Many fled to Phoenix for protection. By the end of November 1913 produce markets in Durban and Pietermaritzburg closed and work on the sugar mills stopped. Domestic workers also stayed away from work.

The whole world got to know of the actions in Newcastle. There was uproar in India about the arrest of Gandhi and police brutality. Protests broke out in Britain too. Even the British Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, was critical of the South African government. Apart from this, the growing strength of the march and the persistent workers strike forced General Smuts to set up a commission. White women such as Olive Schreiner, Emily

Hobhouse and Elizabeth Molteno intervened in support of Gandhi. This helped him to secure a settlement. The women came from pacifist, feminist or socialist backgrounds.

Based on the commission's report an agreement was forged in January 1914. On the one hand it was agreed that the ***Satyagraha*** campaign would stop. In return the government agreed to abolish the three-pound tax, to recognise Indian marriages, to abolish the Black Act and to allow Indians to move freely into the Transvaal.

The ***Satyagraha*** Campaign had paid dividends. Through this campaign it was made clear to the government that Indians would never obey the outrageous laws. Gandhi said, No clapping is possible without two hands to do it. Award us for it what punishment you like, we will put up with it. Send us to prison and we will live there as in paradise. Ask us to mount the scaffold and we will do so laughing. Shower what sufferings you like upon us, we will endure all and not hurt a hair of your body. We will gladly die and not so much as touch you. But we will never comply with your arbitrary laws.

The settlements of Phoenix and Tolstoy Farm played crucial roles in the ***Satyagraha*** struggles. Gandhi doubted whether the struggle could have lasted for so long, whether funds could have been garnered and whether the thousands who participated in the last phase could have borne the hardships of struggle without the example set by Tolstoy resisters. Also, ***Satyagraha*** would have been impossible without the ***Indian Opinion***.

Gandhi returned to India with his family for good in July 1914. Before he left South Africa, he set up a trust to run Phoenix. Among the first trustees were Omar Hajee Jhaveri, Herman Kallenbach and Parsee Rustomjee. Gandhi's second son, Manilal, returned from India, leaving parents and brothers behind. For the next forty years he took on the managing of the Phoenix Settlement, and was an activist editor of the ***Indian Opinion***, running it with his wife Sushila.

Phoenix became more of a smallholding, participating in the local agrarian economy. Manilal helped draw the Indian community closer to the broader black national liberation struggle in South Africa. Descendants of settlers on both Phoenix Settlement and Tolstoy Farm came to play leading roles in this struggle. Included here are members of the Gandhi and Thambi Naidoo families: Ela Gandhi, Shanti and Roy Naidoo. Manilal's first daughter Sita later wrote a book about the day to day life at Phoenix after Gandhi left

On his return to India Gandhi became a leader in the Indian struggle for independence from Britain, stressing Hindu-Moslem unity. He became a champion of peasants and the 'untouchables'. Leading the strike in Ahmedabad by textile workers against mill bosses, he sought to use co-operative methods to resolve the conflict. Ashrams were set up on the models of Phoenix and Tolstoy Farm. In them he took his earlier experiments to new levels. Women were in the forefront in these ashrams.

But many Indian Marxists viewed Gandhi as an agent of the emerging bourgeois, its link to the traditionalist peasantry. Some did change their attitude. They learned to appreciate his methods, especially his emphasis on the ethics of struggle. For his part Gandhi had an initial low regard for the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia: This was insofar as it was

based on violence and class war, even if for the noblest of causes. He also opposed its base in modern materialist civilisation. There would always be inequality he believed

But as socialist ideas grew in India from the 1920s, Gandhi entered into a debate with socialist nationalists. They were propagating the organising of co-operatives for production, distribution and credit, and the redistribution of land to the peasants. Gandhi began to apply some socialist tenets in his political work.

Also, he maintained links with Indian leaders who restarted the passive resistance movement in the 1940s in South Africa. This movement had significant influence on later mass struggles in the country. One of the leaders was Yusuf Dadoo. He became General Secretary of the South African Communist Party. He lived an exemplary personal life in the way of Gandhi, without attachment to possessions.

Religion, ethnicity and culture are being exploited to foster social cleavage today. We are reminded in our globalised world that at the heart of imperialism is a war culture. In this context the relevance of the Gandhian philosophy is being rediscovered.

One of the strongest independent unions in India is the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA). Its founder, Ela Bhatt, came from a family who participated in the Salt March in 1930 led by Gandhi. This was the most inspiring campaign in the Indian independence movement. It was a ***Satyagraha*** campaign against the ban by the British on Indians manufacturing salt.

Bhatt is explicit that her approach in organising the very poor informal women workers is a Gandhian one. It includes organising the women into co-operatives. Over the last twenty years Vandana Shiva too has risen to prominence worldwide. She has fought to defend the freedom of biodiversity and the huge class of peasants in India. Inspired by Gandhi's spinning wheel, hers has been a struggle to defend livelihoods and food security.

by Judy Mulqueeny

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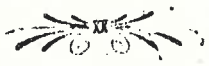
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In FOUR Languages

ENGLISH,

GUJARATI,

TAMIL,

and HINDI

the interest of the Indians in South Africa

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Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
5th August, 1911.

The Owner of Tolstoy Farm



WHERE PASSIVE RESISTERS FOUND A HOME

સત્યાગ્રહીના મિત્ર અને ટોલસટોય ફાર્મના માલીક મી. એચ. કેલનબેક

Indian Opinion

No. 21—Vol. XX. Friday, May 26th, 1922. Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper Price Fourpence

NOTES AND NEWS

IN connection with the Township Franchise Ordinance, in which, as we had stated in our last week's issue, an opportunity was to be granted to the petitioners, the Natal Indian Congress, to be heard at the bar of the house, we now understand that they will be allowed to submit their case before the house only through a legal practitioner. Hence it has been arranged that Mr. Doull will represent the petitioners and the hearing will take place on Monday the 29th instant at Maritzburg.

Dr. Loram (one of the members of the Native Affairs Commission) was recently interviewed by the *Friend* in connection with the views expressed at the conference between the members of the Commission and representative Natives from the four Provinces of the Union which took place at Bloemfontein. In the course of his interview, touching on the problem of the exclusion of coloured people from Native locations, Dr. Loram is reported to have said, that coloureds who had acquired rights in locations, or who had become one with the Natives, should be allowed to remain, but it would be wiser to eliminate others gradually, and allow no more to come in, so that the Natives could preserve their race integrity. A minority of Native delegates present urged, however, that no ring fence should be erected, and that all who wished to throw in their lot with the Natives should be allowed to do so. But they were opposed to admission of Asiatics to the Native locations."

And a Reuter's message from Bloemfontein dated May 25, states :—At the eleventh annual convention of the South African Native National Congress, now in session here, the following resolution was passed unanimously to-day : "That this South African Native National Congress assembled at Bloemfontein, this 25th day of May, 1922, dissociates itself from the attitude taken up by the Conference of some Natives and members of the Native Affairs Commission held at Bloemfontein on the 15th inst., as regards the exclusion of coloured people and Asiatics from locations, and even the exclusion of Asiatics from South Africa."

Reuter (London) understands that the East Africa Indian deputation will maintain the closest touch with the India Office, which will continue under the new regime to do its utmost to facilitate the settlement of the Kenya difficulties. While it is unlikely that a settlement will be regarded as entirely satisfactory by either the settlers or the Indians, it is believed that the discussions are now tending towards an amicable solution of the problem, which, if not final, will be considered by both sides as a temporary settlement It is considered likely that it will be possible to announce such a settlement in the course of the next few weeks.

The annual meeting of the Pietermaritsburg Branch of the Natal Indian Congress will be held in the Hindu Young Men's Association Hall, City, on the Union Day the 31st inst. at 2 p. m. The important business of the meeting is the consideration of the Township Ordinance and the Rural Licensing Ordinance, election of officials, and the consideration of the Licensing system in Natal. Those intending to join the Congress should at once apply to the Hon. Sec. Mr. S. R. Naidoo for forms of application. A cordial invitation is issued to all to attend.

In order to be eligible as a Municipal voter, Indians should at once see that rates due to the Corporation are paid by the 1st of June next, which is the last day for payment.

A letter has been forwarded to us for publication by the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Eastern Africa, in which allegations have been made against Thakur Pravinsingh who is for the last two months or so amongst us and is due to leave in a few days for India, about his honesty of purpose in coming to this country. The letter is grossly libelous and we are, therefore, unable to give publication to it in our columns. We understand from the letter that Thakur Pravinsingh was in the service of the Sabha referred to above as a missionary of the Arya Samaj. Having served the Sabha for a little over a year he left the service and came to South Africa for a visit. In appreciation of his services, we understand, a certificate of satisfactory service was given to Thakur Pravinsingh. And we entirely fail to see what has prompted the Sabha to attempt to blemish the character of one who has once done good to them. We deplore the action of the Sabha and consider it to be the height of ingratitude and disrespect on their part. Moreover the allegations made against him are false and without any foundation.

Thakur Pravinsingh, though not a qualified Pandit, has a good knowledge of Sanskrit and Persian and he is well qualified in singing sacred songs of the Hindu religion. In fact most of his preaching is done by singing. As we had stated at the time of his arrival here, Thakur Pravinsingh was for a long time working for the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha in India and when he suffered the loss of his wife and children whom the unkind hands of Providence snatched away from him, he sold his house at Badapur Jilla, Bijnore, U.P. his birthplace, and with the amount derived from it he purchased a plot of ground and presented it to the local Arya Samaj there for whose cause he was working. Later on, a school for girls was built on this land under the auspices of the Samaj and to this school, we understand, Thakur Pravinsingh has bequeathed all the wealth he possesses. Thakur Pravinsingh's mission to South Africa is quite an independent one and he represents no particular body or institution. He is leading a very simple life, and his wants are meagre. Though belonging to a certain section only of even the Hindu community he was able to attract Hindus and Mahomedans generally to his lectures. During his short stay here he has delivered several lectures on religious and moral subjects which have greatly benefitted the community. All those who have had the opportunity of hearing Thakur Pravinsingh will, we are sure, regret the shortness of his stay in this country and his *Bhajans* will be missed by all.

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FROM OUR READERS

(It should be distinctly understood that we are not responsible for the opinions of correspondents.)

119/13 6/4/13

INDIAN CONGRESS

(To the Editor, "Natal Advertiser.")

Sir,—I sympathise with "28 Years' Residence" for the misfortune that has overtaken him in the downfall of his idol divine, Mr. Gandhi. All will admit that Mr. Gandhi has rendered invaluable service to the Indian community, but it does not follow from that, that the community is satisfied with his present policy. Messrs. Pather and Roberts were quite right in saying what they have, and it is horribly mean on our part to subject persons of Mr. Pather's calibre to undeserved abuse.—Yours, etc.,

ANTI-MEANNESS.

119/54

(To the Editor, "Natal Advertiser.")

Sir,—I have read the letter above the names of "S. R. Pather and John L. Roberts" with amusing interest, for it no doubt shows how these people have read the Immigrant Restriction Bill and Justice Searle's judgment. They call the telegrams sent by the "Anjuman Islam and Zorastrian Anjuman" misleading, because it supports the policy of the South African Indians' leader. Well, I am surprised to note this is the logic that one learns in London, nor could I believe that headmasters would reason in this fashion. It is like saying, because Mr. Gandhi's policy is to follow the truth, we should not practice that virtue. He then declares in the same breath that because you could count the number of Parsees on the ten fingers of your hands, it should carry no weight nor could it speak on behalf of the Durban Indians. But does "my Anjuman" mean speaking on behalf of "Pather and Roberts," or the Durban Indians? I should like to know what locus standi your correspondents have to assert the rigmarole they do. If they do not know, let them learn this, that Mr. Randavee and Mr. Parsee Rustomjee are perfectly right to protest on behalf of their Anjumans, and that Messrs. Pather and Roberts are neither Mohamedans nor Parsees to raise their notorious but foolish cry, and it would be advisable for them to mind their own business in their own congregation, lest they hear the echo declare "Shut up."—Yours, etc.,

A MEMBER OF ANJUMAN ISLAM.

119/55

(To the Editor, "Natal Advertiser.")

Sir,—I notice your correspondents, Messrs. S. R. Pather and John L. Roberts are trying to show how the legitimate protests of the Anjuman Islam and Zorastrian Anjuman are misleading, but they fail, and fail miserably, inasmuch that a qualified barrister will not take the brief of such a case where a Mohamedan and a Parsee body protests on their own behalf, and yet two Indians have the audacity, who are neither one nor the other, to question their locus standi. I expected at least that Mr. Pather would know this as a barrister. I think, if these two persons sit together and calmly ponder over the froth and vengeance which they have poured on the plates of your valuable journal, they would see that they have been in a hurry to become famous by such absurd arguments.

If the letter is analysed I am sure it would contain nothing for your correspondents to be proud of, rather that they still lack a very great deal of experience to separate the chaff from the grain.—Yours, etc.,

"RHUISSMASOOR."

FROM OUR READERS

and Tolstoy any more. In my humble opinion "Residence's" letter is more fit for the dust bin than "Pather Roberts'."—Yours, etc.,

"BABEKKALOP."

119/58

(To the Editor, "Natal Advertiser.")

Sir,—It was amusing to me to see an article signed by J. L. Roberts and S. R. Pather jointly, in your issue of the 29th ult., re Indian Immigration Restriction.

Your correspondents desire to point out that telegrams sent by the various bodies mentioned in their article, are misleading, and appear to support Messrs. Gandhi, etc., and their policy. I should like to ask these men, how are these telegrams misleading? Do they in any sense support the action of the Government? Are not these bodies, individually, entitled to send telegrams of condemnation to the authorities? To put it purely and simply these telegrams are meant to bring home to the Minister in charge of the Bill, the force of the public opinion. How is it misleading?

Yes, I emphatically say "yes," these telegrams do support Mr. Gandhi and what is he trying to do? He is trying to show to the Government that the Bill did do a lot of harm to the residential Indians, including Pather and Roberts. Is it good or bad?

Further, your correspondents try to make out that a majority of the members of those associations, mentioned in their article, supported the present issues of the Natal Indian Congress. Only a majority—as an argument let us take; still there is a part, called minority left, which did not appreciate the doings of the Congress which has found such supporters in the persons of your correspondents.

A Congress, I believe, ought to be a homogenous body. Then it is appointed by the various sections it must harmoniously work, and what about this minority? I suppose your correspondents would have them thrown overboard. Your correspondents assert that the majority of the members supported the Congress on Saturday last, and at the same time show that they previously approved the action of their associations in transmitting those telegrams. By doing this they show that these are unfaithful, and belittle them softly as "turncoats," as their article implies.

I should like to know since when has Mr. Pather formed his good opinion of the Congress? Does he not remember the number of times he has made allegations purporting to the bad management of the Congress?

When a man can publicly denounce the Congress at one time and support it at another, shows his own inconsistency of principles. Why support now Mr. Pather? Perhaps to grind your own axe. Why this article be signed conjointly? Is it that Roberts has become Pather's "Chela" (disciple), or is it one is afraid of the other or both ready to sail in the same sloe and take consequences in the language of a lawyer "jointly and severally."

Messrs. Gandhi and Polak I do not claim to be infallible, but make ideal leaders, men with capacity and talents; in short, who could command respect, which are the essentials of leaders, above all practical thinkers, and workers who carry with them the whole support of Indians in South Africa and India, and whose policy is solidarity, which, again in the words of your correspondents, "is in complete variance" with the policy adopted by your correspondents; who are after all mere non-entities in our public life—passing satellites, as it were.—I am, etc.,

"BALUM."

Durban.

119/56

(To the Editor, "Natal Advertiser.")

Sir,—I submit "28 Years' Residence" has not disproved one single statement of ours. His contribution is a successful endeavour to demonstrate his powers of ignoble vituperation. I am not at present concerned about the sacrifices undergone by Mr. Gandhi or anybody else, nor do I solicit "28 Years' Residence" to accept me as his leader. Whatever Mr. Roberts and myself lay down in our contribution are patent and incontrovertible facts. The people of Durban are not eager to embrace Mr. Gandhi's pet "passive resistance," nor are they prepared to sacrifice their existing rights for the sake of the Transvaal. The Indians of Durban desire something practical to Mr. Gandhi's theoretical. It will be Quixotic to lay down the puerile maxim that no person should write to the Press to safeguard rights which may be invaded simply because Mr. Gandhi lays down a particular policy which receives the unstinted support of "28 Years' Residence." I exhort "28 Years' Residence" to draw, in his next contribution, more upon facts than on his seemingly fertile imagination.—Yours, etc.,

S. R. PATHER.

119/57

(To the Editor, "Natal Advertiser.")

Sir,—"28 Years' Residence" asks: "Who is Pather Roberts?" Since we know who Mr. Pather is, very well, one may surely ask who "28," etc., is? If the honourable gentleman cannot controvert what Messrs. Pather and Roberts state, why does he stultify himself by silly questions and futile abuses? Let him place facts before the public and it will draw its own deductions. One thing, however, is certain, viz., that Mr. Gandhi and his satellites have proved a miserable failure, and we do not want passive resistance

PART IV PAGE I DAILY - NEWS -6 OCTOBER 1969

MAHATMA GANDHI — non-violent revolutionary

Daily News Reporter

"MOST RELIGIOUS men I have met are politicians in disguise; I, however, who wear the guise of a politician, am at heart a religious man." Ghandi once said. But it was certainly his political activity that made its mark on history.

PART IV

A sign of hope to others



When he returned to India in 1914 he was a man of great political prestige but his struggle in this country left him with no immediate role of his own. He decided to give up practising as a lawyer. Satyagrapha had been his personal contribution to the world and he would adapt it to India.

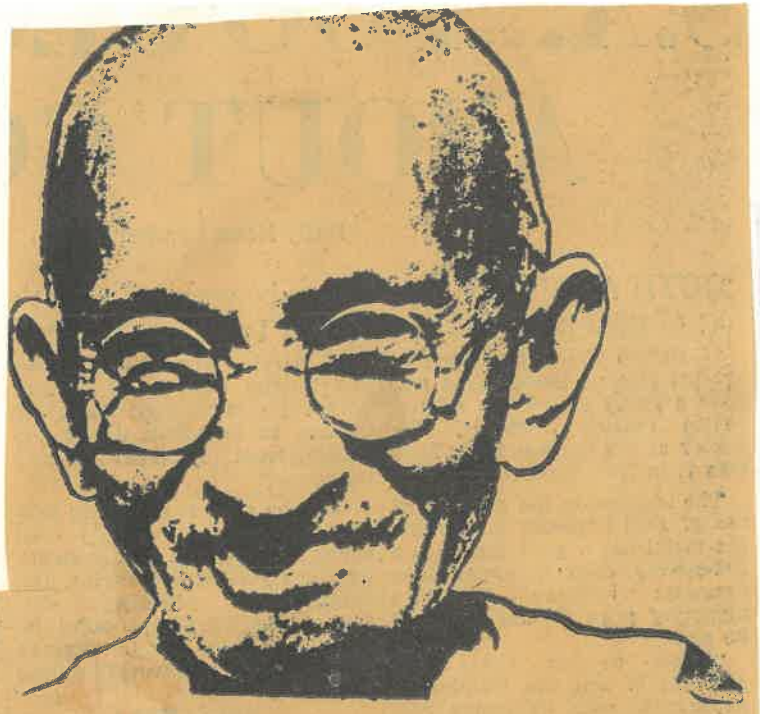
In May, 1915, he started an ashram (a lay community) originally in Ahmedabad, and settled there with a small group of disciples, some of whom came from South Africa.

They included married couples and children who were divided roughly into controllers, candidates and students. They took 14 vows, including Truth, Ahimsa, Fearlessness and Rejection of Untouchability. Some of the vows were less usual, like non-thieving, the Study of Politics in the Light of Religion. Gandhi never accepted the Christian view of married chastity. For him chastity was abstinence and he insisted that he and Kasturba, between whom there was now no physical relationship should be the prototype of married couples living in the ashram.

His first political act came in 1917 when Satyagrapha was launched again on behalf of the indigo workers at Champaran, who were being kept in a feudal state of suppression by the planters. He followed this up by taking up cudgels on behalf of the people of the Kheda district of Bombay whose crops had failed and who were being taxed as if they had not.

But it was in 1919, when Gandhi was almost 50, that he came in sight of his real vocation. Rebellion, profiteering, were in the air and workers simmered with grievances. On top of this the people were feeling the debilitating effects of the influenza and pneumonia epidemics which killed about 13 million people. The Sedition Bills, based on the findings of Sir Sidney Rowlett, were devised to cope with the situation.

DAILY NEWS
6 OCTOBER 1969



Gandhi turned his Satyagrapha against the British Raj, and the Transvaal drama was to be re-enacted.

On March 18 the Sedition Law was passed and would become law shortly. Gandhi called a protest strike. Delhi observed the stoppage on March 30. Police and Gurkhas opened fire on the demonstrators and nine people were killed five of whom were Hindu and four were Muslim.

A (temporary) unity was effected between hitherto warring sects and Gandhi was launched on a succession of campaigns for Swaraj which ended in March, 1947, when he took a train to Delhi to confer with Lord Louis Mountbatten of Burma, the last Viceroy of India, about how it was to be achieved.

Poet

The title "Mahatma" had been applied to Gandhi when he was still in South Africa, but it was the great Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, who started the cultus.

"Saint" is not the precise meaning of the title "Mahatma". A mahatma is someone in whom dwells the spirit of all life to a specially high degree, who is holy, has risen above the common run of humanity, and is a sign of hope for others. Gandhi himself applied the term of a few other people he held in high esteem, but he never relished the title being applied to him.

All the same. the Indian masses embraced him as a great soul before they knew him as a politician. He had struck a note which found a deep echo in the minds of a people responsive to mysticism. He was an ascetic and never sued a debtor or gave evidence against an enemy. He believed in turning his own cheek (and other people's) and, despite his South African stand, he always travelled third class in India.

* HIS RELIGIOUS ---- .

passions of his own people were inflamed against each other.

Both before and after the partition of Pakistan and India bloodshed between Hindu and Muslim was thought of as its final betrayal. But the system had other flaws. The following exchange between Sir Chimanlal Setalwad and Gandhi is of interest:

SIR CHIMANLAL: However honestly a man may strive in his search for truth, his notions of truth may be different from the notions of others. Who then is to determine th truth?

GANDHI: The individual himself would determine that.

Different individuals would have different views as to the truth. Would that not lead to confusion and worse.

Honestly striving after truth is different in every case. — That is why the non-violence part was a necessary corollary. Without that there would be confusion anud worse.

Must not the person wanting to pursue truth be of high moral and intellectual equipment? — No. It would be impossible to expect that from everyone. If A has evolved a truth by his own efforts B, C and others are to accept, I should not require them to have the equipment of A.

Then it comes to this — that a man comes to a decision, and others of lower intellectual and moral equipment would have to blindly follow him. — Not blindly.

* BUT IN OUR ---- ..

A straightforward Gandhi revival, with his Simple Life theories and cottage-industry revolt against technology and what he thought of as economic oppression, is unlikely. Probably what is needed is someone to give the essence of his teaching a new setting, because when a concept is universal the setting can be updated without affecting it.

Mahatma Gandhi was shot on January 30, 1948, by Nathuram Vinayak Godse, a 35-year-old Brahmin, who thought he had betrayed the Hindus. Godse fired three shots at point-blank range. Gandhi died, a Hindu martyr to the Muslim cause.

A cortege of thousands, singing hymns of practically every religious denomination, escorted Gandhi's body to the Jumna River, where it was laid on a great pyre of sandalwood logs and burnt. But most of his ashes were immersed in the Ganges River at Allahabad, as Kasturba's had been four years before.

(CONCLUDED.)

* His religious beliefs and personal purity both provided the impetus for his political career and gained him a hearing. Gandhi could never have been a religious "saint", in the passive sense any more than he could have been a conniving opportunist in a political sense. Betrand Russell once said that the key figures of the 20th century would be manipulative idealists. and of such was Gandhi. But Satyagrapha, founded and forged in opposition to the British and South African governments, was not so effective when the

* But in our own violent, bomb-hurling era, Gandhi's essential teaching has valid, universal aspects. Raging Northern Ireland, for example, might see that in their exchange of noisy insult, the truth both sides acknowledge is lost — without absence of hatred, prejudice, and non-violence of mind.

He has taught adherents of all religions, too, that asceticism can be put to practical everyday service to make a vital, utterly truthful contribution to the life of man. Above all, his direct, day-to-day, moment-to-moment encounters with the Absolute leave no room for religion based on convincing expediency. Truth could be bent to fit a isituation: religion could not provide an escapist haven for cowards.

DAILY NEWS 8 OCTOBER 1969.

A SCHOLAR'S PORTRAIT OF GANDHI IN SOUTH AFRICA

Human Dignity As Fundamental

passes on Indians, and an indignant community met to protest. Three thousand pledged to fight the law.

A deputation sailed to London where Gandhi received a sympathetic hearing when he spoke to members of parliament in the committee room of the House of Commons.

But the Bill was passed and became the Immigration

by
TIM MUIL

Restriction Act of 1907.

"Gandhi," Mrs. Meer tells us, "formed the Passive Resistance Association and launched his first campaign. Only 500 of a population of 13,000 Transvaal Indians registered themselves . . ."

Though arrests followed, the protest embarrassed General Smuts, then colonial secretary for the Transvaal.

He negotiated with Gandhi, who was in gaol, and promised to repeal the Act if Indians submitted voluntarily to registration.

Though many Indians felt Gandhi's agreement was a sell-out, he persuaded most to register.

"General Smuts, however, did not keep his side of the bargain. The Act was not repealed. Instead new measures were enacted against Indians. Their entry to the Transvaal was subjected to an educational test and they were prohibited from moving between Natal and the Transvaal without special permits."

Then Indians prepared themselves for a protracted fight, and two settlements, one at Phoenix near Durban and the other at Tolstoy Farm near Johannesburg, were established for the welfare and training of resisters and their families.

"By 1913 the movement had broadened considerably and the list of laws against which it was aimed had grown.

"Prominent among these was the £3 registration fee of poll tax imposed on indentured Indians. This immediately brought Natal and the Indian workers into the campaign and changed its character from a middle class affair to a mass movement.

"Two thousands miners went on strike in Newcastle and Gandhi became responsible for their destiny. The practical problems were massive, because the miners were forced out of the compounds with their families, 5,000 in all."

STRIKE

Such large numbers living on the veld would have created grave problems in sanitation, and Gandhi decided to move across the Transvaal border and court arrest in a two-pronged protest — against the poll tax and the closure of that province.

The march began on October 28, 1913. The horde stopped in Charlestown and Gandhi made a last attempt to negotiate with the Government by telephoning Pretoria. He told General Smuts's secretary that the march would stop if the poll tax was abolished.

The general refused to speak to him and the march continued. But on November 10 the unresisting throng was arrested at Balfour and deported to Natal by train.

"In the meanwhile the coal mines, without labour, threatened to close down. The government came to the rescue; it enclosed the mine compounds with wire netting and proclaimed them part of the gaol, and recognised the European staff as warders. Those who refused to work were flogged.

"The courage of the coal miners reverberated throughout Natal. Sixty thousand labourers, practically the entire Natal labour force, came out on strike (in sympathy and protest). Natal faced economic ruin. Mounted police tracked down labourers and forced them to work. Shots were fired. Many were wounded and some were killed."



GANDHI came to South Africa as a London-trained barrister, a member of the middle-class. He left as the ascetic who was to become the champion of the Untouchables and the man most responsible for ending the British Raj. Here the Mahatma, forehead decorated by vermilion mixed with raw rice and flower petals, leaves for a conference in London.

But this resistance bore fruit. Consultations betweeen General Smuts and Gandhi led to the Smuts - Gandhi Agreement of 1914, and to the passing of the Indian Relief Act.

While the status of Indians remained virtually the same, the poll tax was ended as was the non-recognition of marriages contracted by Indian religious rites. Indians domiciled in South Africa were allowed to bring their families from India.

CHARISMA

In 1914 Gandhi left after almost 21 years of active campaigning for equal rights. He had done more than wage political war.

He had founded a newspaper, several organisations, two settlements, evolved a philosophy that spread throughout the world, had served in the South African War, had raised an Indian volunteer corps during the last Zulu rebellion and had welded a divided community into an aware wholeness.

He had exerted a charismatic influence over his followers, but his reign, toward the end, did not go unchallenged. He had given much to the sophistication of Indian thinking and had restored Indian self-respect. These gifts brought complexity and diversity of opinion as will

MAHATMA GANDHI

PART II

The non-violent revolutionary

Turmoil

Daily News Staff Reporter

WHEN GANDHI arrived in Durban in May, 1893, there was little evidence of the spiritual thrust that was to launch him on his career of non-violent civil protest. But it was during his 20 years in this country that this career was launched and was ultimately firmly established.

It began, almost by chance, when Gandhi entered a Durban magistrate's court dressed in a frock coat — and a turban. The magistrate asked him to take off his turban. Gandhi refused and left the court — with his turban on.

The next incident proved far more fateful. The lawsuit which had brought him to this country was being decided in Pretoria, and Gandhi was given a first-class rail ticket for the journey there. He embarked at Durban in a first-class compartment. The train halted at Pietermaritzburg at about 9 p.m. where a passenger entered the compartment and immediately called on railway officials to remove the "presumptuous coolie to the luggage van". Gandhi showed his ticket and insisted he had every right to be there. Eventually the police were sent for, and Gandhi, with his luggage, was bundled on to the platform while the train left without him.

Gandhi shivered the night through in the waiting-room at Pietermaritzburg station — he later described it as the most creative ordeal of his life — and the next day caught a train to Charlestown. From there his employer had booked a coach ticket to take him by road across the Transvaal to Johannesburg. But the coach agent cancelled the ticket because other passengers would object. Gandhi was finally given a place on top of the coach, and at one stage the coach-leader even tried to drag him down from there. He clung to a rail and refused to budge. Passengers intervened and the coach eventually lumbered off with Gandhi still on top.

LAWER

At Johannesburg station he insisted that he was a lawyer and expected to travel to Pretoria first class, and got his ticket. A railway official tried to move him, but the other passenger in the compartment said he could stay, and he finally reached Pretoria in safety.

This journey brought home to Gandhi the realities of racial discrimination and roused him to protest as nothing during his life in India or London had done hitherto.

All the same, it seems curious that Gandhi, who devoted his life to the cause of the poor and oppressed, should have made his first significant stand on his right to travel first-class on the South African Railways.

Gandhi was employed by a firm of Muslim merchants, Dada Abdulla. Abdulla Sheth's attorney in Pretoria, Mr. A. W. Baker, was an active Christian, and Gandhi attended a number of religious meetings with him.

Perhaps, as one writer has it, Christianity was being given its last chance to be in at the birth of the Afro-Asian revolution. But Gandhi saw that to turn to Europeans for help usually meant dependance on missionaries, whose ideals and motives were, he thought, out of harmony with his own realities. He seems to have felt that the Bible was to be taken seriously, but that White South Africans had somehow got it wrong.

LEADER

During his first week in Pretoria Gandhi held his first public meeting, and his career as a leader was launched.

If Indians were to improve their status, he said, they should shoulder their responsibilities. White people would judge Indians by the ones they came in contact with. Indians should be honest and truthful, also in business, have clean habits and should stand together. He then suggested the formation of a society to combat racial discrimination.

In the 1890's White prejudice was already mounting against the weight of Indian numbers (Natal had 51,000 Indians, 50,000 Whites and 400,000 Africans. The Transvaal had 5,000 Indians and there were 10,000 in the Cape).

In 1885 the Transvaal Government had decreed that Indians could not vote or acquire citizenship and that they would have to live in prescribed areas.

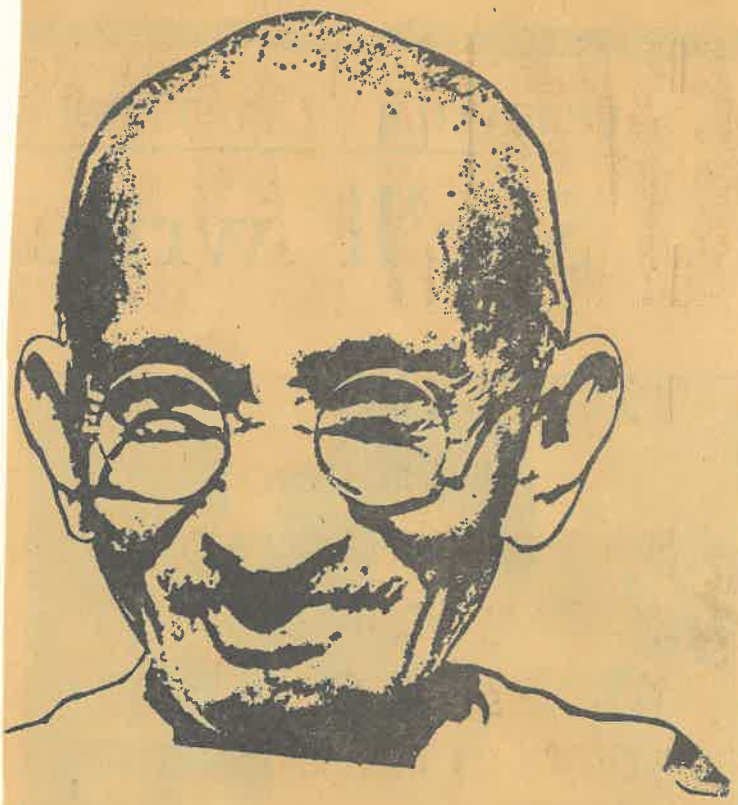
In the Free State they were totally squeezed out and in Natal there were insistent demands for the repatriation of Indians to India. Gandhi was then living in the Transvaal, which was then the area of his main concern, but when the lawsuit which brought him to Africa was solved by arbitration he assumed there would be no further work for him and prepared to leave.

At a farewell party given him by Abdulla Sheth, he saw a newspaper report of a Franchise Bill before Natal's new Legislative Assembly, which was to deprive Indians of the vote. His farewell party was turned into an organising committee with the party guests as members, and telegrams were despatched to the Speaker of the Assembly and Natal's Prime Minister asking for postponement, which was granted for two days.

Gandhi postponed his departure and was retained by a group of Indian merchants, who guaranteed him a living.

The Franchise Bill was passed, but still had to be ratified by Lord Ripon, Gladstone's Colonial Secretary. Gandhi whipped up a new petition with 10,000 signatures, and although Lord Ripon refused to pass the Bill in its original form, a new Bill was passed which disenfranchised Indians indirectly.

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in South Africa

In August, 1894, Gandhi founded the Natal Indian Congress, with himself as secretary, and by this means proposed to introduce Indians to their own history and literature, to undertake social, political and charitable work, improve living conditions and to promote concord between Indians and Europeans. The promotion of concord got prac-



tically nowhere and Gandhi was advised to go home and work against caste and Untouchability in India.

About this time Gandhi read and was deeply influenced by Tolstoy's book "The Kingdom of God is Within You," which argued that authority could not produce good, that power corrupts men, and Christ must be obeyed because he teaches the truth. If power-structures using force were unholy, Tolstoy argued, the churches which propped them up were fraudulent. The individual had to distance himself from an unjust society in a non-violent way, and try to convert the rulers.

Gandhi felt that here was a European expounding a Hindu concept — Ahimsa, or non-violence. But Ahimsa in India meant simply not injuring other creatures; nothing need be done to uplift people in misery, it was simply a negative recoil from violence. Tolstoy's book, he thought, paved the way for action.

In 1896 Gandhi returned to India to do some campaigning and to bring his family to Natal. While in India he had published a pamphlet, "An Appeal to Every Briton in South Africa and The Indian Franchise," which was reported as declaring that Indians in Natal were being robbed and assaulted and treated like beasts.

For some time there had been a lot of discontent in Durban about the Indian immigration policy and the resentment burst into anger when it was established that Gandhi, with about 800 other Indian emigrants, had sailed for Durban.

The two ships carrying the immigrants were refused entry, firstly for reasons of quarantine (bubonic plague had been reported in India that year), but also because the enraged Europeans were threatening to throw the Indians into the sea if they came ashore.

SHIPS

For 23 days the two ships swung at anchor while the battle of willpower went on, but on January 13 1897, the passengers were allowed to land. Gandhi was seized, pelted with stones, and kicked. His life was saved by Mrs. R. C. Alexander, wife of the Superintendent of Durban Police, who held the angry mob at bay until the police arrived to relieve her.

Later a crowd gathered at Rustomjee Sheth's house in Field Street, where Gandhi had taken shelter, for the express purpose of hanging him. This time he was saved by Superintendent Alexander, a popular man, who pleaded with the crowds as they threatened to rush the house and burn it. Watching the mood of the mob he bantered, spoke seriously, told jokes and sang until Gandhi, dressed as a police constable, had been spirited away to the police station, where he was locked in a cell for safety.

(To be continued tomorrow)

PART I PAGE I DAILY NEWS - 1 OCTOBER 1969

MAHATMA GANDHI

Daily News Staff Reporter

The non-violent

MOHANDAS Karamchad Gandhi was born not far from the sea in the small princely state of Porbander on October 2, 1869. He was the first son of the state's Prime Minister, Kaba Gandhi, and his fourth and last wife, Putlibai.

Although they held office and were Hindus, the Gandhis did not belong to either of the superior castes. The four divisions of Hindu society were the Brahmins (priests and scholars), the Kshatriyas (nobles and war leaders) the Vaisyas (farmers and merchants) and the Sudras (workers). The Gandhis were Vaisyas and belong to the Modh Bania sub-caste. "Bania" means business man. Gandhi is a fairly common name in parts of India and means "grocer."

Despite the cast label the family had risen above its caste-prescribed occupation. Gandhi's grandfather and father had both become Prime Ministers of the state.

Mohandas Gandhi passed through the dim years of infancy in a three-storyed house on the outskirts of the city



bought by an ancestor in 1777. He spent his childhood in a home that was neither illiterate nor specially cultured. His father stood clearly for political eminence and integrity and his mother for religion. The family's background was Vaishnavitas; they worshipped Vishnu as Supreme God.

The family went to live in Rajket, where Kaba became Prime Minister, when Mohandas was about eight. He was a sensitive boy, painfully aware of his appearance, his ears that stuck out, and the image he saw so embarrassed him that he literally ran between home and school, fearful of the ridicule of strangers.

At home he was hemmed in by his aunts and uncles, dozens of cousins, and scores of guests, secretaries and servants that drifted in and out of the house.

At 12 he went to King Alfred High School, where he was a mediocre student, painfully honest, self-willed but not violent. For a while he found a source of spiritual strength in the mythological figures of traditional literature. When roving bands of players pitched their tents in the vicinity he went to watch them. Figures such as Raja Harischadra, a sort of Indian Job, rose before him to shed his crown and kingdom in pursuit of truth and justice.

This play, with its ideal of Absolute Truth and Absolute Duty, and the legend of Shravana, with its moral of devotion to parents, presented ideals which the developing mind of Gandhi embraced in earnest.

Up to now Gandhi's problems had been those universal to children anywhere, but suddenly the chasm between East and West yawned wide. When he was 13 the schoolboy Gandhi married. He had already been betrothed to two unknown girls, both of whom had died. According to Hindu custom, he set out in brocaded tunic and bejewelled turban to marry the 13-year-old Kasturbai, whom he had never seen.

There followed long years of adjustment between the child groom and his child bride through their long and difficult adolescence.

Gandhi was demanding and took her reticence for lack of love. Long wars of sulks and silence raged between them. The marriage was made bearable by the Hindu practice of separating a child couple every few months. Kasturbai would spend a few months with her husband and then return to her parents home for a spell.

During her absence young Gandhi came under the influence of a friend, Mehtab, and together the two teenage boys broke the rules laid down by their elders. They smoked, ate meat in defiance of the Hindu vegetarian diet, made an abortive suicide pact, and their rebellion included a visit to a brothel from which Gandhi fled in fright and disgust.

About the same time he stole gold from his brother's armlet — allegedly to pay his brother's debt. But this was going too far. He wrote a letter of confession to his now bed-ridden father who wept a little and tore it up.

In 1885 Kaba died. His death was a traumatic experience for Gandhi, and one he had to live with all his life. He sat one night with his sinking father and when an uncle offered to relieve him he went to Kasturbai. A servant called him to his father, but before he could reach the sickroom Kaba was dead. When Kasturbai's child was born it only lived a few days for that, too, Gandhi blamed himself.

From this time on Gandhi's mistrust of self-indulgence was never to leave him and, convinced that he had gone wrong, he began his religious quest.

THIS IS the first of a series of articles to mark the centenary of the birth of Mahatma (Great Soul) Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi tomorrow.

The articles deal with Gandhi's life, spiritual development and impact on society during his long fight for Indian self-determination.

Gandhi (1869-1948) found his vocation as a non-violent revolutionary in South Africa and it was in this country that he developed the spiritual impulses that were later to shake an empire.

He died at the hands of an assassin on January 30, 1948.

PART I

"માસીક મજાહ" નાં ઘરાકોને ભેટ.

એપ્રીલ ૧૯૦૨.



N. M. PATEL, ESQUIRE

મી૦ નશરવાનજી એમ. પટેલ.

ધા સીંગર મેન્યુફેક્ચરીંગ કંપનીના હીંદ અને બરમાના વડા એજંટ.

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Gandhi and his South African Journal "Indian Opinion"

B. PACHAI

This is the last of four articles on Gandhi to mark the Gandhi Centenary Year. —*Ed.*

IN 1884, when Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was only fifteen years old, a famous African leader and journalist in the Eastern Province of South Africa started the publication of a newspaper entitled *Imvo Zabantsundu*. The founder was John Tengo Jabavu. The location was Kingwilliamstown. The English title was *Native Opinion*. This newspaper became the first non-European paper in South Africa under African direction. Jabavu's paper played an important part in Cape politics, especially in its stand on the issues of land and labour concerning the African people in the 1890s.

Twenty years later, M.K. Gandhi was instrumental in starting an Indian newspaper in South Africa. Like Jabavu's before him, Gandhi's paper, entitled *Indian Opinion*, became embroiled in the politics of the times. In Jabavu's case, a political opponent, the Rev. Walter Rubusana, who later became the first and only African to be elected to the Cape Provincial Council, started a rival paper named *Izwi la Bantu*. Similarly, in Gandhi's case a political opponent, P.S. Aiyar, started a rival paper called *African Chronicle*.

These developments indicate the beginnings of incipient nationalism among the non-white communities of South Africa. They threw up the first batch of leaders in twentieth century politics in these communities. They indicate, too, political organization, progress and motivation. The use of the press as a political weapon is an index of advancement towards political maturity.

This article concerns itself with one of these papers, that is, *Indian Opinion*; it traces how and why it was started, its failures and successes. In doing so, it deals with a large part of the Gandhian era in South Africa: an era which has become topical in this Gandhi centenary commemoration year.[1]

Indian Opinion was established on 4 June, 1903, almost a decade after Gandhi first came to South Africa to practise law. It was printed by the International Printing Press, the first Indian owned press in South Africa. The press was owned by a former Bombay school-teacher, Madanjit Vyavaharik, who was one of the trio whose names are associated

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To Our Readers

There will be no separate supplement to AFRICA QUARTERLY this year. Instead, we have enlarged the current issue of the Journal to twice its normal size. The next issue will be a special number on "Italy and Africa".

—Ed.

with the founding of *Indian Opinion*. The second was a journalist from Bombay named M.H. Nazar, the paper's first editor. The third was Gandhi himself, the real power behind the paper. To ensure the continuance of the venture, Gandhi undertook to finance it to a limit of £75 a month, to write regular features, to assist in editing, to offer legal advice and to assist in policy-making. Indeed, to keep the paper solvent during the first year of its existence he advanced £2,000 to meet the running expenses.[2]

Gandhi's main objective for the paper was that it should serve as a mouthpiece for the British Indians living in South Africa and as a bridge to draw the Indian and European communities together so that areas of friction could be reduced. He felt that if understanding could be fostered conflict might be minimised. In all this his expectations were high even though his own experiences in South Africa from the time of his arrival there were not too pleasant. Since 1893 he had seen a progressive deterioration in the political climate in which the South African Indians found themselves : there was in force in Natal the Immigration Restriction Act, the Dealers' Licences Act, the £3 tax on ex-indentured Indians if they elected to remain in Natal. It was Natal which had been responsible for importing indentured labour to South Africa. It was here that Indians were and are concentrated. Naturally, the problems of this part of the country were more keenly felt. No wonder, then, that Indians first organized themselves politically in Natal with the formation of the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 and followed this up with the founding of *Indian Opinion*. But these ventures were due to Gandhi's qualities of leadership. The Congress without Gandhi was rudderless; Gandhi without *Indian Opinion* did not have an effective voice.

To advance the cause of Indians in South Africa, the paper had to appeal to the conscience of the governments in South Africa and outside as well as to sympathetic Europeans. This would have to be done in English. It had to appeal, too, to the conscience of Indians themselves in South Africa and India. For this it used the Gujarati, Tamil and Hindi languages for the first two years of its life but finally, because of expenses and support, dropped all but the English and Gujarati languages.[3]

In almost sixty years of its existence, the paper was edited by over a dozen persons but during Gandhi's stay in South Africa only four persons were officially connected with its editorship. They were M.H. Nazar (1903-1906); H. Kitchi (1906); H. S. L. Polak (1906-1916) and the Rev. J. J. Doke (Acting, 1913).[4] All but one of the editors were non-Indians in keeping with Gandhi's philosophy of choosing the right man rather than the right race. Of these, the most remarkable was H. S. L. Polak, the man who was editor of the journal longer than any other person except the Mahatma's son, Manilal Gandhi, who was editor from 1918 to 1956.

Polak was a sub-editor on the English paper *Transvaal Critic* in 1904 when he first met Gandhi. Their meeting and association resulted from the outbreak of bubonic plague in the Transvaal in the early months of 1904. The worst hit area was the city of Johannesburg where the death

toll up to 30 March, 1904, was 6 whites, 2 Africans and 47 Asiatics. Gandhi attributed the blame largely to negligence on the part of the municipality. "It was after the municipality became in Johannesburg the immediate landlord to every individual tenant," he wrote, "that the mischief of excessive crowding and insanitation arose bringing in their train the awful scourge."[5]

Gandhi wrote letter after letter in the Transvaal press on this subject and his persistence aroused Polak's curiosity and admiration. According to Gandhi's own testimony Polak, an English Jew, played a large part in stimulating Gandhi's love for country life and in fostering in the Western-trained barrister the dignity of labour. It was this development that led to Gandhi's establishment of the Phoenix Settlement, fourteen miles from Durban, as the countryside headquarters of *Indian Opinion* in 1904.[6] Two years later Polak gave up his Johannesburg job and joined the Gandhian establishment with headquarters at Phoenix. There was now no turning back. Polak gradually assumed the mantle of understudy to Gandhi, a position which led to his being sent by the South African Indians to India in 1909 as a one-man delegation to protest against the situation in South Africa which had led to the outbreak of passive resistance in 1907. He was now an attorney of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal, a profession he joined in order to assist Gandhi. He was also Assistant Secretary of the Transvaal British Indian Association, a body formed to champion the cause of British Indians in the Transvaal. Gandhi was its Secretary. It is clear, then, that Polak and Gandhi were comrades-in-arms, in the legal chambers, in the Transvaal British Indian Association and in *Indian Opinion.*

Whilst in India in 1909 Polak produced a book in two parts. The first was entitled *The Indians of South Africa*; the second *A Tragedy of Empire, The Treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal.*[7] In the foreword to his book, Polak evaluated the South African situation very much as Gandhi himself did, and in fact embodied partially in the series of letters he exchanged with General Smuts in 1914. ". . . . the grievances of the Indians in the various South African Colonies are many, serious, and legitimate, and that in their attempt to procure a remedy, the Indians have succeeded in evoking expressions of opinion distinctly favourable to their case, from those who might reasonably be expected to be, if anything, hostile witnesses . . . the greater part of the sufferings borne by the South African Indians are due to the ignorance and carelessness of their European fellow-colonists. The latter are usually unaware of what is going on and what is being done in their name; they are ordinarily too much engrossed in material pursuits to have time to spare for the consideration of hardships, which, as a rule, they are unable to appreciate, not being themselves subject to the disabilities complained of."

Polak's words not only described succinctly the position obtaining in 1909 but they also hold true for the position obtaining sixty years later in spite of the considerable headway made during the first half of the twentieth century in political organization, representation and agitation among all sections of the South African population. In its own way, *Indian Opinion* played an important part in this development. The fact

that its editor, Polak, was a delegate of the Transvaal British Indian Association to India in 1909 and again in 1911 and to England in 1911 and 1913, in addition to being a leader of the Indian community, is a fair reflection of its role in South African and international politics.

To recount the role of *Indian Opinion* in South African politics during the Gandhian period in South Africa is in effect to trace all that happened to the Indian community between 1903 and 1914. This has been done elsewhere.[8] Certain aspects will be selected for treatment here in order to highlight some of the lesser known facts.

First about the plague which broke out in the Transvaal in 1904. Gandhi attributed the main blame for this, as we have seen, to the Johannesburg Town Council.[9] The Council denied the charges vehemently.[10] Gandhi sallied forth into the denials the following day and countered them point by point.[11] Having got the Council to admit its responsibility and to discharge its obligations, he looked to the columns of *Indian Opinion* to remind his countrymen of their obligations; an editorial headed "A Lesson from the Plague" stated :

> "The French have a name for the artistic, the English for personal bravery, the Germans for hardheartedness, the Russians for frugality, the colonists in South Africa for gold hunger; similarly, the Indians in South Africa have rightly or wrongly got the evil reputation of being nsanitary and ignorant of the first principles of hygiene."

That being the case he exhorted the South African Indians to pay serious attention to questions of sanitation and hygiene so that the stigma could be permanently eradicated.[12]

Again, when passive resistance against the immigration and registration laws of the Transvaal began in 1907, *Indian Opinion* appealed to its readers to undertake the task of disseminating information about the issues involved among those who were uninformed or illiterate.[13] In a later editorial the paper made the following plea : "Let the people then strive earnestly to educate themselves. Ignorance is the greatest enemy. It binds, it disfigures, it distorts. And in a body of people fighting for rights, it is a positive weakness to their fighting capacity".[14]

In this respect the journal not only prodded the aggrieved community into action, but also called for improvements within the community. And it stirred officialdom into taking steps in certain directions. A perusal of the files on Indian immigration in the Colonial Secretary's Office, Natal, reveals the variety of the journal's activities on behalf of the community : for example, it complained of the quality of rice rations issued in the Elandslaagte Collieries in Natal to indentured miners[15] ; it complained against the detention and allocation of indentured labourers and against their treatment in the mines;[16] unfair persecution, withholding of licences from Indian traders and a host of other matters. The two leading lights of the journal were also deemed to be leaders of the Indian community ; they were practising barristers, too. They made representations, filled memoranda, appeared in court, went overseas as leaders of delegations,

wrote books and took an active part in the passive resistance struggle, including the indignity of serving prison sentences. But if Gandhi, Polak and others, including the political bodies, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal British Indian Association, received almost unanimous support from the Indian community in the early years, what happened between 1913 and 1914 is quite another story.

This period saw a heightening of the crisis. It saw the introduction of the Immigrants Regulation Act which in effect advocated a closed-door policy, a policy which both Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Member of the Viceroy's Council who visited South Africa in 1912 at the invitation of Gandhi, and Gandhi himself, supported as a *quid pro quo* for the improvement of the lot of those Indians who were already in South Africa. There was no question after the introduction of the Immigration Act of 1913 that India's millions would spill over into South Africa. It saw, too, the passing of the Searle judgment which pronounced all monogamous marriages contracted by Indians according to non-Christian rites to be polygamous marriages and therefore not recognized in law. This latter issue led to serious consequences. It made Gandhi draw Indian women into the arena of resistance. When this happened, it was a small step towards involving ex-indentured immigrants. These persons were now free from the obligation of indentured labour but they were subject to an obnoxious £3 tax as the price for staying on in South Africa after giving at least ten years of their working lives in that country. The abolition of the £3 tax became the cry of the resistance movement.

These issues were the very ones on which the Indian community became divided. Gandhi lost the support of the Natal Indian Congress, a body he had been instrumental in founding and which he had served for many years as secretary. He formed the Natal Indian Association as a political platform. To add to his chagrin at this time, a rival Indian paper took up the cudgels against him. This was *African Chronicle*, edited by P.S. Aiyar. The paper set its tone and defined its stand in the following editorial excerpt: "We have been fooled long enough by the wisdom of this great 'South African Indian patriot' and we hope and trust that our countrymen will no longer subject themselves to be victimized by his reputed wisdom."[17] *African Chronicle* held the view that "by an insensate and short-sighted policy, Mr. Gandhi and his friends have brought the Indian community to the verge of ruin."[18]

Gandhi's "friends" were singled out to be L. W. Titch, Herman Kallen-Bach and H. S. L. Polak, all Europeans.[19] To Gandhi's credit, he defended his friends stoutly and continued to work with them. He had found their "purity, talents, ability and ideals" unimpeachable.

This opposition bedevilled Gandhi for the rest of his days in South Africa. *African Chronicle* intensified its campaign of discrediting Gandhi and *Indian Opinion*. What was worse, and perhaps the unkindest cut of all, was that Gandhi was impeached at a mass meeting held in Johannesburg on 15 July, 1914, five days before he sailed for ever from the shores of South Africa : his leadership was repudiated ; he was charged by his former friends with having misappropriated £1,200 for running *Indian*

Opinion and with having accepted a settlement which was detrimental to Moslems on the score of non-recognition of polygamous marriages. This mass meeting ended in uproar. The first era in the Mahatma's political life ended on 20 July, 1914, when he left South Africa, disavowed and discredited in some quarters. Yet much was left behind and still remains. It was a forerunner to the tragedy of 30 January, 1948, when the second era ended. On the second occasion, as on the first, though disavowed and discredited in some quarters, there was much left behind.

In concluding this account of Gandhi and his journal in South Africa I wish to draw upon some observations made elsewhere over a decade ago:

> "The files of *Indian Opinion* of the years 1903-1914 are a testimony to the journal's adherence to facts, dealt with as objectively as circumstances permitted, according to the editorial standards of the *Times* of London, as laid down by Gandhi himself. It lived through the turbulent period covered by this study carrying in its print and policy the spirit of moderation. It was moderation that led *Indian Opinion* to support voluntary re-registration in the Transvaal in 1908; it was the same attitude that lent support to the Gandhi-Gokhale "closed-door' policy in 1912 in order that the permanent Indian population of South Africa might prosper in proportion to the curtailment of future Indian immigration to South Africa from India. It was moderation that caused the journal to support the Indian Relief Act of 1914, and it was in an atmosphere of compromise that the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement was conceived.
>
> "Whether or not future events justified the spirit of moderation and compromise of Gandhi and his journal, one thing was indisputable : *Indian Opinion* had carved for itself a niche in South African affairs by its conception and advocacy of passive resistance as an instrument of protest, and by its service in focussing attention on the defects in the system of indenture in Natal. If after 'Mahatma Gandhi left the shores of South Africa, Pheonix was like the mythical bird turned into ashes,' the lesson of Gandhi and his journal of Passive Resistance lives on. Nor has South Africa heard or felt the last of it."[20]

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3. *Ibid.*
4. *Golden Jubilee of the Phoenix Settlement*—1904-1954.
5. *Indian Opinion*, 9 April, 1904.
6. M. K. Gandhi, *Autobiography* or *My Experiments with Truth*, p. 298.

7. Published by G.A. Natesan and Co., Madras. This is today a very rare book. A copy was sent out to the writer by Mr. Polak himself from London in 1955 just before his death.

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10. *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 April, 1904.

11. *Ibid.*, 15 April, 1904.

12. See also Joseph J. Doke, *M. K. Gandhi, An Indian Patriot in South Africa.* (1967) Chapter XVI, "Plague Days", pp, 76-79.

13. *Indian Opinion*, 18 May, 1907.

14. *Ibid.*, 21 March, 1908.

15. I. I. 2023/08, Natal Archives.

16. I. I. 164/05, Natal Archives.

17. *African Chronicle*, 2 August, 1913.

18. *Ibid.*, 23 February, 1914.

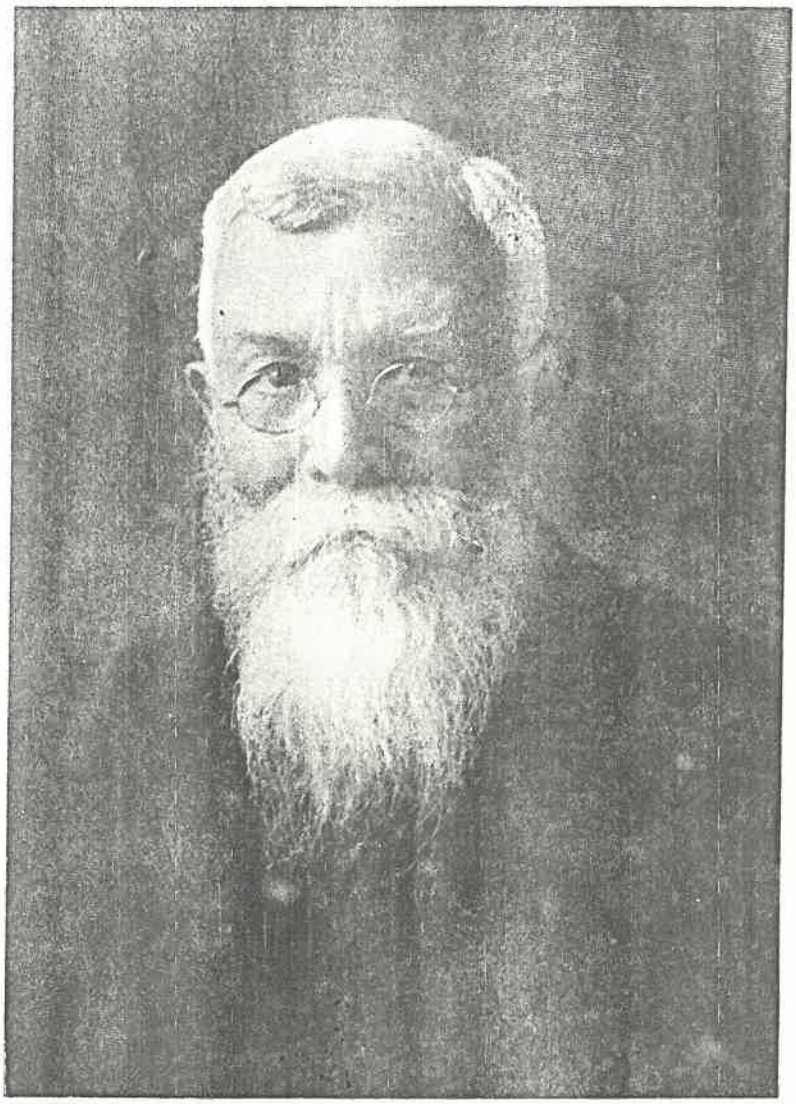
19. *Ibid.*, 18 October, 1913.

20. B. Pachai, "The History of 'Indian Opinion' ", M.A. thesis, University of South Africa, 1958, p. 186.

DOCUMENTATION CENTRE
University of Durban-Westville
ACCESSION NO. 6789



THE LATE MR. ADAMJEE MIANKHAN.



From a Photo by ELLIOTT & FRY.

Dadabhai Naoroji

REPRODUCED FROM "INDIA."

155/34



ત્રીજી સાહિત્ય પરિષદની સ્વાગત મંડળીનાં પ્રમુખ.

ગોંડલનાં રાણી સૌ. નંદકુંવરબા.

"ગુલશન"ની ભેટ.



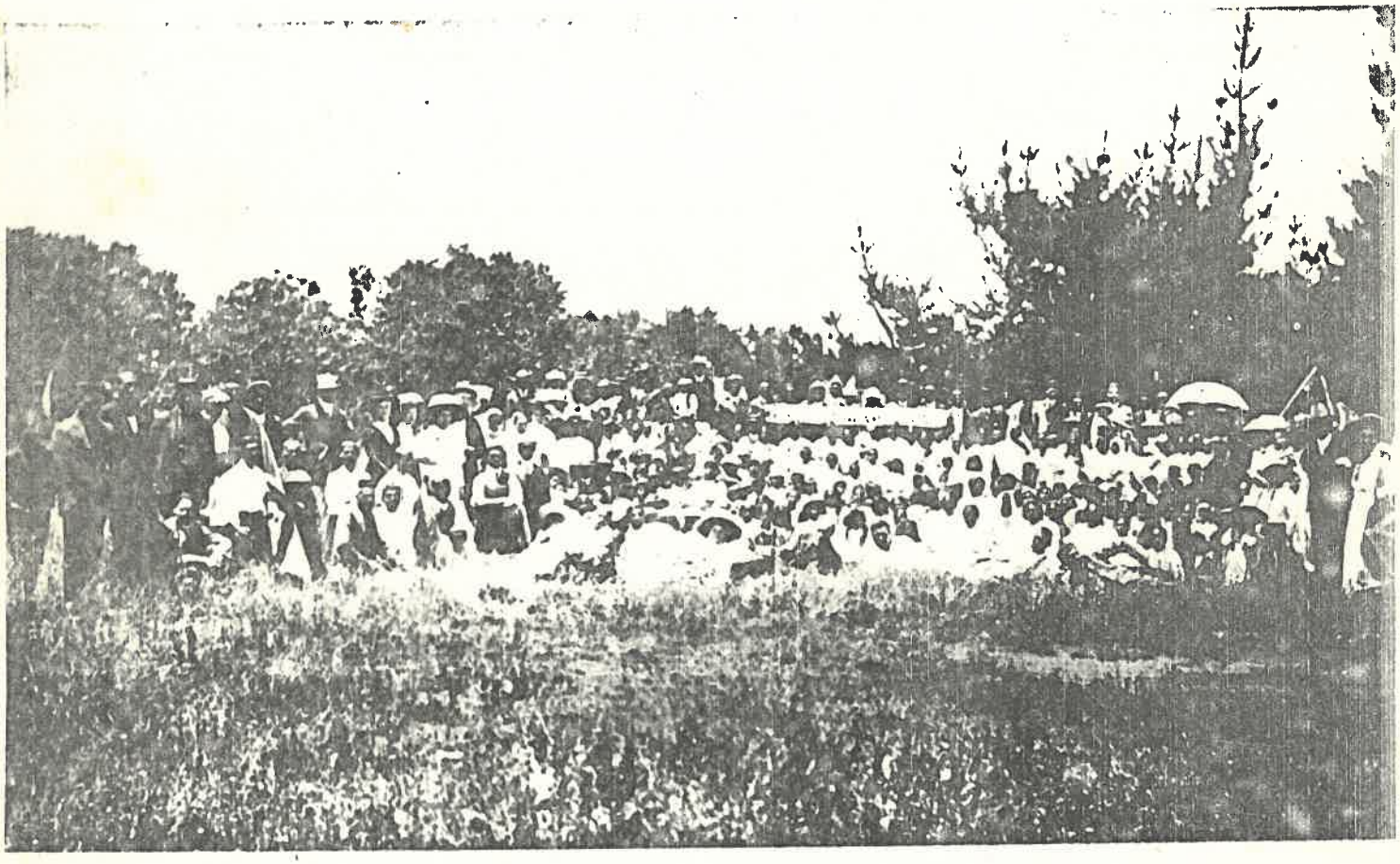
અફ્ગાનિસ્તાનના મરહુમ અમીર અબદુર રહમાન
"જી. સી. બી.," "જી. સી. એસ. આઈ.," "ઝિયા-ઉલ-મિલ્લત વ દીન."

Tolstoy Farm

210

14th January, 1911.

The Picnic Party at Tolstoy Farm



145

ટોલ્સ્ટોય ફાર્મપર થયેલા છેલ્લા મીજલસ.

14.1.1911

See 155/57



Mr. M. K. GANDHI.



Mr. H. O. ALLY.

The Black Act

In the new Transvaal Parliament, General J.C.Smuts, the Colonial Secretary, introduces the

A S I A T I C L A W A M E N D M E N T A C T (2/1907)

which is identical to NO. 29/1906, to become operative as from 1 July 1907.

With the passing of this Act, Britain renounced all protection of its Indian citizens and left the Transvaal Government to solve the problem .

In October 1906, Smuts wrote :

"The Asiatic cancer....ought to be resolutely eradicated

This phrase expressed the Government's attitude towards the Indian question .



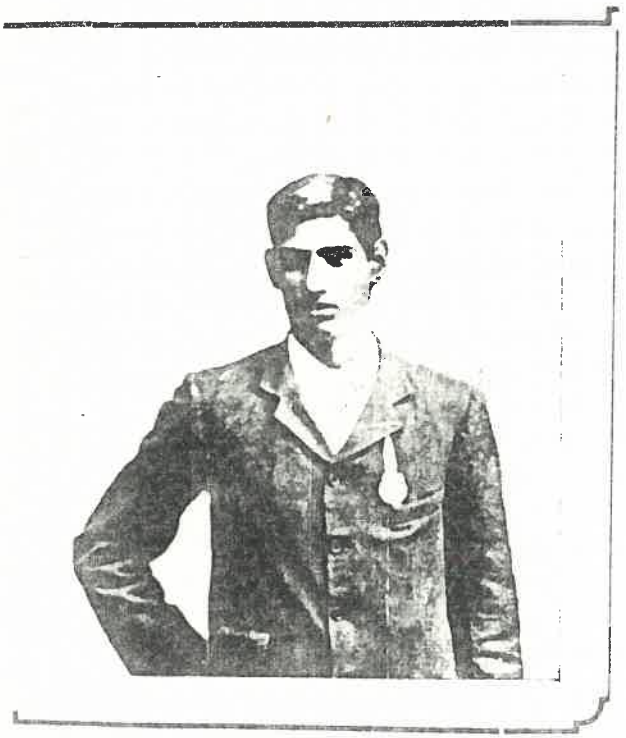
Sa. 155/30

THE LATE MR. NARYANSAMY

22.10.1910

MARTYRS or LAW-BREAKERS'

Many Indians were prepared to pay the highest sacrifice for their cause.....



THE LATE MR. S. NAGAPPAN.

Discharged from Gaol [illegible] covered with weals and suffering [illegible] diagnosed as fatal [illegible]



Mr. Joseph Royappen as he appeared when arrested [illegible]



See 155/25

B E N E F A C T O R S ....

among the benefactors of the movement were men and women (European as well as Indian) from South Africa, England and India :

The Right Hon. SYED AMEER ALI ,President of the London Branch of the All-India Moslem Lea which has made persistent efforts to secure redress for the Transvaal Indian passive resi and for the entire community of South Afric

(Indian Opinion, 25.2.1911) Top left :

bottom left : His Highness Sir Aga Sultan Mahmun Shah, K.C.I.E. (The Aga Khan) from Indian Sporting Times, 13.5.1900



See 155/28



Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Bt.
President of the Twenty-Sixth Indian National Congress

See 155/33

11.2.1911

THE [illegible] QUES[illegible]


S.A.R. MARKET
FOR WHITES ONLY
EUROPEAN & Co
COOLIE STORE REMOVES TO LOCATION



MR. M. K. GANDHI.

also 121/1 p. 26.



Mr. M. K. GANDHI.



Mr. H. O. ALLY.

The Black Act

In the new Transvaal Parliament, General J.C.Smuts, the Colonial Secretary, introduces the

A S I A T I C L A W A M E N D M E N T A C T (2/1907)

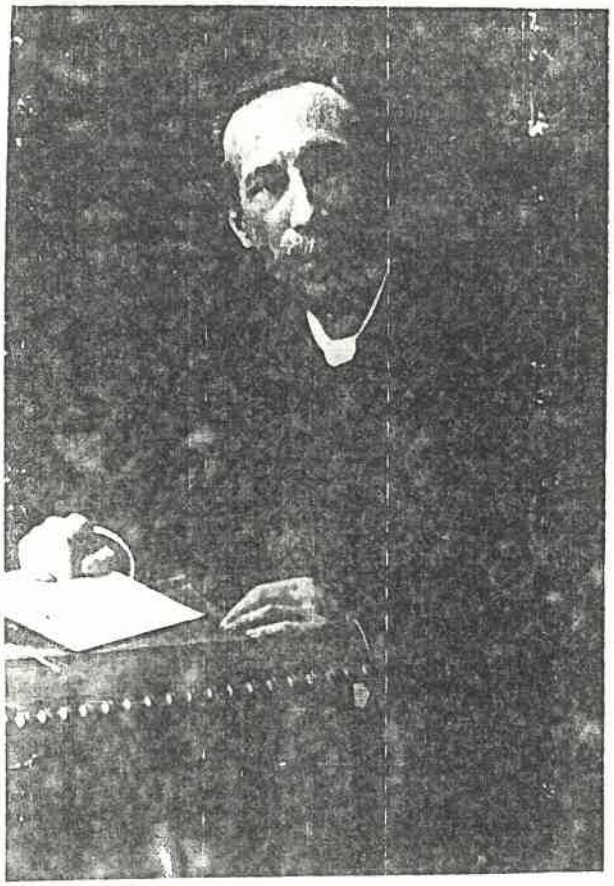
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REV. JOSEPH J DOKE.

" A FRIEND IN NEED"

The Rev. Joseph J.Doke, who so ably assisted the Asiatic communities of the Transvaal in the Passive Resistance campaign .

(19.3.1910, Indian Opinion)

Mr. Ameeroodin Fajandar,

Transvaal delegate to the Indian National Congress.

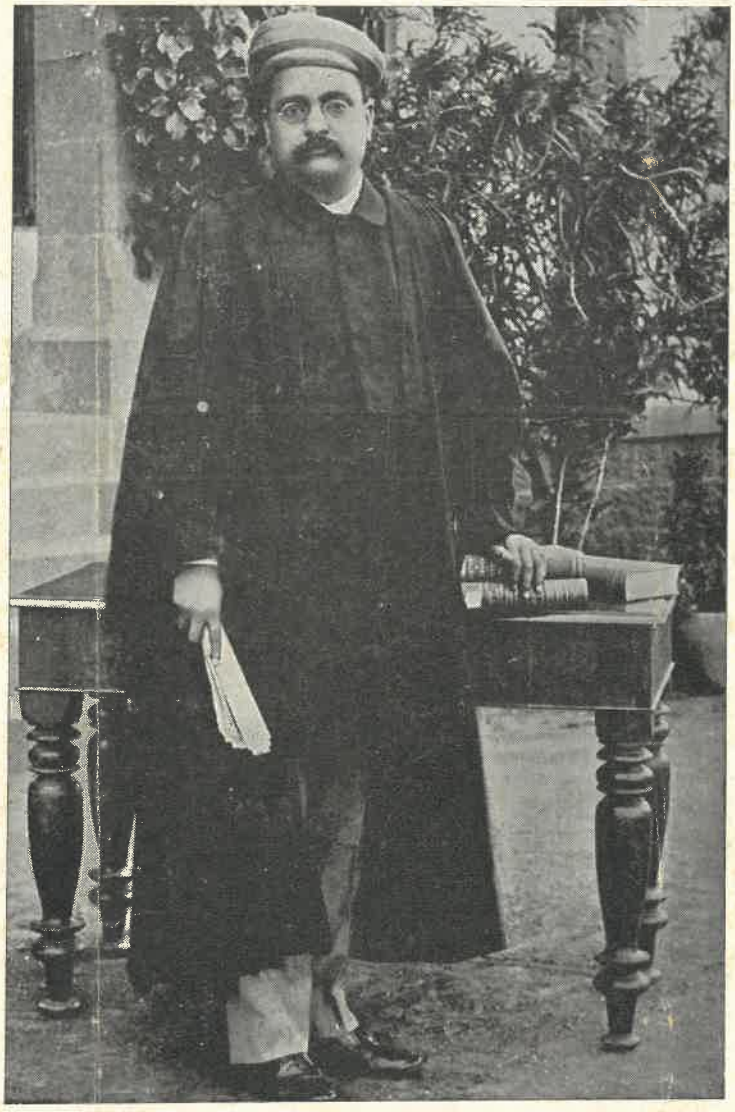
(30.10.1907, Indian Opinion)



AMEEROODIN FAJANDAR

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
19th October, 1912.

WELCOME TO SOUTH AFRICA



The HON MR. G. K. GOKHALE, C.I.E., Member of the Imperial Legislative Council of India, who arrives in Capetown on the 22nd instant, will visit the principal towns in South Africa.

ભલે પધાર્યા લોકમાન્ય દેશભકત ગોપાળ કૃષ્ણ ગોખલે

See 171/1 p. 45

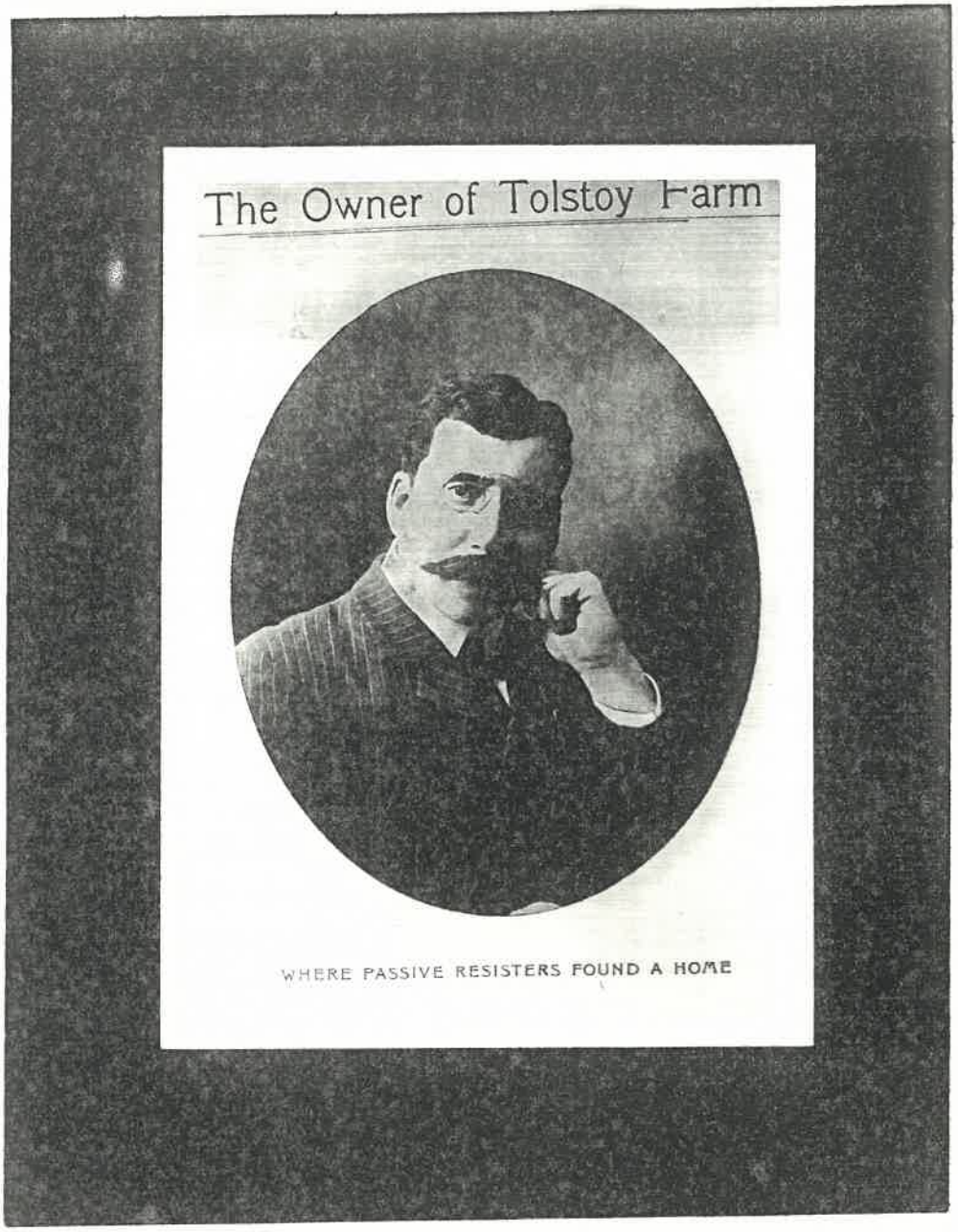


MR. AMEERODIN FAJANDAR.

Transvaal Delegate to the Indian National Congress.

મી. અમીરૂદીન ફજંદાર.

ઈંડિઅન નેશનલ કોંગ્રેસના ટ્રાંસવાલ તરફથી નીમાએલ પ્રતિનીધી.



1910 : Gandhi realises that the passive resistance movement was destined to be a long drawn out affair . Money and accommodation was desperately needed to continue the movement successfully.

A GERMAN FRIEND, KALLENBACH purchased a farm about 1100 acres in extent at Lawley,about 35km outside Johannesburg.

HERE GANDHI ESTABLISHED THE TOLSTOY FARM .



B E N E F A C T O R S ....

among the benefactors of the movement were men and women (European as well as Indian) from South Africa, England and India :

The Right Hon. SYED AMEER ALI ,President of the London Branch of the All-India Moslem Lea; which has made persistent efforts to secure redress for the Transvaal Indian passive resi: and for the entire community of South Afric (Indian Opinion, 25.2.1911) Top left :

bottom left : His Highness Sir Aga Sultan Mahmun Shah, K.C.I.E. (The Aga Khan) from Indian Sporting Times,13.5.1900





Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Bt.

President of the Twenty-Sixth Indian National Congress

: Two days later a meeting between the Indians and the Transvaal Government took place :

No compromise was reached on the issue that educated Asiatics should be allowed to enter the Transvaal subject to the same test as Europeans .

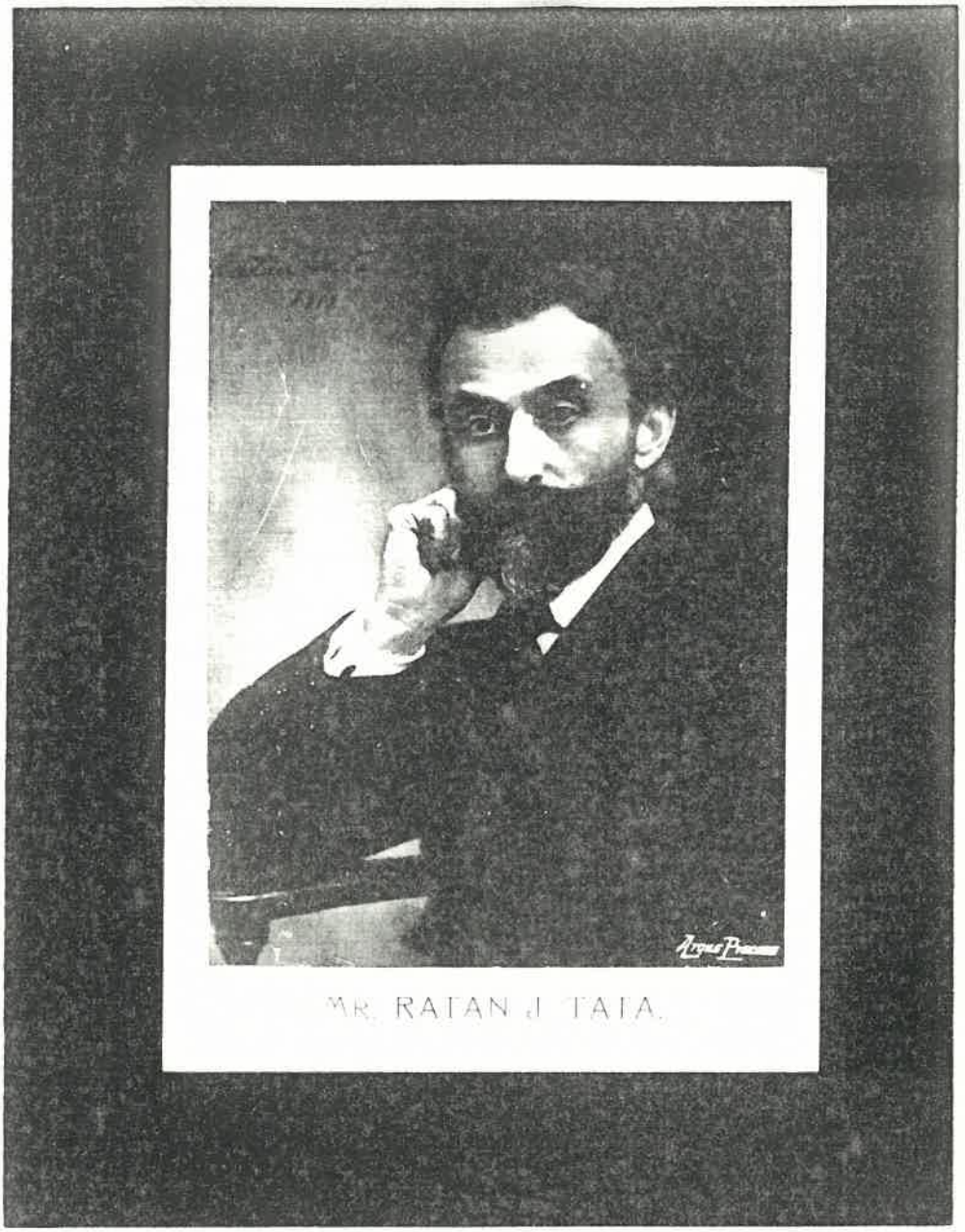
8 July 1908 : In the meantime, SORABIJ SHAPURJI ADAJANIA, an educated Natal Indian was the first Natal Indian to demand entry into the Transvaal : He was prosecuted and sentenced to imprisonment under the Asiatic Law Amendment Act and not under the Immigrant's Registration Act :



MR. SORABJI SHAPURJI ADAJANIA.

11.6.1910 - Indian Opus

Many other Indians from Natal now joined the struggle and hundreds courted arrest .



MR. RATAN J. TATA.

SIR RATANJI TATA DONATES 25,000 RUPEES (about R 10 000) TO ASSIST GANDHI'S PASSIVE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT AND TOLSTOY FARM .

Natal to the Rescue!



Mr. S. J. Randeria Mr. M. C. Anglia Mr. H. I. Joshi
Mr. Parsee Rustomjee Mr. Dawad Mahomed Mr. Adam H. G. Mahomed
(Capetown.)

Some of the leading Indians who have proceeded to Johannesburg to assert their rights.

ટ્રાન્સવાલના હિંદીઓની મદદે ગયેલા બહાદુર હિંદી આગેવાનો.

22.8.1908

IMMIGRANTS RESTRICTION ACT NO.15/1907 , which prescribed a dictation test in an European language for would-be-immigrants :

By means of Act 2/1907 and Act 15/1907, it was almost impossible for an Indian to gain entry into the Transvaal .

31 July 1907 : Indians furious :Open air meeting held in Pretoria and the "Fourth" resolution of 11 September 1906 re-affirmed :

(i) Gandhi advocated negotiation first ;

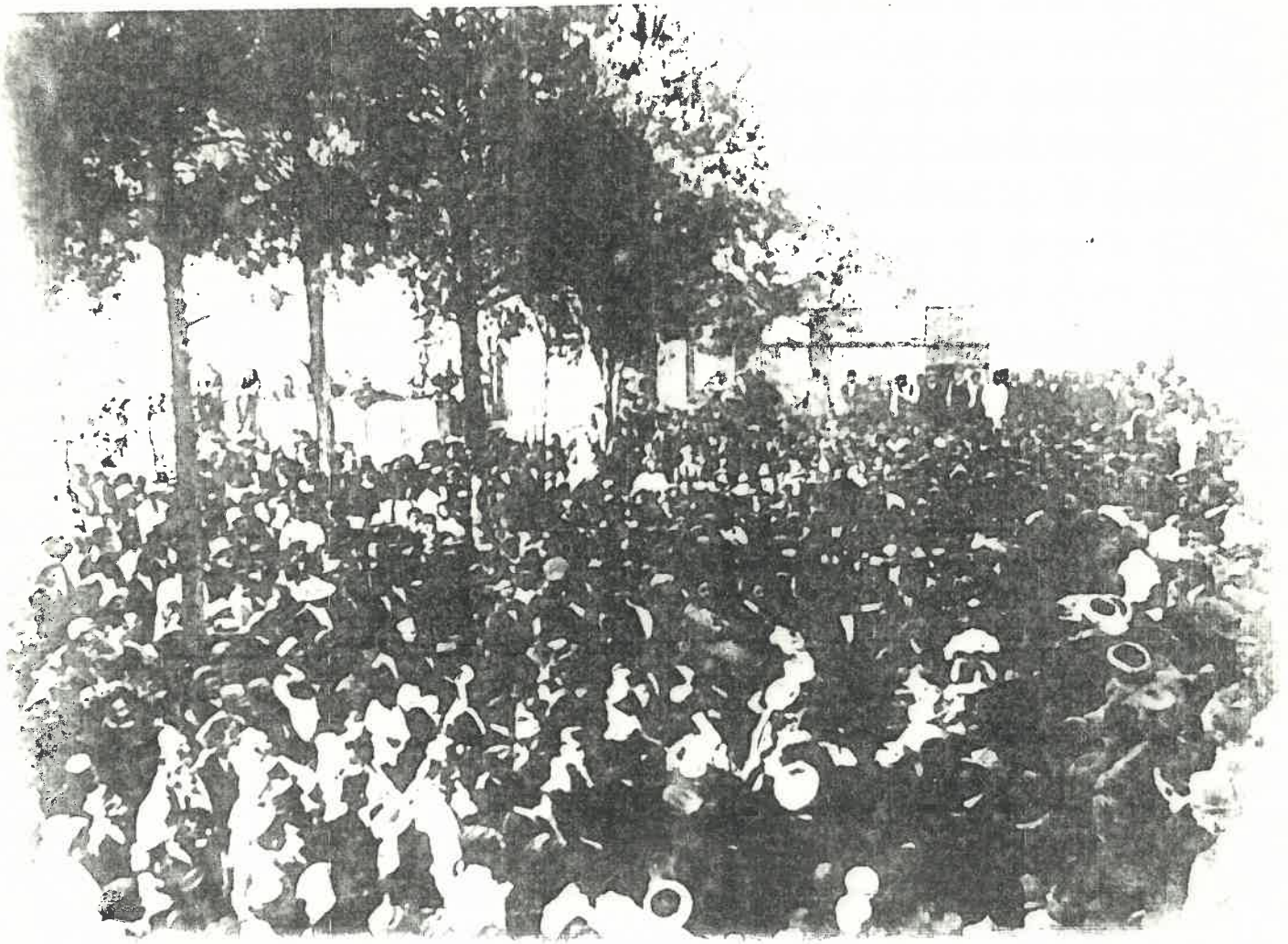
(ii) Over 3000 signed a petition to the Transvaal Government offering voluntary registration if the Government would suspend Act 2 of 1907: this also failed :

(iii) Finally, it was decided to commence a

P A S S I V E R E S I S T A N C E A S S O C I A T I O N

The Indian Mass Meeting

[illegible] Pretoria on the 31st July which decided to continue the Passive Resistance crusade against the Asiatic [illegible]



14 July 1914

Gandhi Leaves South Africa

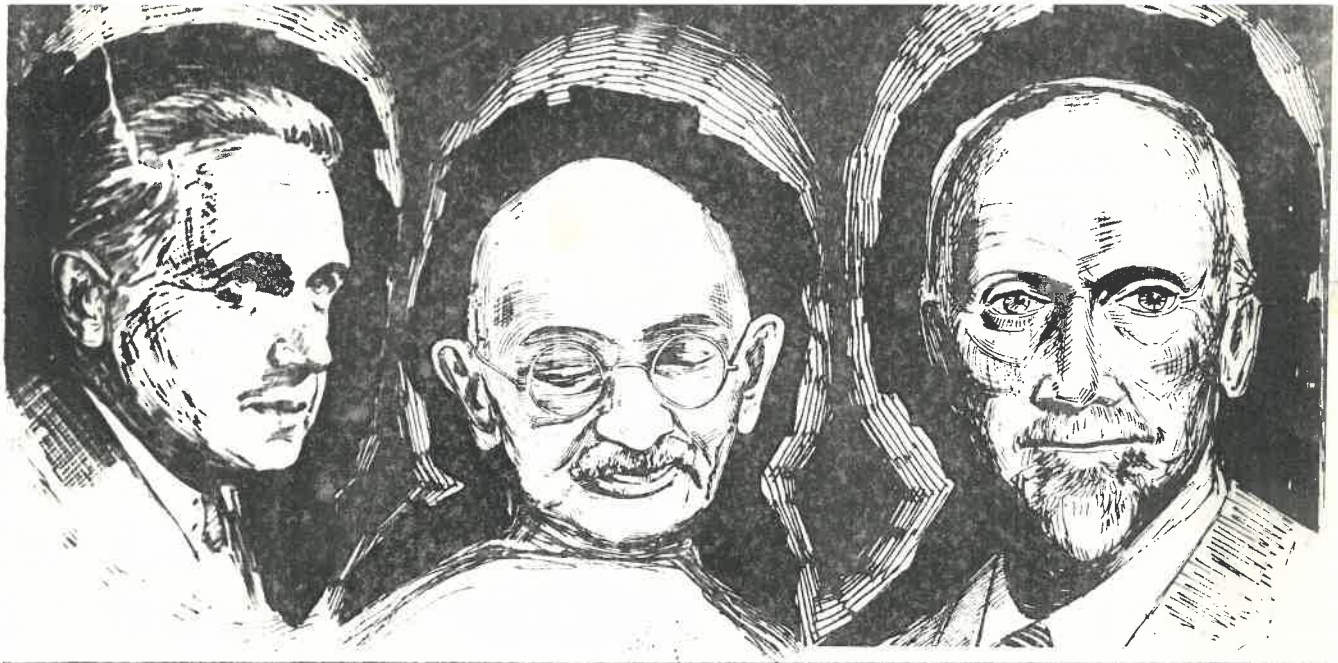
Gandhi's popularity and status in the South African Indian community is best summed up by the spontaneous and enthusiastic farewells held in his honour before his departure from South Africa :

P23

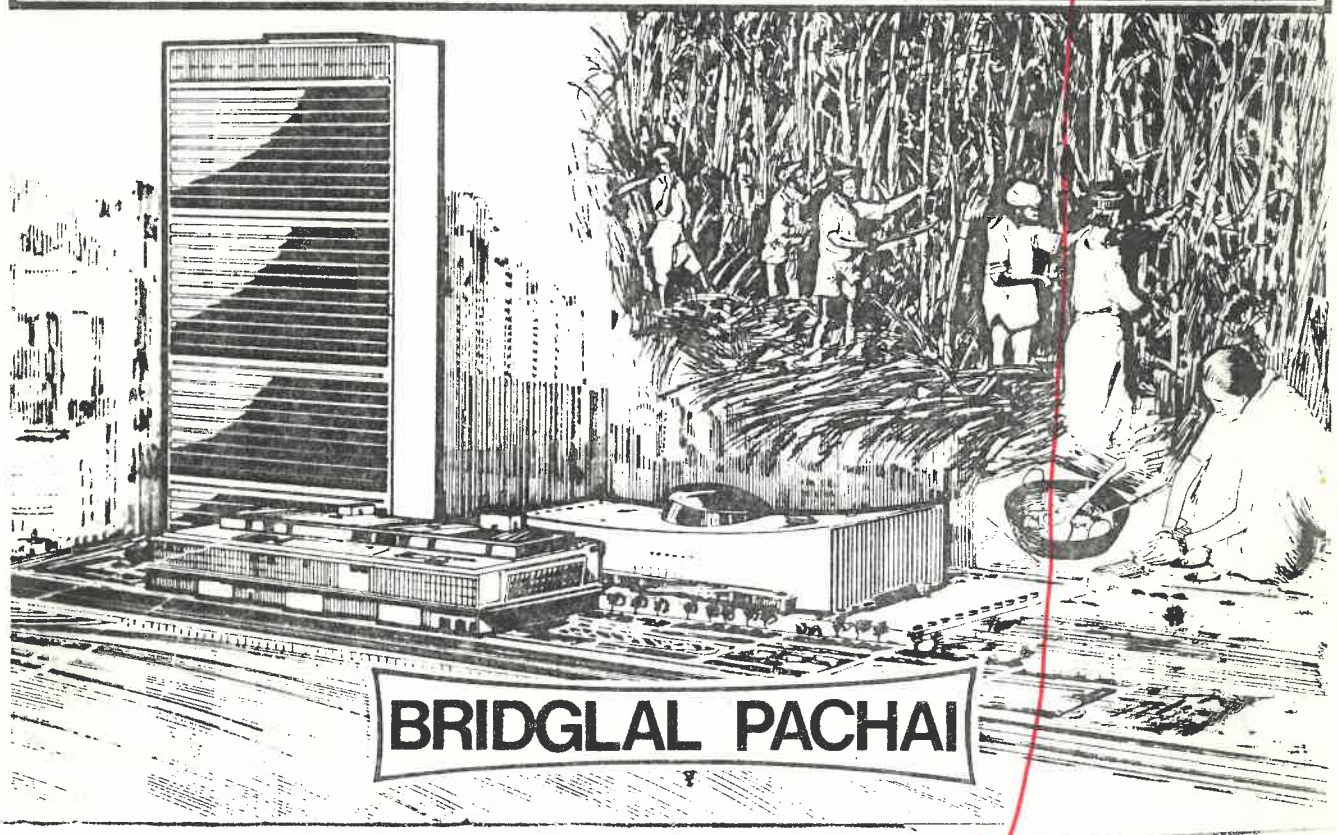


The last photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi in Durban along with several friends in 1914

See 155169.



THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN QUESTION 1860-1971



BRIDGLAL PACHAI

SMUTS

Transvaal Indian Women's Bazaar



A Group of Workers and Friends

In the centre of the second row, next to Mr. Gandhi, is the Mayoress, then Mr. and Mrs. Hosken, the Mayor, and Mrs. Ivor Lewis.

See 155/58

P 25

Transvaal Indian Women's Bazaar



A Group of Workers and Friends

In the centre of the second row, next to Mr. Gandhi, is the Mayoress, then Mr. and Mrs. Hosken, the Mayor, and Mrs. Ivor Lewis.

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
18th February, 1911.

P23

TO THE RESCUE!



MR. RATAN J. TATA,

Who has donated the munificent sum of half a lakh of rupees (about £3,333 sterling) for the maintenance of the Passive Resistance struggle in the Transvaal.

દિલાવર મી. રતન જે. તાતા

જેમણે ટ્રાંસવાલની સત્યાગ્રહની લડતમાં અધલાખ રૂપિયાની મોટી સખાવત કરી છે.

P23

The Transvaal's Delegate to India



Photo by *O'Byrne, Johannesburg.*

Mr. HENRY S. L. POLAK,

Assistant Honorary Secretary of the Transvaal
British Indian Association.

[NOTE.—Mr. Polak's three fellow-delegates are now serving terms of imprisonment with hard labour in Transvaal Gaols, they having been arrested by order of the Government immediately after appointment.]

હીંદુસ્તાન માટેના ટ્રાંસવાલના ડેલીગેટ.

છેલ્લી માસ મીટીંગમાં હીંદુસ્તાન જવા ડેપ્યુટેશનમાં જે ચાર મેંબરો ચુંટાયા તેમાંના મેસરસ. ઇ. એસ. કુવાડીઆ, એન. એ. કામા તથા એન. વી. ગોપાલ નાયડુ ને તરતજ પકડી જેલમાં પુરવામાં આવ્યાથી મી. હેનરી એસ. એલ. પોલાક (શ્રી. ઇ. એસોસીએશનના આસીસ્ટંટ ઓનરરી સેક્રેટરી) એકલા હીંદુસ્તાન જાય છે.

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
March 19th, 1910.

"A Friend in Need"

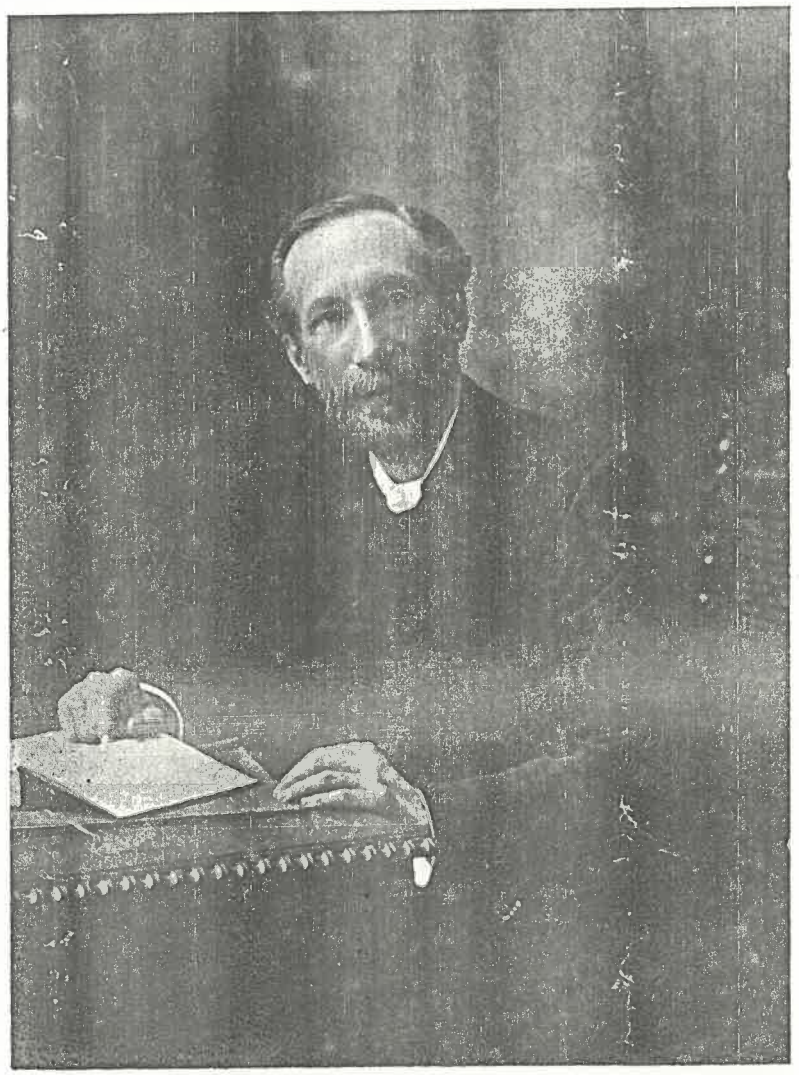


Photo. by] [*O'Byrne*

REV. JOSEPH J. DOKE.

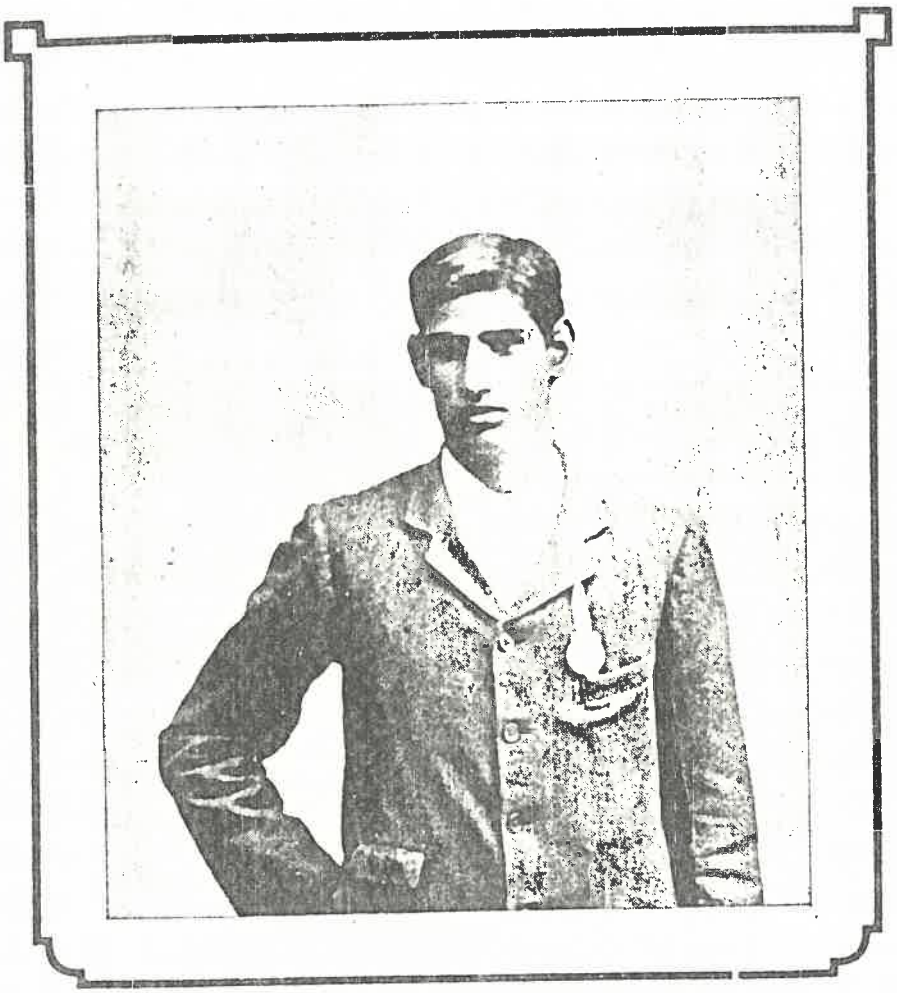
Who so ably assisted the Asiatic communities of the Transvaal in the Passive Resistance campaign.

સત્યાગ્રહની લડતમાં એક દિલસોજ ગોરા મિત્ર તરીકે એશીઆટીક કોમની મોટી સેવા બજાવનાર

રેવરંડ જોસફ જે. ડોક.

P20

A Martyr to the Cause



THE LATE MR. S. NAGAPPAN.

Discharged from Gaol June 30th, 1909, covered with weals and suffering from pneumonia diagnosed as fatal; died July 6th, 1909.

ટ્રાંસવાલના હિંદીની હડતમાં પોતાનો જાન આપનાર

મરહુમ મી. એસ. નાગાપન.

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
March 12th, 1910.

P20

A BARRISTER-HAWKER



Mr. Joseph Royeppen as he appeared when arrested under the Asiatic Act.

ટ્રાંસવાલની લડતમાં રોકાએલ મી જોસફ રોયપન બી. એ. બારીસ્ટર-એટ-લો ફેરીઆ તરીકે ઉપરની સ્થિતિમાં પકડાયા હતા.

P19

Natal to the Rescue!



Mr. S. J. Randeria Mr. M. C. Anglia Mr. H. I. Joshi
Mr. Parsee Rustomjee Mr. Dawad Mahomed Mr. Adam H. G. Mahomed
(Capetown.)

Some of the leading Indians who have proceeded to Johannesburg to assert their rights.

ટ્રાન્સવાલના હિંદીઓની મદદે ગયેલા બહાદુર હિંદી આગેવાનો.

[Photo by BRYAN GABRIEL

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
16th November, 1907.



RAM SUNDAR PUNDIT.

રામસુંદર પંડિત.

See 171/1 p. 28

PART I PAGE I DAILY NEWS - 1 OCTOBER 1969

MAHATMA GANDHI

Daily News Staff Reporter

The non-violent

MOHANDAS Karamchad Gandhi was born not far from the sea in the small princely state of Porbander on October 2, 1869. He was the first son of the state's Prime Minister, Kaba Gandhi, and his fourth and last wife, Putlibai.

Although they held office and were Hindus, the Gandhis did not belong to either of the superior castes. The four divisions of Hindu society were the Brahmins (priests and scholars), the Kshatriyas (nobles and war leaders) the Vaisyas (farmers and merchants) and the Sudras (workers). The Gandhis were Vaisyas and belong to the Modh Bania sub-caste. "Bania" means business man. Gandhi is a fairly common name in parts of India and means "grocer."

Despite the cast label the family had risen above its caste-prescribed occupation. Gandhi's grandfather and father had both become Prime Ministers of the state.

Mohandas Gandhi passed through the dim years of infancy in a three-storyed house on the outskirts of the city



bought by an ancestor in 1777. He spent his childhood in a home that was neither illiterate nor specially cultured. His father stood clearly for political eminence and integrity and his mother for religion. The family's background was Vaishnavitas; they worshipped Vishnu as Supreme God.

The family went to live in Rajket, where Kaba became Prime Minister, when Mohandas was about eight. He was a sensitive boy, painfully aware of his appearance, his ears that stuck out, and the image he saw so embarrassed him that he literally ran between home and school, fearful of the ridicule of strangers.

At home he was hemmed in by his aunts and uncles, dozens of cousins, and scores of guests, secretaries and servants that drifted in and out of the house.

At 12 he went to King Alfred High School, where he was a mediocre student, painfully honest, self-willed but not violent. For a while he found a source of spiritual strength in the mythological figures of traditional literature. When roving bands of players pitched their tents in the vicinity he went to watch them. Figures such as Raja Harischadra, a sort of Indian Job, rose before him to shed his crown and kingdom in pursuit of truth and justice.

This play, with its ideal of Absolute Truth and Absolute Duty, and the legend of Shravana, with its moral of devotion to parents, presented ideals which the developing mind of Gandhi embraced in earnest.

Up to now Gandhi's problems had been those universal to children anywhere, but suddenly the chasm between East and West yawned wide. When he was 13 the schoolboy Gandhi married. He had already been betrothed to two unknown girls, both of whom had died. According to Hindu custom, he set out in brocaded tunic and bejewelled turban to marry the 13-year-old Kasturbai, whom he had never seen.

There followed long years of adjustment between the child groom and his child bride through their long and difficult adolescence.

Gandhi was demanding and took her reticence for lack of love. Long wars of sulks and silence raged between them. The marriage was made bearable by the Hindu practice of separating a child couple every few months. Kasturbai would spend a few months with her husband and then return to her parents home for a spell.

During her absence young Gandhi came under the influence of a friend, Mehtab, and together the two teenage boys broke the rules laid down by their elders. They smoked, ate meat in defiance of the Hindu vegetarian diet, made an abortive suicide pact, and their rebellion included a visit to a brothel from which Gandhi fled in fright and disgust.

About the same time he stole gold from his brother's armlet — allegedly to pay his brother's debt. But this was going too far. He wrote a letter of confession to his now bed-ridden father who wept a little and tore it up.

In 1885 Kaba died. His death was a traumatic experience for Gandhi, and one he had to live with all his life. He sat one night with his sinking father and when an uncle offered to relieve him he went to Kasturbai. A servant called him to his father, but before he could reach the sickroom Kaba was dead. When Kasturbai's child was born it only lived a few days for that, too, Gandhi blamed himself.

From this time on Gandhi's mistrust of self-indulgence was never to leave him and, convinced that he had gone wrong, he began his religious quest.

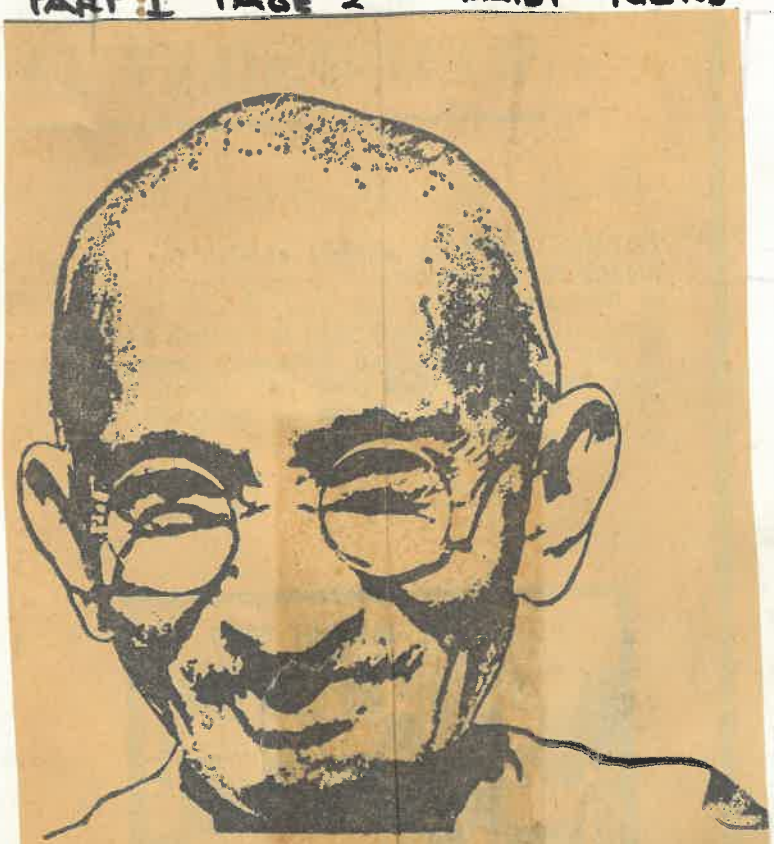
THIS IS the first of a series of articles to mark the centenary of the birth of Mahatma (Great Soul) Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi tomorrow.

The articles deal with Gandhi's life, spiritual development and impact on society during his long fight for Indian self-determination.

Gandhi (1869-1948) found his vocation as a non-violent revolutionary in South Africa and it was in this country that he developed the spiritual impulses that were later to shake an empire.

He died at the hands of an assassin on January 30, 1948.

PART I



revolutionary

Among the friends of his father were Muslims, Jains and Parsees as well as Hindus, but one religion, Christianity, could find no acceptance.

The missionaries, as he thought, insulted the people and gods of India and forced alien customs on their proselytes. Gandhi listened to one sermon and could stand no more.

With Kaba's death, the family was short of money. Only Mohandas could hope to succeed to his father's influential post, and then only if his educational qualifications were sufficiently impressive.

Failure

In November, 1887, Gandhi scraped through his Bombay University matriculation at Ahmedabad. A term at Samaldas College in Bhavnagar showed him an academic failure. Friends counselled that he should be sent to England to train as a barrister.

Resistance to the obnoxious un-Hindu ways of London was eventually overcome when a Jain monk administered to Gandhi a solemn oath binding him to abstain from wine, women and meat. The money was found, partly by selling his wife's jewellery.

Gandhi himself viewed his departure in the light of release from prison. He then regarded England as "the land of philosophers and poets, the very centre of civilisation."

He embarked on September 4, 1888, after a committee of his caste organisation, the Modh Bania, had summoned him and warned him against the impiety of going. He explained the vow he had taken and his family's assent, but was excommunicated.

When Gandhi left for England he was almost 19, had displayed no outstanding talent, nor had he given any indication of the Mahatma (great soul) he was to become. He was under sentence of religious excommunication and far from being a nationalist was cherishing a deep regard for England as "the centre of civilisation.

Gandhi was in England more than 2½ years.

On June 12 he sailed for Bombay on the ship, Oceana. His brother Laxmidas met the ship with the news that his mother was dead. Gandhi's excommunication from his caste still stood and his brother arranged a ceremonial cleansing.

He returned to Bombay to gain experience in the courts there, but in six months received only one brief. He applied for a teaching post, but was turne down.

Agents

Eventually he returned to Rajkot to devil for his brother, but Laxmidas had been charged with misusing his former position in Porbandar. The matter had gone before the British agent, whom Mohandas had met breifly in London. Laxmidas persuaded him to intervene on his behalf.

The agent, who had been friendly when on leave in England was far from friendly on duty in India. But Gandhi refused to be silenced by broad hints and went on talking until he was dragged from the room by a servant. Even then he sent in a note.

He saw no future in politics in India then. He was getting some assignments from the ruler of Porbandar, but it seemed that his father's post was neither available to him, nor worth having.

At this time a firm of Muslim merchants who had a business in South Africa needed a lawyer to help with a difficult case. The firm's Porbandar office offered Mohandas Gandhi 100 guineas plus expenses for a year's work.

In April 1893 Gandhi left home again, leaving Kasturbai with a second baby, Manilal, now six months old. Now almost 24, Gandhi was to try his fortune in yet another country — South Africa.

(TOMORROW: South Africa)

FROM OUR READERS

(It should be distinctly understood that we are not responsible for the opinions of correspondents.)

6/6/13

INDIAN CONGRESS

(To the Editor, "Natal Advertiser.")

Sir,—I sympathise with "28 Years' Residence" for the misfortune that has overtaken him in the downfall of his idol divine, Mr. Gandhi. All will admit that Mr. Gandhi has rendered invaluable service to the Indian community, but it does not follow from that, that the community is satisfied with his present policy. Messrs. Pather and Roberts were quite right in saying what they have, and it is horribly mean on our part to subject persons of Mr. Pather's calibre to undeserved abuse.—Yours, etc.,

ANTI-MEANNESS.

(To the Editor, "Natal Advertiser.")

Sir,—I have read the letter above the names of "S. R. Pather and John L. Roberts" with amusing interest, for it no doubt shows how these people have read the Immigrant Restriction Bill and Justice Searle's judgment. They call the telegrams sent by the "Anjuman Islam and Zorastrian Anjuman" misleading, because it supports the policy of the South African Indians' leader. Well, I am surprised to note this is the logic that one learns in London, nor could I believe that headmasters would reason in this fashion. It is like saying, because Mr. Gandhi's policy is to follow the truth, we should not practice that virtue. He then declares in the same breath that because you could count the number of Parsees on the ten fingers of your hands, it should carry no weight nor could it speak on behalf of the Durban Indians. But does "my Anjuman" mean speaking on behalf of "Pather and Roberts," or the Durban Indians? I should like to know what locus standi your correspondents have to assert the rigmarole they do. If they do not know, let them learn this, that Mr. Randavee and Mr. Parsee Rustomjee are perfectly right to protest on behalf of their Anjumans, and that Messrs. Pather and Roberts are neither Mohamedans nor Parsees to raise their notorious but foolish cry, and it would be advisable for them to mind their own business in their own congregation, lest they hear the echo declare "Shut up."—Yours, etc.,

A MEMBER OF ANJUMAN ISLAM.

(To the Editor, "Natal Advertiser.")

Sir,—I notice your correspondents, Messrs. S. R. Pather and John L. Roberts are trying to show how the legitimate protests of the Anjuman Islam and Zorastrian Anjuman are misleading, but they fail, and fail miserably, inasmuch that a qualified barrister will not take the brief of such a case where a Mohamedan and a Parsee body protests on their own behalf, and yet two Indians have the audacity, who are neither one nor the other, to question their locus standi. I expected at least that Mr. Pather would know this as a barrister. I think, if these two persons sit together and calmly ponder over the froth and vengeance which they have poured on the pages of your valuable journal, they would see that they have been in a hurry to become famous by such absurd arguments.

If the letter is analysed I am sure it would contain nothing for your correspondents to be proud of, rather that they still lack a very great deal of experience to separate the chaff from the grain.—Yours, etc.,

"BHUSSMASOOR."

(To the Editor, "Natal Advertiser.")

Sir,—It was amusing to me to see an article signed by J. L. Roberts and S. R. Pather jointly, in your issue of the 29th ult., re Indian Immigration Restriction.

Your correspondents desire to point out that telegrams sent by the various bodies mentioned in their article, are misleading, and appear to support Messrs. Gandhi, etc., and their policy. I should like to ask these men, how are these telegrams misleading? Do they in any sense support the action of the Government? Are not these bodies, individually, entitled to send telegrams of condemnation to the authorities? To put it purely and simply these telegrams are meant to bring home to the Minister in charge of the Bill, the force of the public opinion. How is it misleading?

Yes, I emphatically say "yes," these telegrams do support Mr. Gandhi and what is he trying to do? He is trying to show to the Government that the Bill did do a lot of harm to the residential Indians, including Pather and Roberts. Is it good or bad?

Further, your correspondents try to make out that a majority of the members of those associations, mentioned in their article, supported the present issues of the Natal Indian Congress. Only a majority—as an argument let us take; still there is a part, called minority left, which did not appreciate the doings of the Congress which has found such supporters in the persons of your correspondents.

A Congress, I believe, ought to be a homogenous body. Then it is appointed by the various sections it must harmoniously work, and what about this minority? I suppose your correspondents would have them thrown overboard. Your correspondents assert that the majority of the members supported the Congress on Saturday last, and at the same time show that they previously approved the action of their associations in transmitting these telegrams. By doing this they show that these are unfaithful, and belittle them softly as "turncoats," as their article implies.

I should like to know since when has Mr. Pather formed his good opinion of the Congress? Does he not remember the number of times he has made allegations purporting to the bad management of the Congress?

When a man can publicly denounce the Congress at one time and support it at another, shows his own inconsistency of principles. Why support now Mr. Pather? Perhaps to grind your own axe. Why this article be signed conjointly? Is it that Roberts has become Pather's "Chela" (disciple), or is it one is afraid of the other or both ready to sail in the same sloe and take consequences in the language of a lawyer "jointly and severally."

Messrs. Gandhi and Polak I do not claim to be infallible, but make ideal leaders, men with capacity and talents; in short, who could command respect, which are the essentials of leaders, above all practical thinkers, and workers who carry with them the whole support of Indians in South Africa and India, and whose policy is solidarity, which, again in the words of your correspondents, "is in complete variance" with the policy adopted by your correspondents; who are after all mere non-entities in our public life—passing satellites, as it were.—I am, etc.,

"BALUM."

Durban.

FROM OUR READERS

From the contemporary press

.....

.....

.....

.....

Gandhi's passive resistance movement resulted in lively correspondence in the local press .....

he was

criticised

as well as

praised

as these

letters

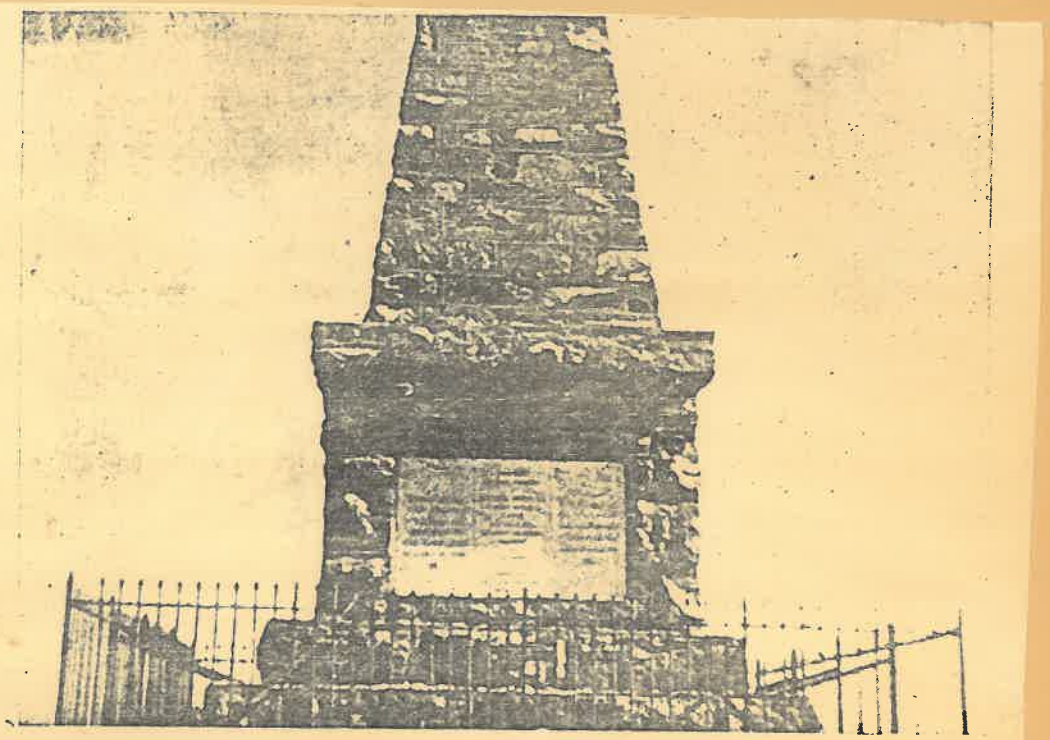
indicate

6 June 1913

The Indian Monument in Johannesburg.

The only memorial to Indians in South Africa
and was erected
in memory of Indian soldiers (from India) who fell
in the Anglo-Boer War

(Article:20 June 1908)



THE first photograph depicts the Indian Monument, at Johannesburg, at close quarters, giving a view of the main inscription.

The second photograph gives a more comprehensive view of the Monument and its surroundings, indicating the height at which it is erected and showing in the distance the boundary of Bedford Farm, Sir George Farrar's Estate.

The Monument itself is built of shaped stone blocks cemented together, with a cement foundation and top. It is enclosed by iron rails, erected to prevent damage to the marble inscription-blocks from the stone-throwing of irrepressible juvenile marksmen. The Monument is built upon one of the highest eminences surrounding Johannesburg, upon the ridge whereon is erected the Observatory. On the south side, it overlooks the Bezuidenhout Valley. On the north, it looks towards Pretoria, and the Magaliesberg Range may be seen in the distance.

The main inscription carved upon a marble tablet let into the east side of the Monument is as follows:

Sacred to the Memory of
British Officers, Warrant Officers, Native N.C.O.'s and Men,
Veterinary Assistants, Nalbands, and Followers of the
Indian Army who died in South Africa,
1899-1902.

This inscription appears in English, Urdu, and Hindi. In each of the other sides of the Monument is inlet a marble tablet whereon, respectively, appear the words:

MUSULMAN
CHRISTIAN — ZOROASTRIAN
HINDU — SIKH.

The Monument was erected by public subscription at the close of the War, and is unique on account of the fact that it is the only memorial to Indians in South Africa.

The lawyer who defied the law

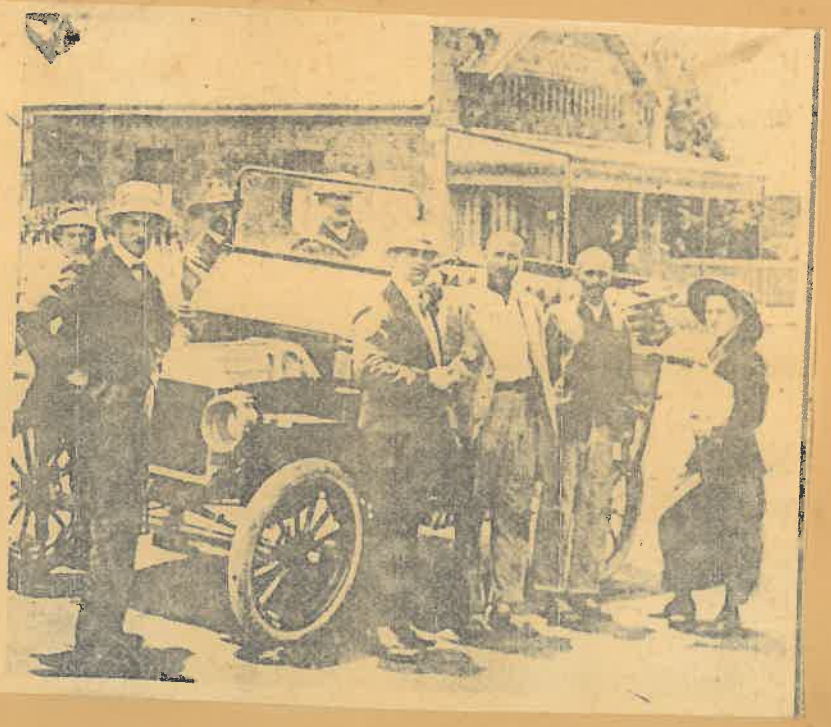
● Gandhi sowed the seeds of passive resistance when he was in South Africa. Here he is pictured, centre middle row, with his followers.



Arrest after march

● While practising as an attorney in Johannesburg, Gandhi was forever at odds with General Smuts. In November 1913 he led the resistance march into the Transvaal on the Union Government's repudiation of the promise to repeal the tax on ex-indentured Indians. He was freed on one charge and then arrested on another.

He is seen next to Miss Schelian after his arrest in Johannesburg. A month later he was free again after being released unconditionally.



Natal to the Rescue!



Mr. S. J. Randeria Mr. M. C. Anglia Mr. H. I. Joshi
Mr. Parsee Rustomjee Mr. Dawad Mahomed Mr. Adam H. G. Mahomed
(Capetown.)

Some of the leading Indians who have proceeded to Johannesburg to assert their rights.

ટ્રાન્સવાલના હિંદીઓની મદદે ચઢેલા બહાદુર હિંદી આગેવાનો.

[Photo by BRYAN GABRIEL

IMMIGRANTS RESTRICTION ACT NO.15/1907 , which prescribed a dictation test in an European language for would-be-immigrants :

By means of Act 2/1907 and Act 15/1907, it was almost impossible for an Indian to gain entry into the Transvaal .

31 July 1907 : Indians furious :Open air meeting held in Pretoria and the "Fourth" resolution of 11 September 1906 re-affirmed :

(i) Gandhi advocated negotiation first ;

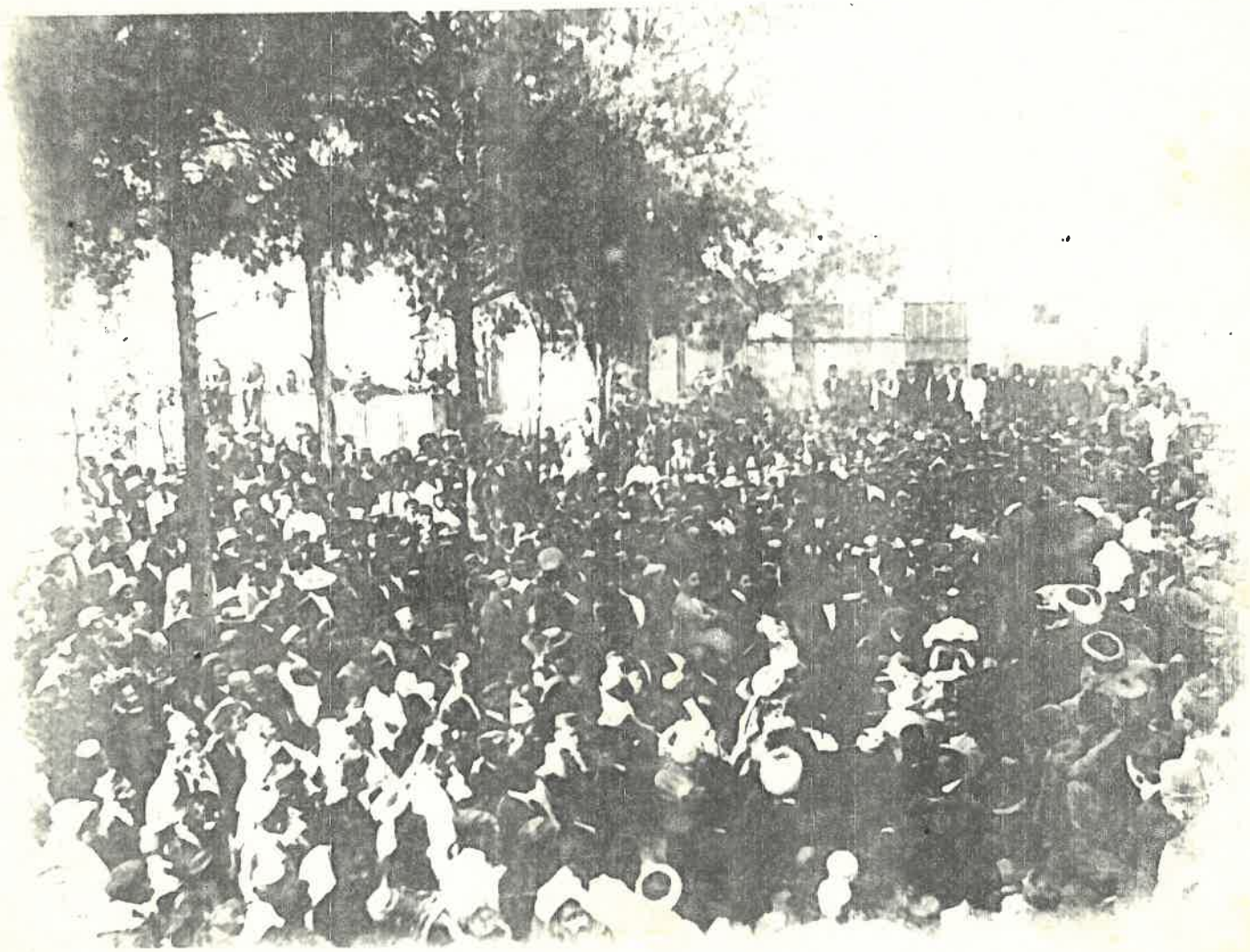
(ii) Over 3000 signed a petition to the Transvaal Government offering voluntary registration if the Government would suspend Act 2 of 1907: this also failed :

(iii) Finally, it was decided to commence a

P A S S I V E R E S I S T A N C E A S S O C I A T I O N

The Indian Mass Meeting

Held at Pretoria on the 31st July which decided to continue the Passive Resistance crusade against the Asiatic Act.



Gandhi's Achievements

1893 - 1914

- He had organised the South African Indians into political units ;
- He made the S.A. Indians aware that South Africa was their home and that they had to contribute towards its welfare ;
- His settlement at Phoenix remains a living memorial of his dedication to the cause of humanity ;
- He gave an international status to the cause of the Indian in South Africa ;
- He championed the cause of the South African Indian ;
- The Passive-resistance struggle becomes a formiddable political weapon ;
- ~~His career in S.A. remains controversial~~ :
  - ~~he was often criticised for championing the cause of the better-class-Indian ;~~
  - ~~the Natal Indian Congress broke away from him on the question of including the £3 tax in the Passive Resistance movement, &c.~~
- Gandhi's twenty one years in South Africa are historically of profound importance in the development of the Indian in South Africa .
- When Gandhi arrived in South Africa in 1893, he was an obscure young lawyer, when he left South Africa in 1914, he had developed into a political leader of stature ;
- His South African period can be regarded as his political nursery, adolescence and maturity ..... and launched him into international politics becoming in the process, one of modern India's greatest leaders especially in his important contribution to the Independence of India .

Gandhi Leaves for India

15 Oct 1901 The Durban Indians held a special farewell in his honour . His achievements to date.... he :

- organised the local Indians into a political unit ;
- pointed the way to public service ;
- established the Natal Indian Congress which would act as a political forum :



84, FIELD STREET

12 October 1901

Dear Sir,

The favour of your presence (and friends)
is requested at the **CONGRESS HALL**, *Grey*
Street on Tuesday the 15th. instant at 8 p. m.
at a farewell Meeting and Presentation of an
Address to M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.
who is leaving Natal for India.

Yours faithfully
Parsee Rustomji
Hon. Sec: Address Committee

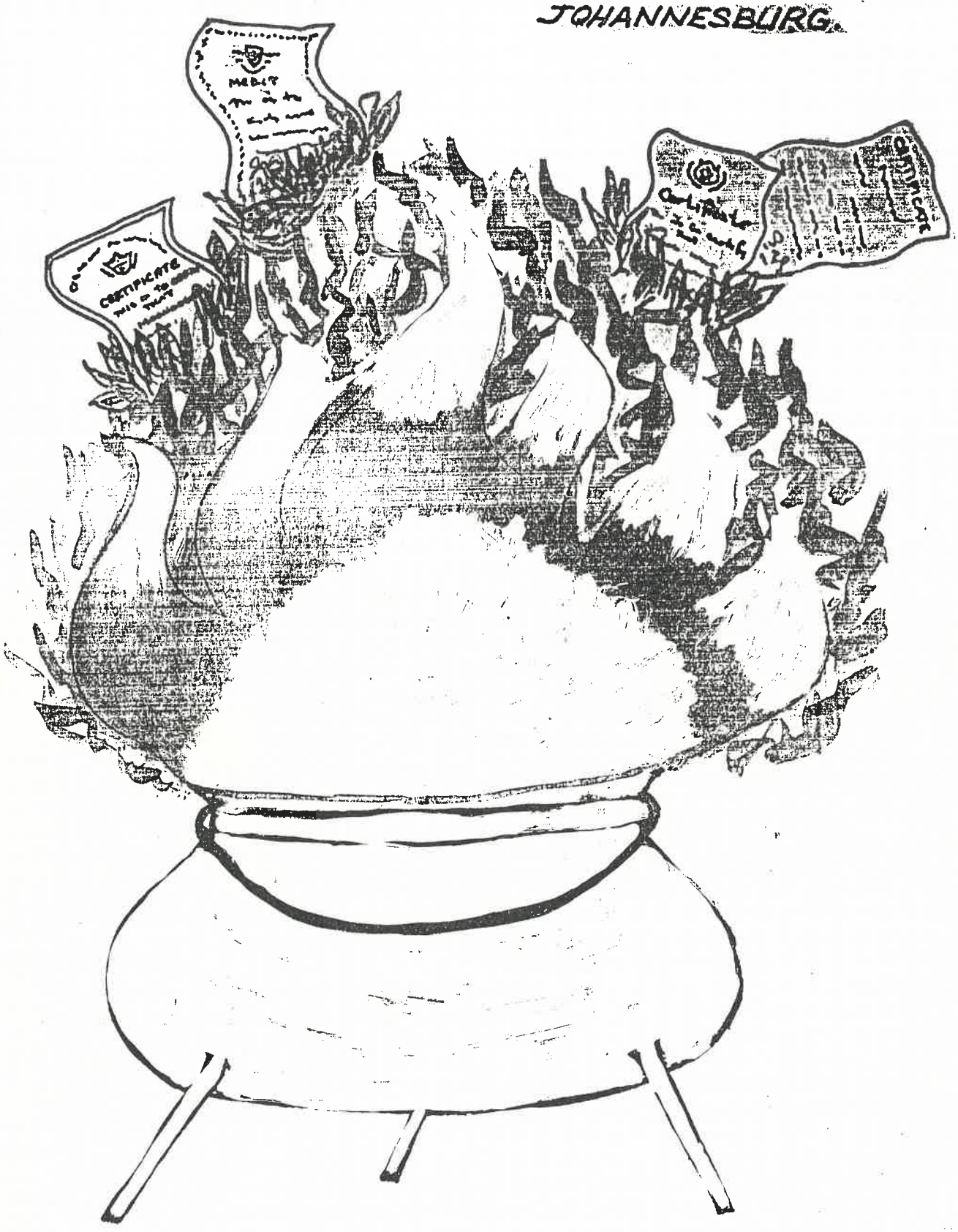
R. S. V. P.

Before his departure,Gandhi promises that should his services be required, he would return . Four months later he received an urgent appeal. Towards the end of 1902

Gandhi returns to Natal

In Natal he led a delegation to Joseph Chamberlain (Secretary for the Colonies), who gave him a cool reception, while in the Transvaal, he refused to see Gandhi .

16 AUGUST 1908
INFURIATED INDIANS DESTROY ABOUT 1800 CERTIFICATES IN A LARGE THREE LEGGED POT IN JOHANNESBURG.



OBJECTION TO :
ASIATIC VOLUNTARY REGISTRATION VALIDATION BILL (ACT 36/1908)

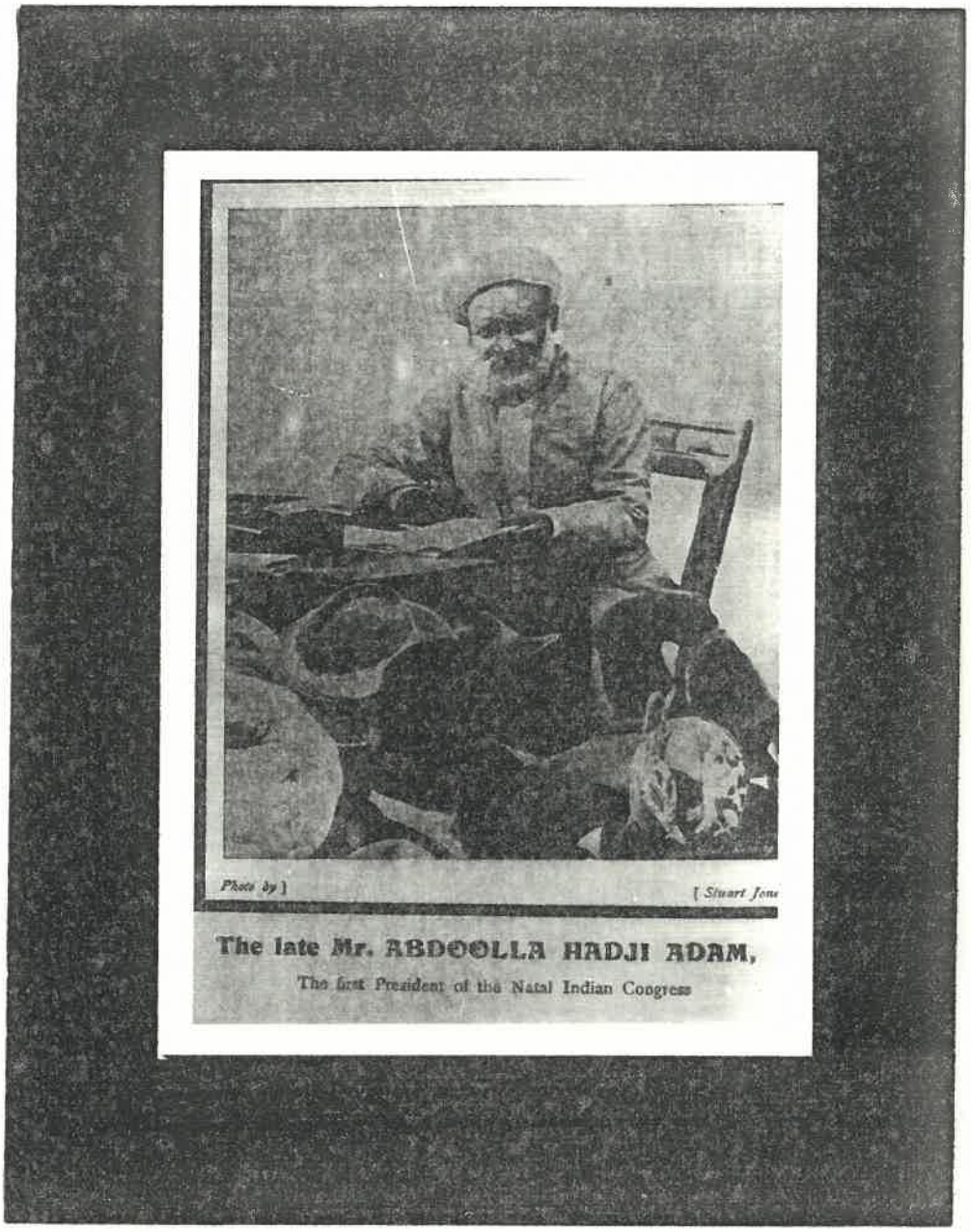
(Sketch:
A.Adam)

22 May 1895 GANDHI takes up the cause of the Natal Indian and establishes the

Natal Indian Congress

Gandhi becomes the first secretary and Mr. Abdoola Hadij Adam becomes the first President .

Gandhi is admitted to the Natal Bar and practices in Durban .



By June the Congress had 300 members . Although the high membership fee limited the membership, the Congress ardently championed the cause of the indentured Indian labourer .

E2



MR. M. K. GANDHI

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

May 1893

— who was born at Porbandar (Sudamapuri) in India on 2 October 1869 , qualified as a barrister in England in 1891 . Two years later his professional services were engaged by Abdul Karim Jhaveri, a Durban trader, in a £40,000 lawsuit against a rival firm in Pretoria .

The young inexperienced barrister was completely ignorant of conditions in South Africa - - - he came for a few months ,... yet stayed for twenty one years, during which time he was to become one of the outstanding figures in South African political history .

MAY 1893 : Gandhi arrived in South Africa

D/9

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
11th June, 1910.

A Parsee Stalwart of Passive Resistance



MR. SORABJI SHAPURJI ADAJANIA.

Who has served the greater part of the last two years in prison on behalf of the Transvaal Passive Resistance cause.

મો. સોરાબજી શાપુરજી અડાજનીઆ

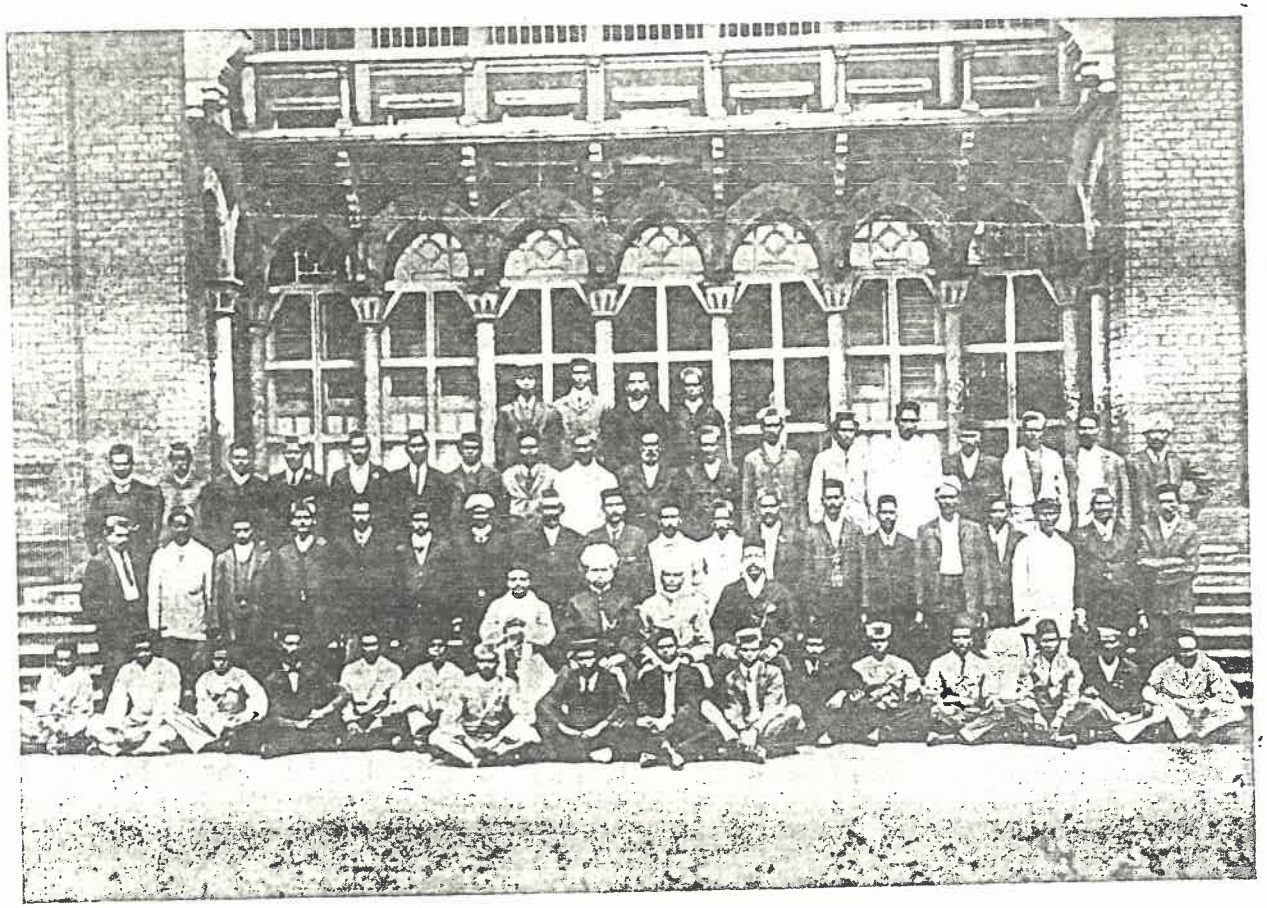
આ પારસી યોધ્ધો છેલ્લાં બે વરસ થયાં ટ્રાંસવાલની લડતના બારામાં ફરી ફરીને જેલ ભોગવી રહેલ છે.



JUSTICE BUDRUDDIN TYEBJI,

Died at London, 19th August, 1906.

The Transvaal Deportees in Madras



Carnatic Studio] [*Mount Rd., Madras.*

Together with

MR. SELAVARAJU MUDALIER, DR. KRISHNASWAMI AIYER, MR. G. A. NATESAN, MR. KRISHNASWAMI CHETTIAR,

(In front rank but one)

મદ્રાસ ખાતે દેશપારાઓની લેવાએલો છબી

દેશપારીઓની સંભાળ રાખનારા મી. સેલાવ રાજુ મુદાલીયર, ડૉ. કૃષ્ણસ્વામી આયર, મી. જી. એ. નટેસન,
અને મી. કૃષ્ણસ્વામી ચેટીયાર બરસીપર બેઠેલા છે.

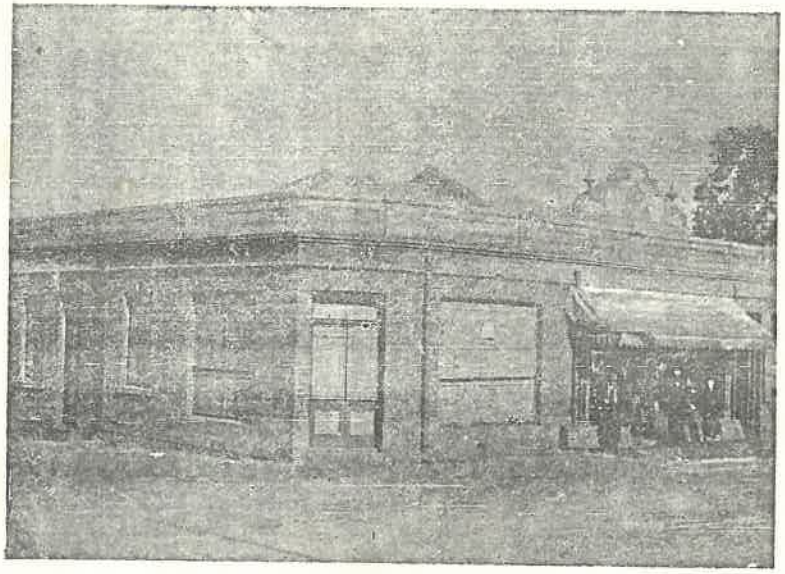
AN INTERESTING GROUP



Photo by Aug. Blaettler

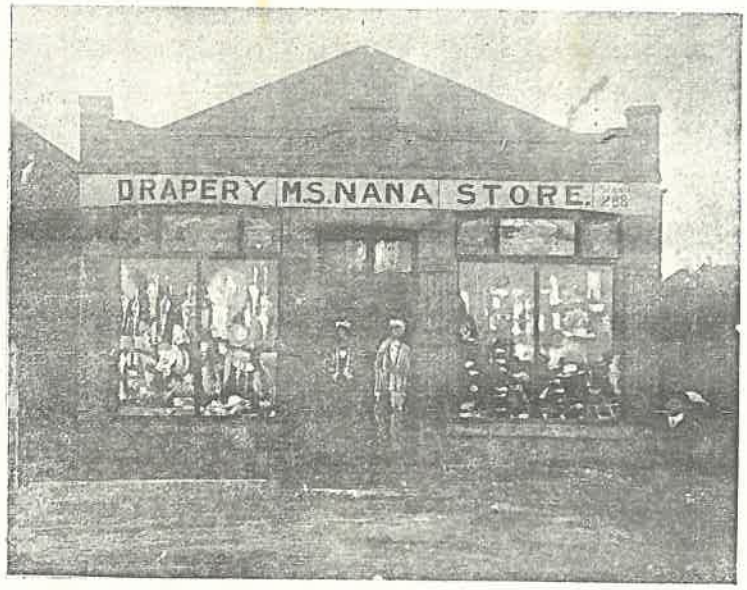
Taken at Heidelburg Station on the occasion of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's visit.

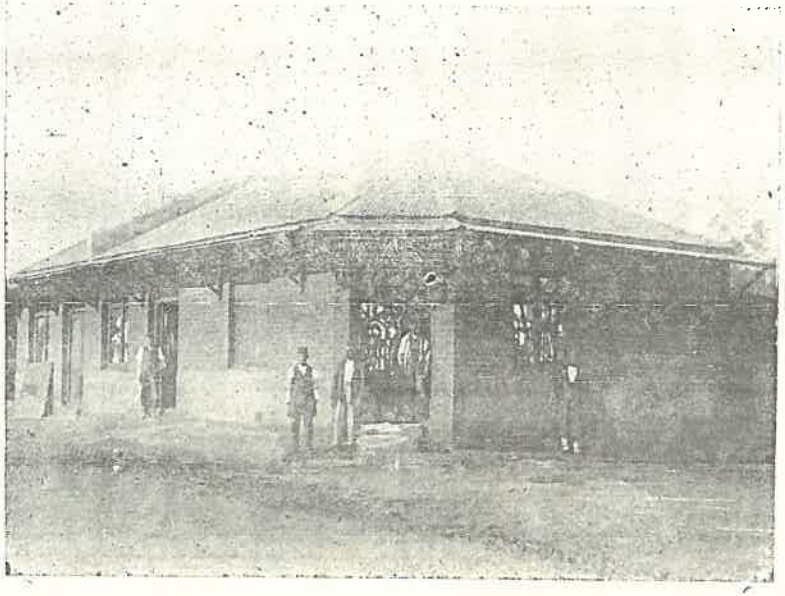
હેડલબરગના સ્ટેશને શ્રી. ગોખલે અને આવકાર આપનાર મંડળીની લેવાયેલી છબી.



Vrededorp Properties

The four pictures represent some houses owned or occupied by British Indians in Vrededorp, Johannesburg. The photographs show that the buildings are not "shanties", as described by Mr. Winston Churchill. The finest of the group was built and is owned by an Indian.







IN 1910 **GANDHIJI PROMOTES SOCCER MATCHES**

Pretoria Passive Resisters with striped jerseys, vs. Johannesburg Passive Resisters with plain jerseys played in Rangers Ground, Mayfair, Johannesburg.



1st Row; Standing from left.

1. Unknown, S. B. Medh, Murugas (Thabla) Naidoo, H Kallenbach, C. K. Thumbi Naidoo, Chairman Tvl. Tamil Benefit Society; **M. K. Gandhiji** *Miss Sonja Schelisin, L. W. Ritch, G. Isacks, Khusal Bai, Sorabji, Shapurji.*

2nd Row; Subraya Padayachy, Acting Chairman Pta. Tamil League; Venogopal Naidoo, D. Lazarus, K. Raja Rethnam, Perumaal Naidoo, V. S. Manickum Pillay, Billy K. G. Pillay, Sooboo Naidoo, V. Chetty, Newyoki, V. S. Pillay, Chairman Pretoria Tamil League; Chinapa, R. Kathira Velloo Padayachy, J. K. Philips, H. Moonsamy.

3rd Row; Francis Pillay, Murugas Pillay, Govindasamy Masthan Padayachy, Johnny Peters, Ramlall Mooloo, Chairman Pta. Indian Congress; N. K. Pillay, Jhb. Captain; Boblal Maharaj, Pta. Captain; G. H. Moona, David Anthony, V. Naidoo, David Mooideen, Narsoo Naidoo, David Ernest, N. S. Pillay.

4th Row; R. R. Frank, John Andrews, H. Masootoo Pillay, K. Jaganathan Pillay, Chinsamy Pillay, Jimmy Chetty, D. Patel, S. Arunachala Padayachy, Aron John, Govindasamy Pillay.

PERHAPS THE MOST UNUSUAL SOCCER MATCHES IN SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS HISTORY ? ? ?

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
28th September, 1907.

Indian Passive Resistance Volunteers in Pretoria.



EBRAHIM NOOR
ઈબ્રાહીમ નુર

GOVIND PRAG
ગોવીંદ પ્રાગ

GOOLAB RUDRA DESAI
ગુલાબ રૂદ્ર દેસાઈ

MOOSA SULIMAN
મુસા સુલેમાન

HOOSEN BIA
હુસેન બીયા

VALLI MAHOMED
વલી મહમદ

A. F. C. BEG
એ. એફ. સી. બેગ

BABU GANGARAM
બાબુ ગંગારામ

GOOLAM MAHOMED ABDOOL RASHID
ગુલામ મહમદ અબદુલ રસીદ

AHMED M. CACHALIA
અહમદ એમ. કાછલીઆ

G. P. VYAS
જી. પી. વ્યાસ

CASSIM SIDOO
કાસમ સીદુ

KHOOSHAL SITA
ખુશાલ શીતા

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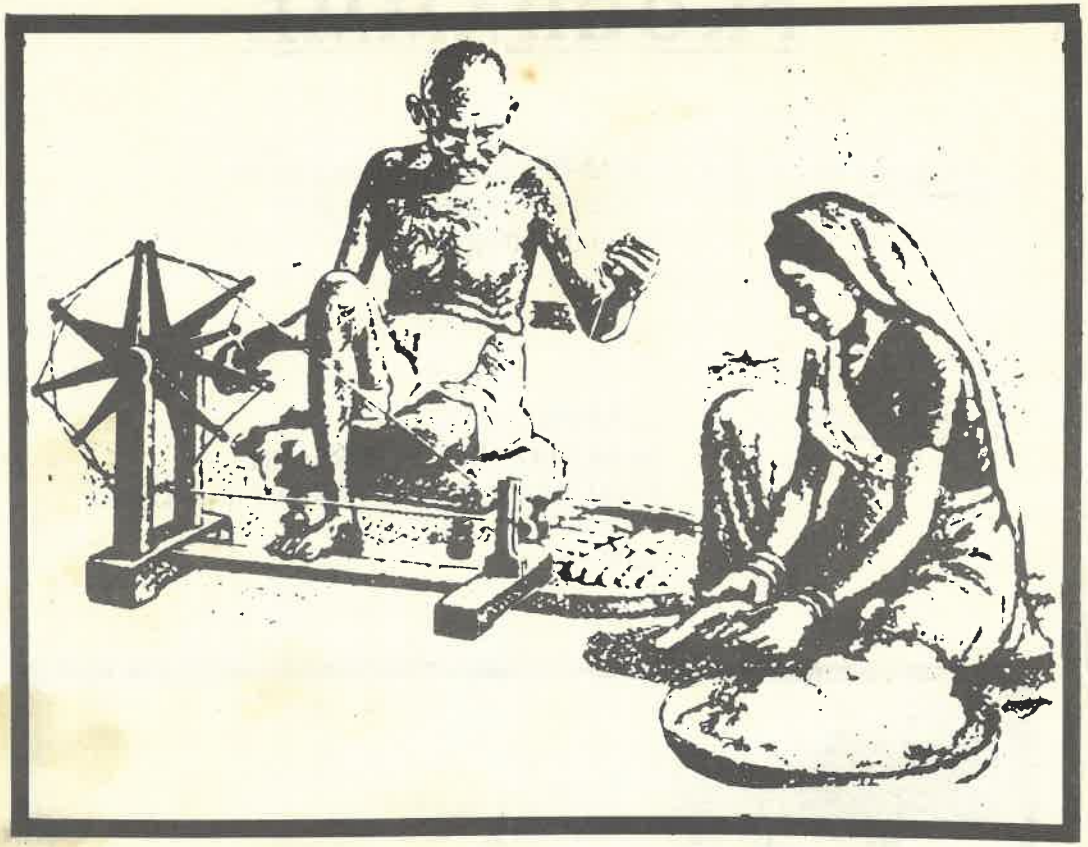
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ખુશાલ સીતા



* special thanks to
- Dr HENNING (DOCUMENTATION CENTRE - UDW)
- GANDHI PHOENIX SETTLEMENT
- TOMMY and BOBBY
- Mr S. S. SINGH
- HINDU STUDIES DEPT. - UDW
- HSA - UDW
- MSRC
- HSA WORKING COMMITTEE

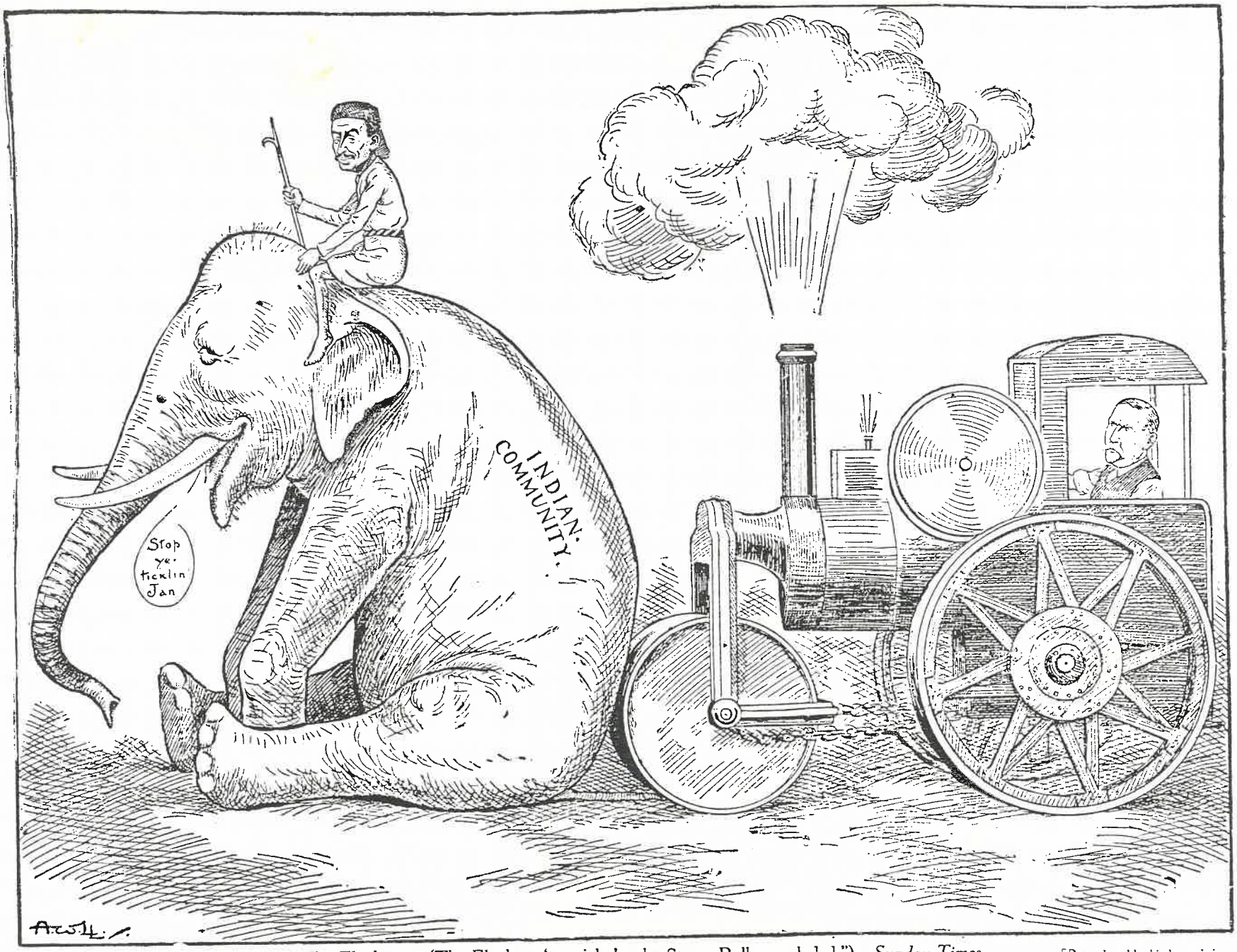


Beloved Gandhi

THE LEGACY OF GANDHI

Like all great historical figures, MAHATMA GANDHI was a very controversial man. His philisophy of life and his religious practices stemmed largely from Vedic Scriptures. What is certain is that he moved millions and millions of people to act for freedom and dignity againts imperialism. The main field of the Mahatma's activity was politics; it is here that his dedication to freedom and justice find their avenues of expression.

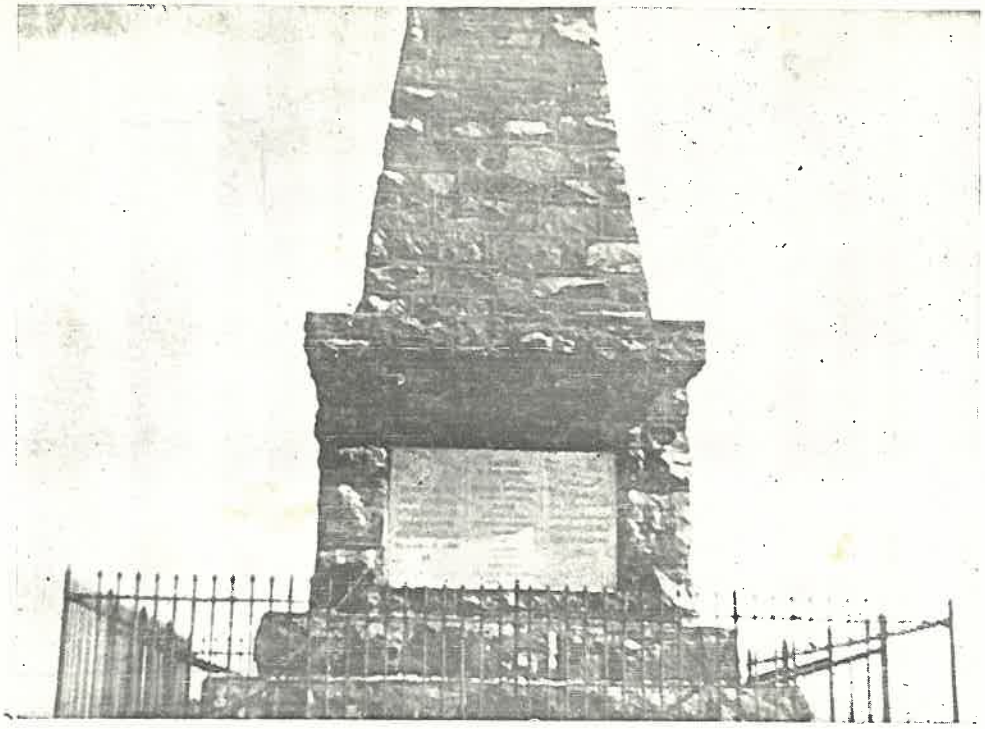
MAY HIS SPIRIT GUIDE US TO THE RIGHT PATH.



"The Steam Roller v. The Elephant. (The Elephant 'sat tight'; the Steam Roller exploded.")—*Sunday Times.*

[Reproduced by kind permission

The Indian Monument in Johannesburg.



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The main inscription carved upon a marble tablet let into the east side of the Monument is as follows:

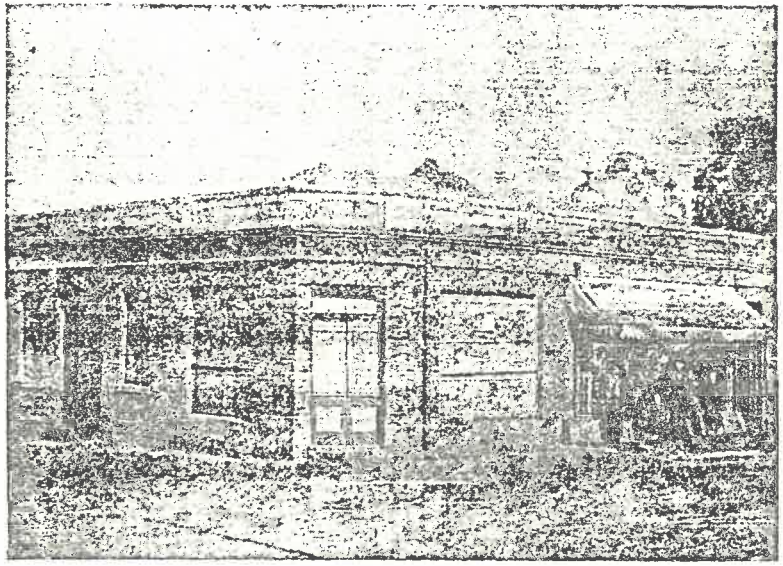
Sacred to the Memory of
British Officers, Warrant Officers, Native N.C.O.'s and Men,
Veterinary Assistants, Nalbands, and Followers of the
Indian Army who died in South Africa,
1899—1902.

This inscription appears in English, Urdu, and Hindi. In each of the other sides of the Monument is inlet a marble tablet whereon, respectively, appear the words:

MUSULMAN
CHRISTIAN — ZOROASTRIAN
HINDU — SIKH.

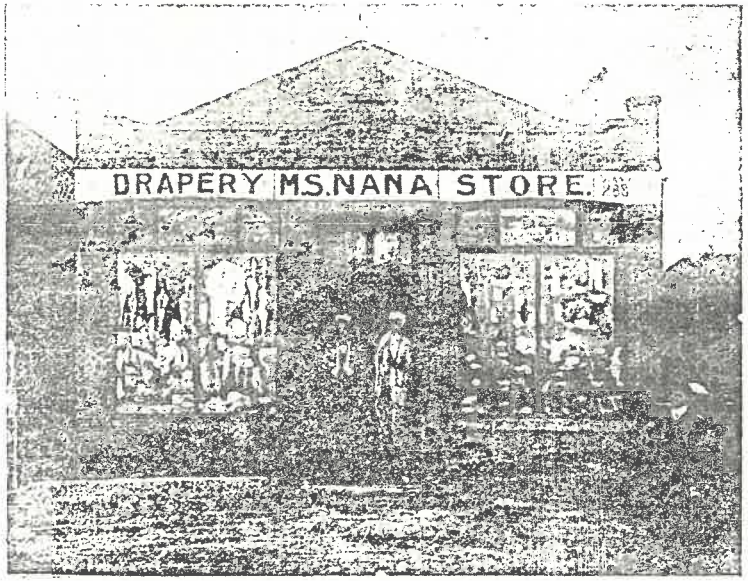
The Monument was erected by public subscription at the close of the War, and is unique on account of the fact that it is the only memorial to Indians in South Africa.

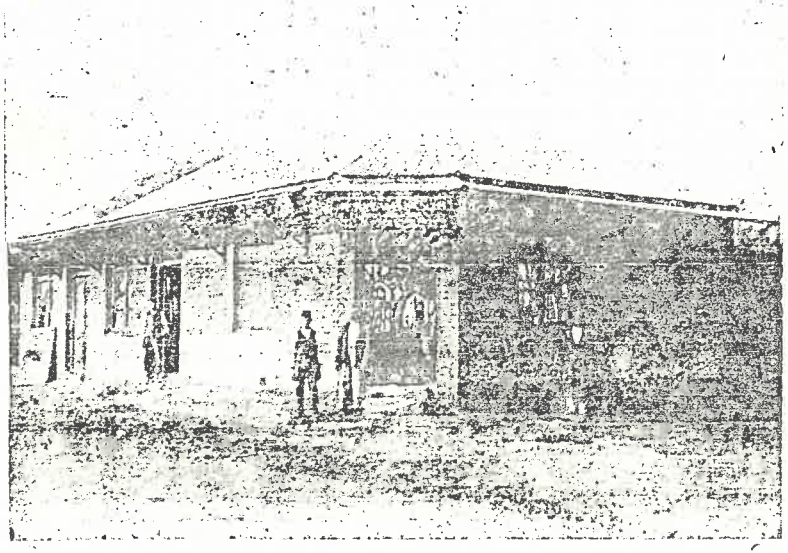


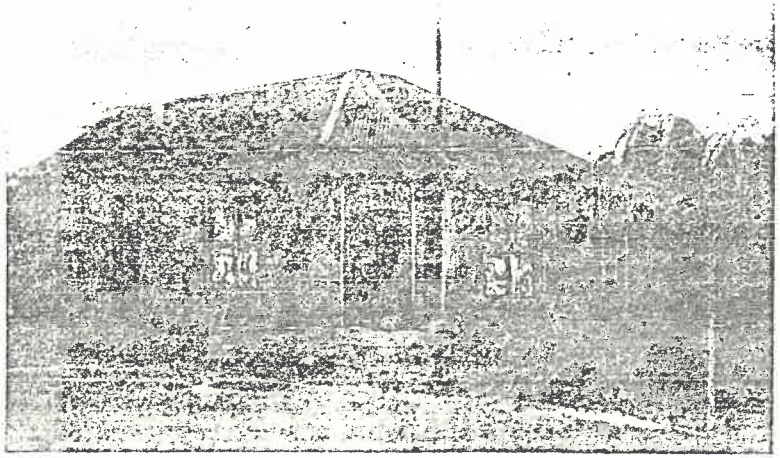


Vrededorp Properties

The four pictures represent some houses owned or occupied by British Indians in Vrededorp, Johannesburg. The photographs show that the buildings are not "shanties", as described by Mr. Winston Churchill. The finest of the group was built and is owned by an Indian.







The Transvaal Deportees in Madras



Carnatic Studio] [*Mount Rd., Madras.*

Together with

MR. SELAVARAJU MUDALIER, DR. KRISHNASWAMI AIYER, MR. G. A. NATESAN, MR. KRISHNASWAMI CHETTIAR,

(In front rank but one)

મદ્રાસ ખાતે દેશપારાઓની સેવાએલો છબી

દેશપારીઓની સંભાળ રાખનારા મી. સેલાવ રાજુ મુડાલીયર, ડો. કૃષ્ણસ્વામી આયર, મી. જી. એ. નટેસન,
અને મી. કૃષ્ણસ્વામી ચેટ્ટીયાર બરાબર પર બેઠેલા છે.

DRIVEN FROM HOME



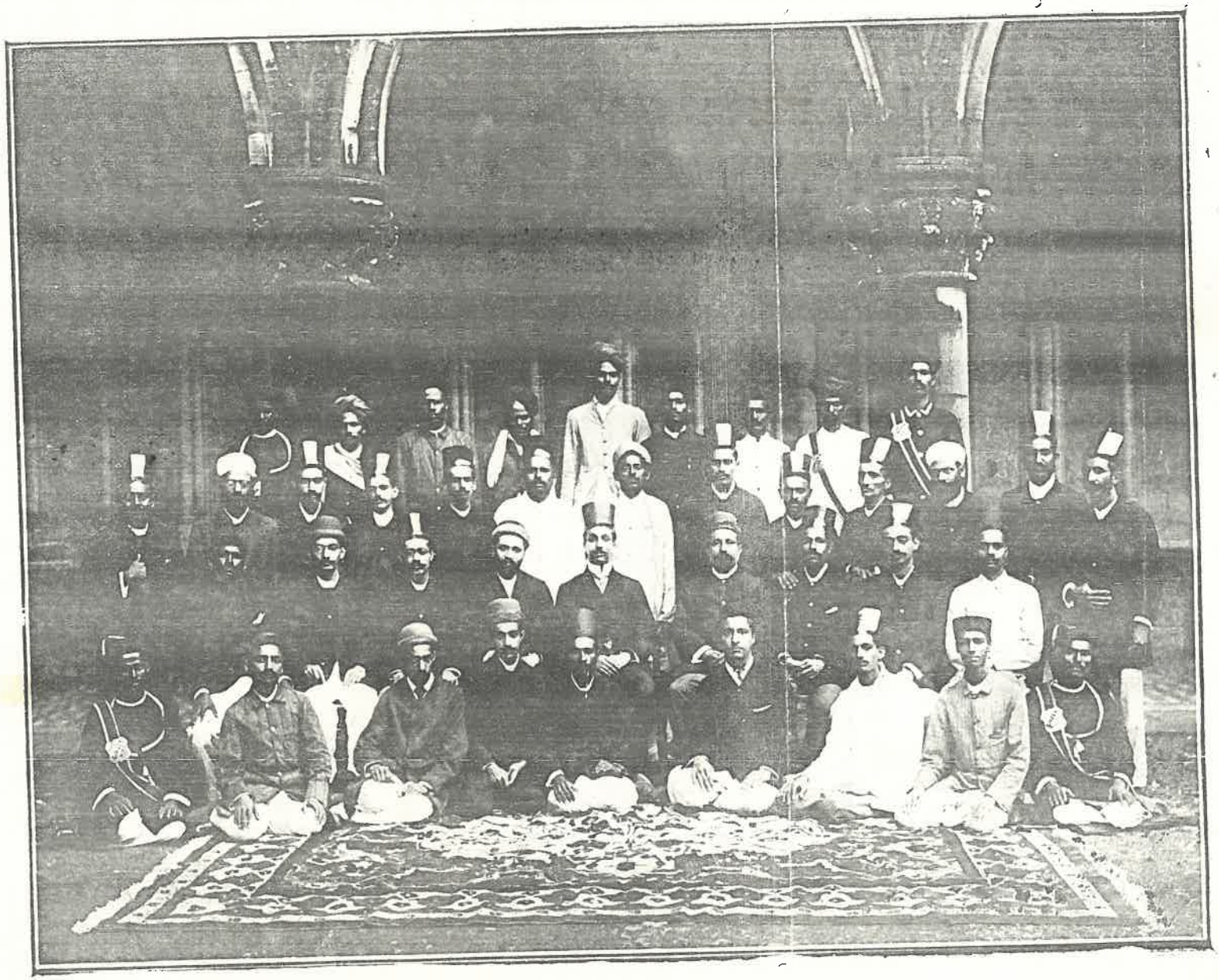
[Reproduced from the *Indian Review*, Madras.

The 60 Indians Deported to India by the Transvaal Government

આ ૬૦ હીંદીઓને ટ્રાંસવાલ સરકારના જુલમને લીધે એકસાથે દેશપાર કરી
હીંદુસ્તાન મોકલવામાં આવ્યા હતા.

લેટ.

ટેલ.
બરમાના વડા એજંટ.

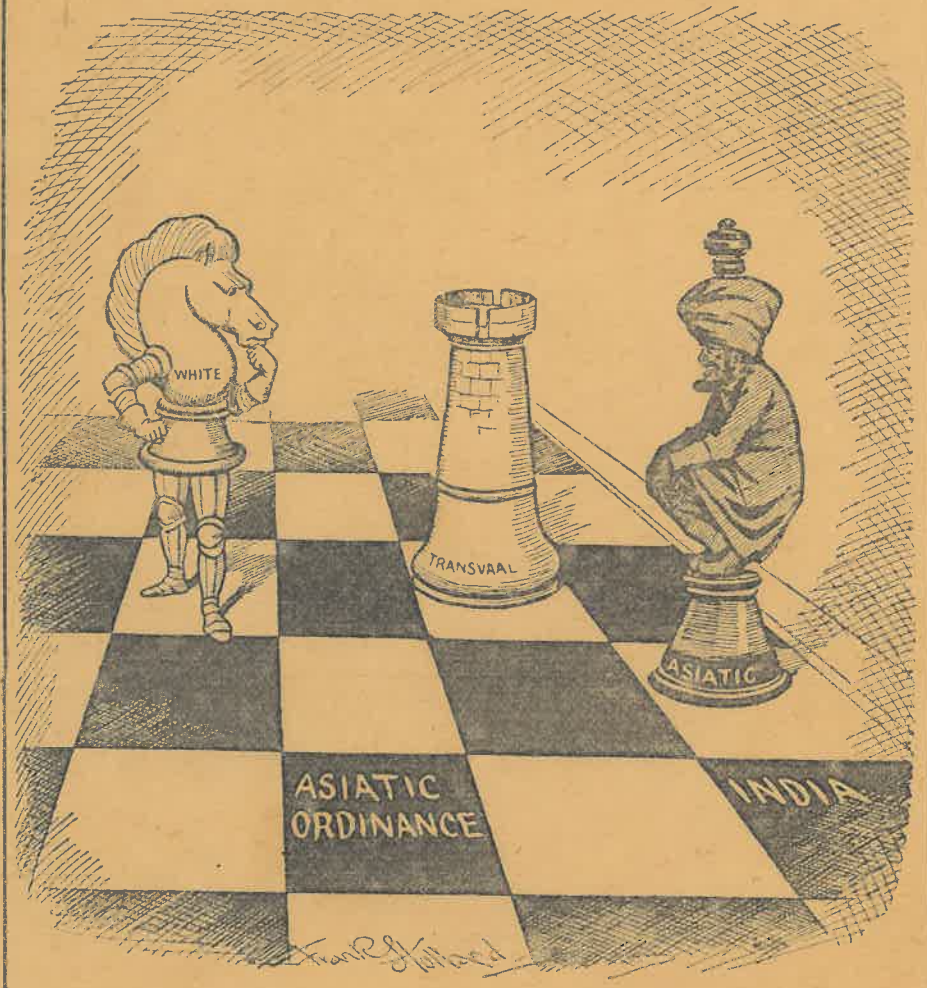


ધી સીંગર મેન્યુફેક્ચરીંગ કુ૦.ની હિન્દુસ્થાનની વડી ઑફીસ મુંબઇનો "સ્ટાફ."

From *The Star* (Johannesburg),
4th May, 1907.

WHITE TO MOVE AND CHECK.

(A cable from London states that Lord Elgin has advised His Majesty to allow the Asiatic Registration Bill.)

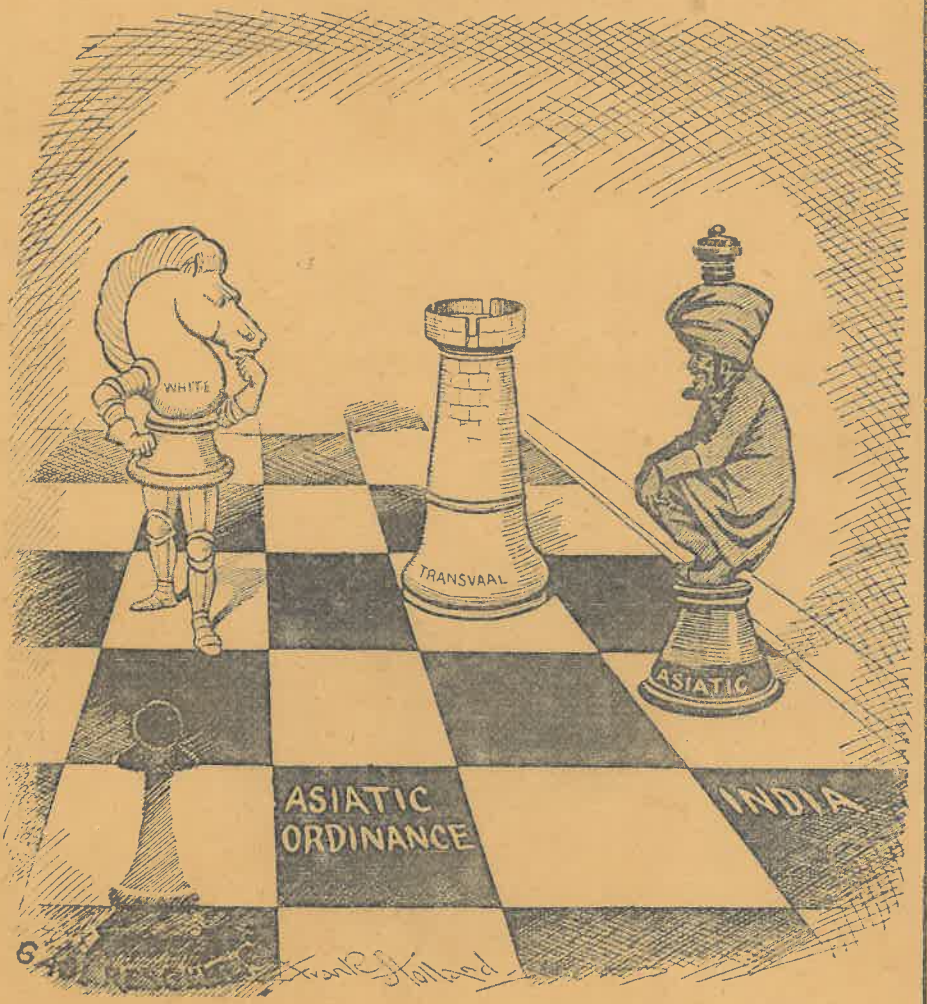


The White Knight will now be able to move into the "Asiatic Ordinance" square and thus save his Castle from the Black King and compel the latter to fall back on "India."

(Reproduced by kind permission.

REPLY.

NOT YET. The White Knight, in his eagerness to move into the A.O. square, has omitted to notice the little pawn on the Gaol Resolution square.



That the White Knight may also, in his blind hurry, have imagined that to be the King which is not, is another story.

VERULAM FAREWELL MEETING

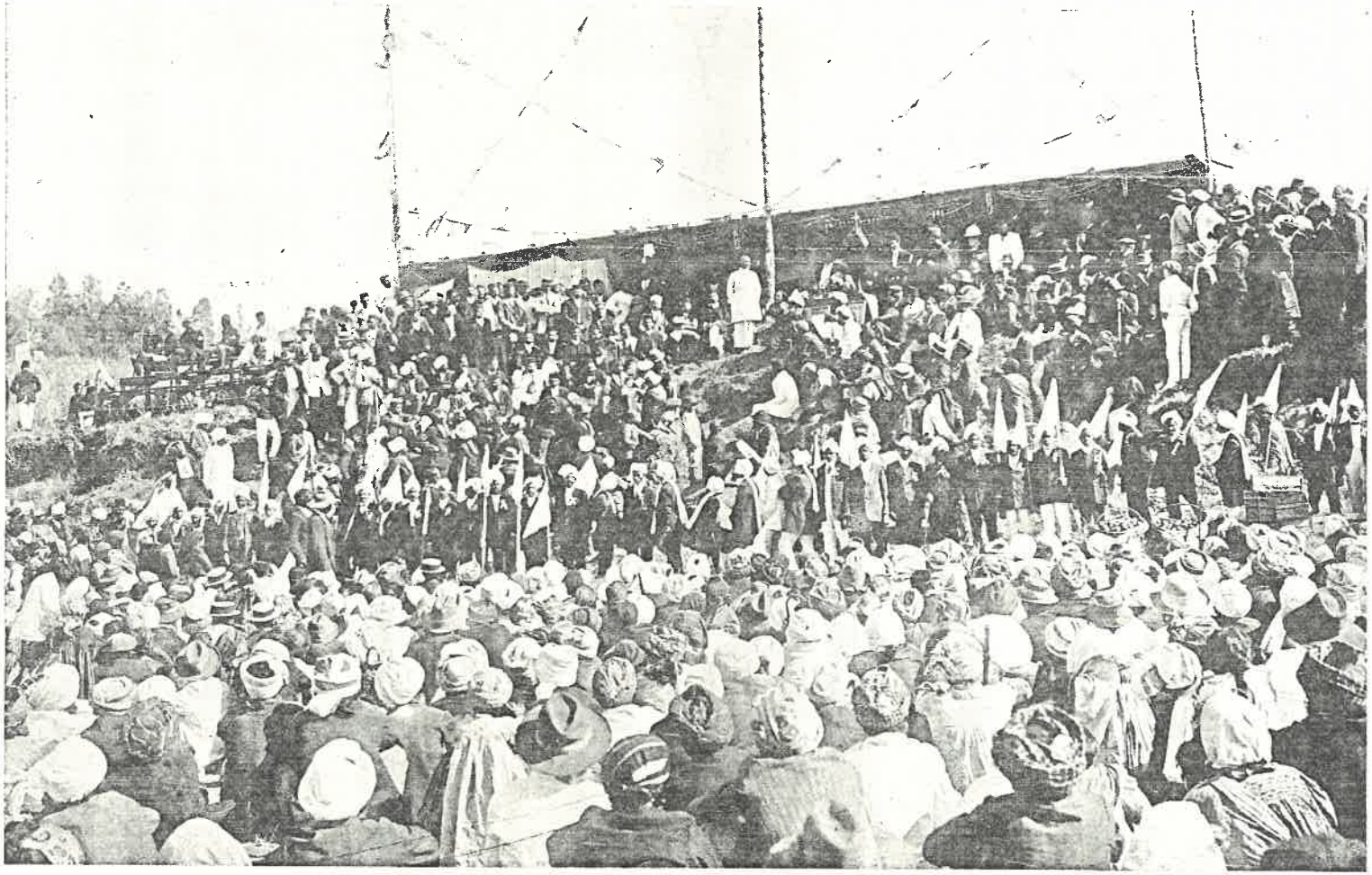


Photo by Mr. Gandhi addressing the Verulam Farewell Meeting—about 5,000 persons present, mostly indentured Indians. *B. Gabriel*

AN INTERESTING GROUP



Photo by Aug. Blaettler

Taken at Heidelburg Station on the occasion of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's visit.

હેડલબરગના સ્ટેશને મી. ગોખલે અને આવકાર આપનાર મંડળીની લેવાયેલી છબી.

P26

See 155/63

Indian Passive Resistance Volunteers in Pretoria.



EBRAHIM NOOR
ઈબ્રાહીમ નુર

GOVIND PRAG
ગોવીંદ પ્રાગ

GOOLAB RUDRA DESAI
ગુલાબ રૂદ્ર દેસાઈ

MOOSA SULEMAN
મુસા સુલેમાન

HOOSEN BIA
હુસેન બીબા

VALLI MAHOMED
વલ્લી મહમદ

A. F. C. BEG
એ. એફ. સી. બેગ

BABU GANGARAM
બાબુ ગંગારામ

GOOLAM MAHOMED ABDOOL RASHID
ગુલામ મહમદ અબ્દુલ રસીદ

AHMED M. CACHALIA
અહમદ એમ. કાછલીઆ

G. P. VYAS
જી. પી. વ્યાસ

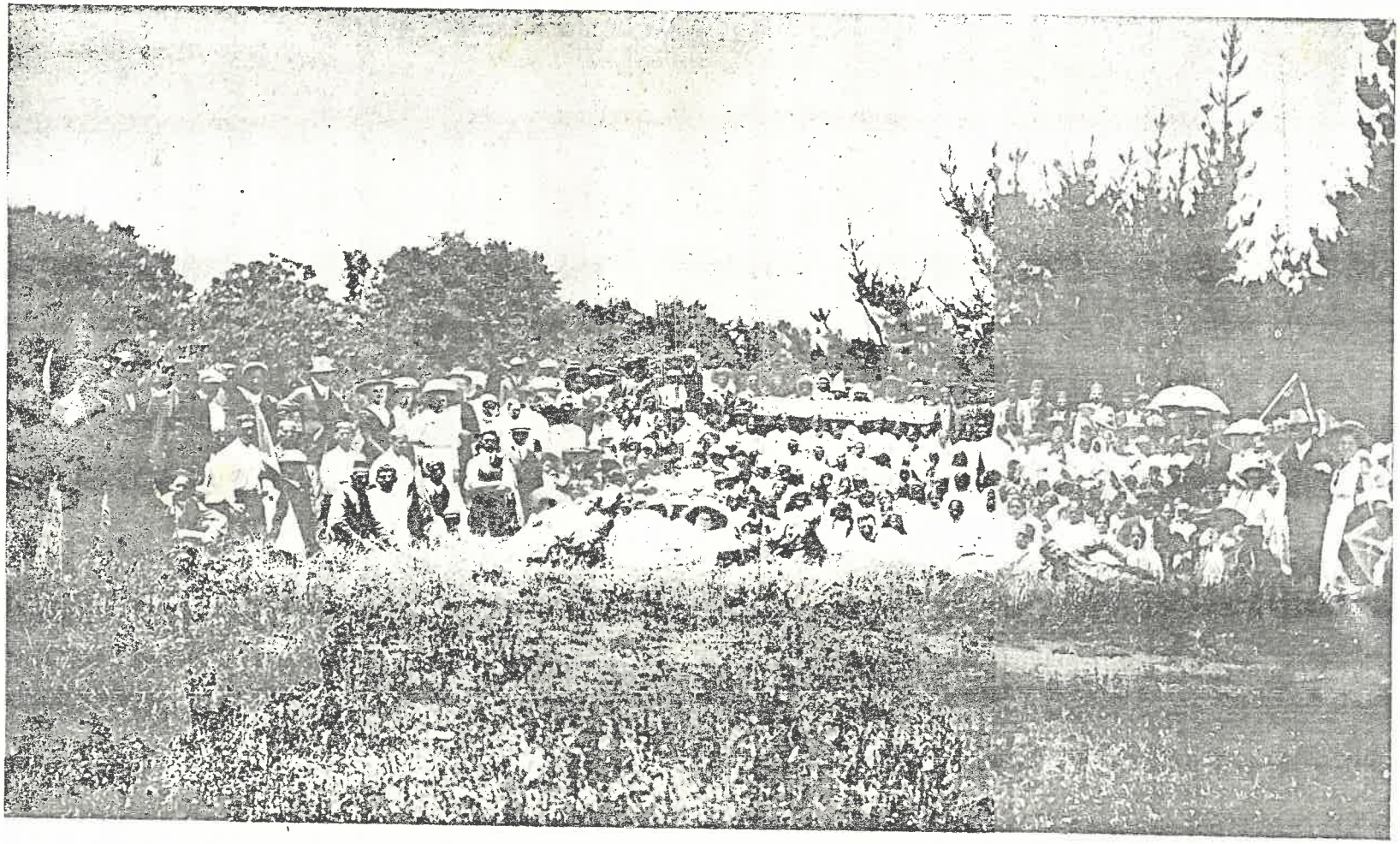
CASSIM SIDOO
કાસમ સીદુ

KHOOSHAL SITA
ખુશાલ સીતા

28.8.1907

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
14th January, 1911.

The Picnic Party at Tolstoy Farm



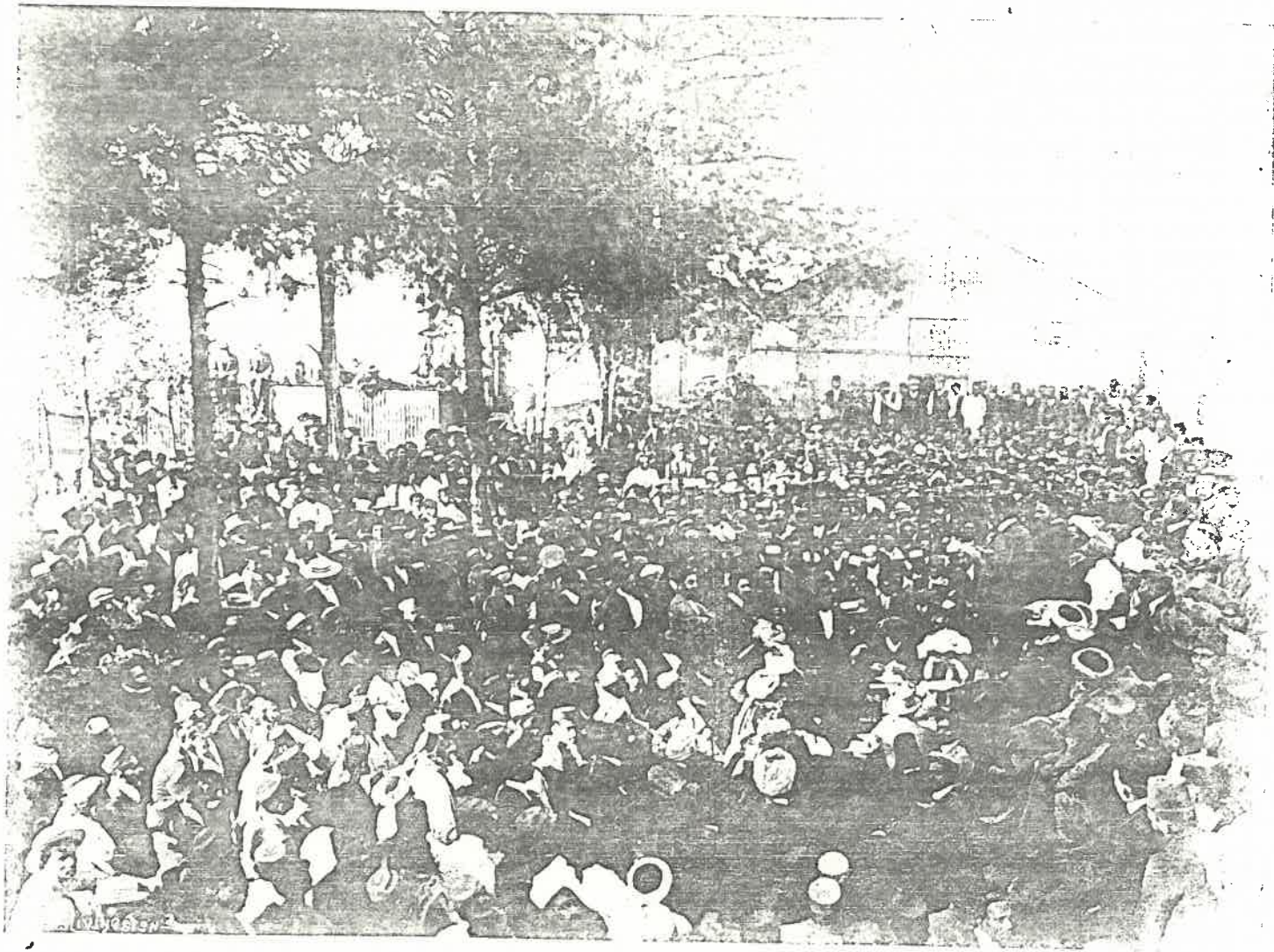
ટોલસ્ટોય ફાર્મપર થયેલા છેલ્લા માજલસ.



Sixty Indians deported from South Africa to India. 16-7-1910 Indian Opini

The Indian Mass Meeting

Held at Pretoria on the 31st July which decided to continue the Passive Resistance crusade against the Asiatic Act.



કાયદા સામે ઝુંબેશ ચાલુ રાખવાનો ઠરાવ કરવા પ્રીટોરીએ મળેલી ૨૦૦૦ માણસોની ગંજાવર મીટીંગ.

Photo by A. Brittlebank, Pretoria.



"The Snake Charmer and the Cobra that would not be charmed." *Rand Daily Mail.*

Reproduced by kind permission

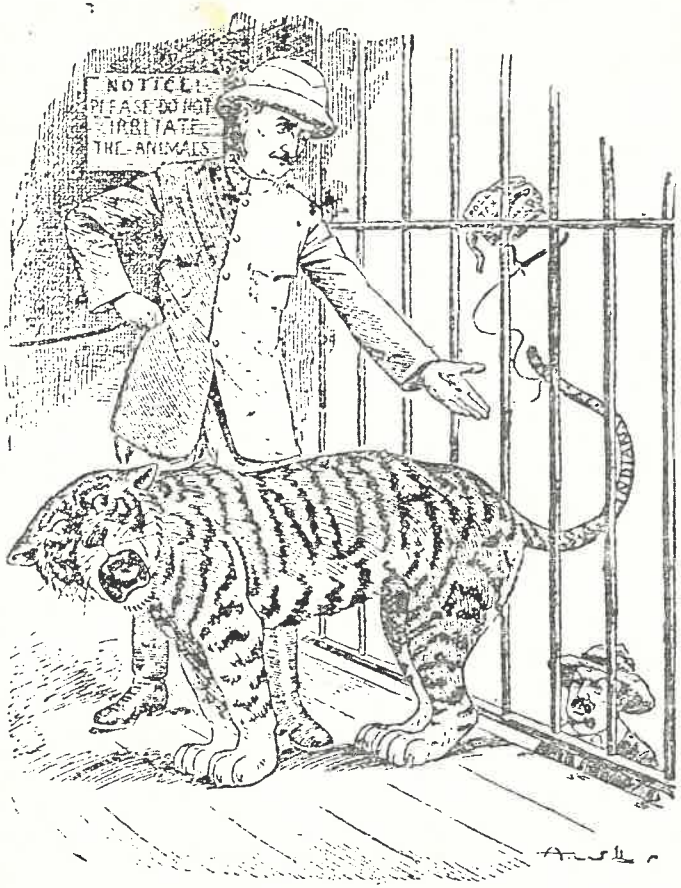
THE BABE OF PEACE.



[From Hindi Punch

SMUTS—What do you think of the baby?
GANDHI—Very pleasant. Born with a twig of peace in the mouth.

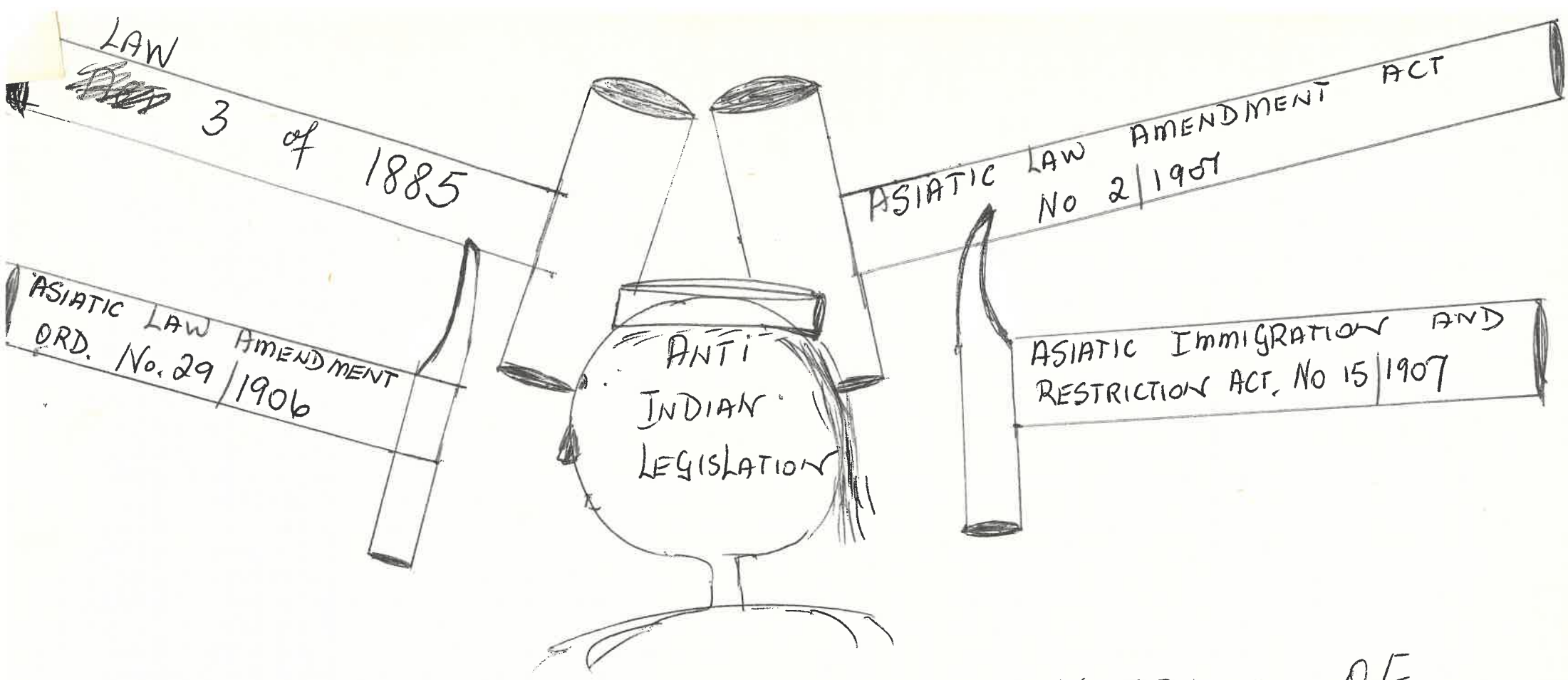
THE TAIL AND THE TIGER.



From Punch

VICEROY OF INDIA (TO GENERAL BOTHA): "I'm sure you only meant to have a little harmless fun with his tail, but what's fun to you may be very annoying to the rest of the tiger."

127

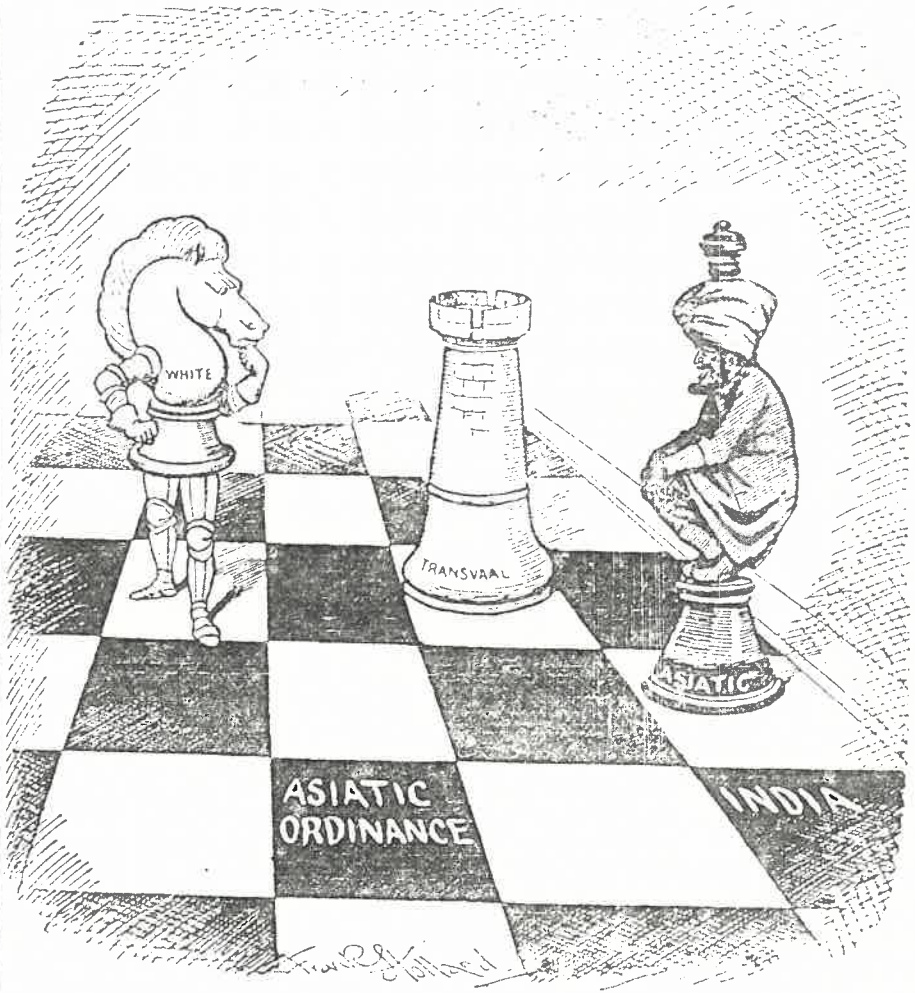


AIM: TO RESTRICT ENTRY OF INDIANS INTO THE TRANSVAAL

From *The Star* (Johannesburg),
4th May, 1907.

WHITE TO MOVE AND CHECK

(A cable from London states that Lord Elgin has advised His Majesty to allow the Asiatic Registration Bill.)

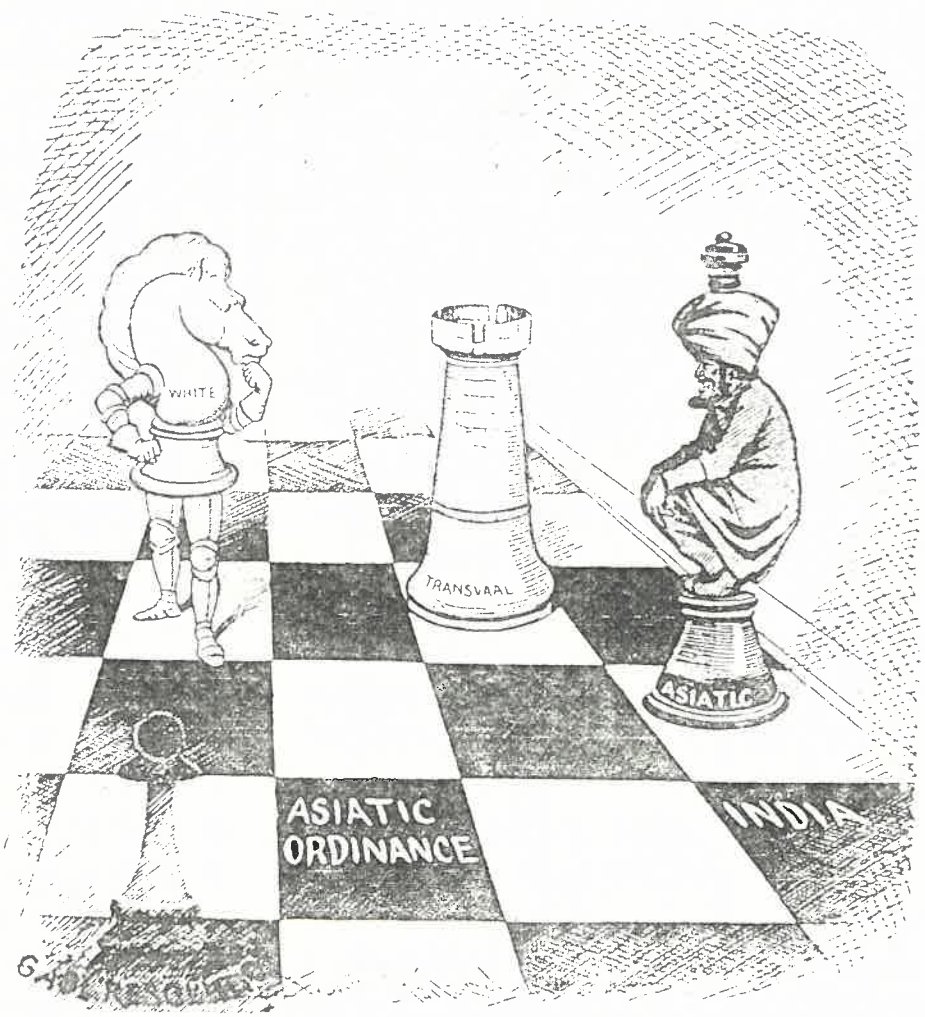


The White Knight will now be able to move into the "Asiatic Ordinance" square and thus save his Castle from the Black King and compel the latter to fall back on "India."

[Reproduced by kind permissio

REPLY

NOT YET.—The White Knight, in [illegible] eagerness to move into the A.O. square, has omitted to notice the little pawn on the Gael Resolution square.



That the White Knight may also, in his blind hurry, have imagined that to be the King which is not, is another story.

p27

155/37



પહેલી સાહિત્ય પરિષદના પ્રમુખ.

રા૦ રા૦ ગોવર્ધનરામ માધવરામ ત્રિપાઠી.

See 155/31



MR. H. O. ALLY.

also 171 11 D.26



ગુજરાત સાહિત્ય પરિષદના પ્રમુખ–દીવાન બહાદુર અંબાલાલ સાકરલાલ.

155/74



બીજી સાહિત્ય પરિષદના પ્રમુખ–રા૦ રા૦ કેશવલાલ હર્ષદ ધ્રુવ.

155/75

Illustrated Weekly of India March 25, 1984, Bombay.

DISCOVERY/T K MAHADEVAN

LOST AND FOUND

A HIDDEN FRAGMENT FROM GANDHI'S DIARY

T K Mahadevan has just found an unpublished fragment of Gandhi's diary relating to the crucial period 1893-94. Where did this 90-day fragment come from? Why was it held back from publication? What is there in it? Mahadevan investigates.

Samuel Pepys (pron Peeps), the greatest diarist of all time, hid himself from public gaze for 150 years. Mohandas Gandhi, no mean diarist in his own right, did not hide himself—not in his diaries, at any rate—but a certain parvenu did. I speak from evidence. A fragment of his diary of 1893-94—the pivotal year in his life, look at it how you may—lately came into my hands. I have made sure it is not another Hitler spoof. It is genuine and the editor rightly thought his readers would enjoy sharing the discovery with me, even if the die-hard myth-makers among them would surely find in it another occasion to malign me.

In this age of technological parochialism, even so unique a work as the Diary of Samuel Pepys will sound unfamiliar to many readers, so that a brief introduction may help. Pepys began writing the diary when he was 27 and continued doing so for nearly 10 years, until failing eyesight stopped him. He wrote it in cypher, using Thomas Shelton's system of tachygraphy (1641) in the main, with innovative obscuring devices of his own whim and fancy wherever he felt he was saying things least fit to be seen by others.

Shelton's system being orthographic (unlike the later Pitman and Gregg, which are phonetic), Pepys had little difficulty hiding behind what overtly looked quite innocuous. Indeed, when Magdalene College (Cambridge), which has the original six-volume manuscript, published a part of the Diary (1818), no one—not even Sir Walter Scott who wrote an enthusiastic review of it—knew they were but scraping the surface! The key which unlocked the Pepysian soul was put together by John Smith (1819-22) and the full Diary, omitting certain "unprintable" passages, was published in 1893-94. Thereafter, Pepysiana and the Pepys Club were the rage among the literati.

I like to fancy that Gandhi's lot as a diarist would have been no less dazzling had not moronic meddlers and minions taken it upon themselves to hide him from posterity and wrap his soul in tinsel. In *The Year of the Phoenix* (1982)—where, for the first time, an attempt has been made to examine this enigmatic turnabout in his life under, as it were, a microscope—I have cried my heart out over the disappearance, destruction, suppression, purloining or downright filching of the diary that Gandhi began to keep from the day he set sail for South Africa aboard the *SS Safari* on April 19, 1893. Ah, but how did I know? By logical reasoning, gentle reader; by inference and surmise, espionage being clearly beyond my means.

Here, in part, is how I argued myself to the conclusion (of which the fragment now in my hands is positive proof):

> It is not unlikely that Gandhi kept a diary during what proved to be his longest voyage ever. He had kept a diary touching his first voyage (Bombay-London, 1888). Now five years later, here he was going out again. Why should the inference of a diary seem improbable? He was still a young man and I find it hard to believe that he had so quickly got over the commendable habit of diarising upon one's impressions of persons, places and events. Indeed, concerning this particular trip, he had avouched (some 30 years later): "I was fond of novel experiences. I loved to see fresh fields and pastures new."
>
> To come to the pith of my argument: it seems unbelievable for Gandhi not to have exercised his writing talent by diarising at length on that fateful voyage and the rich store of experiences he had garnered in the months that followed. He had plenty of time and no work, because the lawsuit for which he was recruited on a one-year tenure was not to get into its stride until almost the end of 1893. Besides, he was no Hamlet and could hardly be expected to keep anything "Within the book and volume of my brain,/Unmixed with baser matter". Officious by temperament, he was rather a busybody.
>
> This character trait is etched in fine detail in the *Autobiography*, when Gandhi recounts the singleness of purpose with which he spent his forced leisure in Pretoria (which was where the case was slated for hearing). Not only did he mingle with a wide circle of men and women among the more ardent Christians there—bringing to mind his dalliance with Vegetarians, Theosophists, Esoteric Christians and such other fringe groups in the London of 1890—but "there was now in Pretoria no Indian I did not know or whose condition I was not acquainted with". If this is not an overstatement, surely he would have maintained a record of these varied activities. I am quite certain in my mind that Gandhi did keep a detailed diary of that extraordinary twelvemonth. But then what happened to it?

At the time I researched and wrote the book (1979-81), short of ransacking a certain well-guarded labyrinth in Delhi, I had no choice but to end on a question-mark. Today, with this surfaced fragment, one can hope to get at the rest of the diary by and by, provided that Gandhian researchers give up chasing his Utopia-turned-dystopia and revert to the man and his career-orientation—a subject of enduring bio-historical interest. We can learn a lot by probing the man behind his numerous masks. We will gain nothing by reading into his "opera buffa" (so to speak) an alternative to the distress sale that is our common lot.

Before I take you through that fragment, let us pause and ponder the question why an ounce of diary is worth a pound of journals, memoirs, confessions, autobiographies and such other first-person writing. In a diary, one communes with oneself, shut off from the outside world. There is no desire, open or hidden, for publication (what happens posthumously being another matter). There is no strutting and fretting upon the world's stage, nor any attempt to pretend what one is not or express views one does not hold. This is what makes Pepys' Diary such an intensely human document. It is garrulous, colloquial, racy in style and full of the unconscious (not contrived) humour that bubbles over when one is telling the truth.

I am not looking for any literary parallel between Pepys and Gandhi. There can be none. But a comparison of the two fragments that the parvenus have let slip through their fingers—one of them published (see *Collected Works*, 1:2-16) and the other hitherto unpublished—gives us a glimpse of Gandhi in the nude. The published fragment is from his "London Diary", which he began writing in November 1888, within six weeks of his arrival in London. Although he left Bombay by the *SS Clyde* only on September 4, "the scene opens about the end of April", as he charmingly confesses, when "I had a secret design in my mind of coming here to satisfy my curiosity of knowing what London was (like)". From thereon, the stunningly candid narrative reads like the *Panchatantra*—intrigue, cunning, doggedness—the end dictating the means. "Had it been some other man in the same position which I was in, I dare say he would not have been able to

DOCUMENTATION CENTR
713/1
University of Durban-Westville

for success were bound to try and hit back. By January, there was another reason as well. After Vardhan's departure, Raghu Raj had seemed an unsteady chief executive, rarely spending over a week at a stretch in his penthouse office. He messed up an attempt to refuse an extension to his deputy managing director and suffered the indignity of seeing a caustic letter from JRD Tata leak to the press. By the end of that month, the whispers had begun: 'Would Vardhan be brought back?' After all, Raj was due to retire in April.

When the backlash came, it was so silly that for a moment I wondered why they had bothered. One of the more unusual aspects of Vardhan's family life had been the close friendship that had developed between his family and the Kolhapures. When he used his Air India free tickets (to which all employees are entitled) to take his mother and sister abroad, his mother suggested that Padmini Kolhapure and a friend join them. Naturally, Padmini and the friend (Shama Kulkarni) paid their own fares, but a selective leakage of documents to sections of the press—allegedly by Air India sources—managed to make it seem as though the affair was murkier than that. And of course the press loved it. 'The whizkid and the actress': a readymade headline! (The mother and sister were an awkward detail that the stories tried to play down in their quest for a romance in the skies.) Vardhan's strong moralistic streak came to the fore and he issued an angry denial to *The Indian Express*, but he seemed unable to understand why a trifling matter like this had received front page prominence. Obviously, the whizkid had not fully understood the ways of the world.

No doubt this controversy too will die down once the initial flush of media interest fades. But from what I've seen of Vardhan's style so far, he's not going to forget the Air India people who leaked that bit of fiction. And I note with interest that the whispers about his eventual return to Air India still persist.

☐ *Is it true that any member of your party travelled on free tickets?*

Yes, my mother and I did. I am entitled to free tickets annually like other Air India employees, so there is nothing unusual about this.

☐ *What about Padmini Kolhapure? Didn't you arrange a free ticket for her too?*

No, of course not. Her ticket was bought and paid for, and so was the ticket of Shama Kulkarni who accompanied us.

☐ *Was it really? Documents in our possession suggest that it has still not been paid for.*

This is absolute nonsense. Padmini and Shama were invited to London by the Amos Field Corporation who were arranging a show there, and they paid for the tickets.

☐ *That may be true of Shama's ticket, but we gather that Padmini's ticket is still not paid for.*

That's what comes of knowing only half the story! I don't think anyone has suggested that the general sales agent who issued the ticket on behalf of Air India has not been paid. All that has been said is that Mr Pillai, a friend of mine who bought the ticket, has not been reimbursed.

This simple fact has been twisted to suggest that I was to pay for Padmini's ticket, and that I cannot now reimburse Pillai because I have no way of explaining how so much foreign exchange came into my possession.

As I was never supposed to pay for the ticket in the first place, all such speculation is a little pointless. Amos Field Corporation have given the money for Padmini's ticket to a friend of hers in London who will reimburse Mr Pillai when he goes to England. No journalist has bothered to ask Mr Pillai how he feels about not being reimbursed instantly, and as far as I know, he hasn't minded waiting.

I don't see how I am involved.

☐ *Didn't Air India pick up the hotel bills for all of you?*

Not at all. We stayed in two hotels, the Marriot and the Grand Hotel, and we paid our own way. In fact, the Air India manager tried to pay for our stay at the Grand, but I refused, and insisted on paying.

☐ *Where did you get the foreign exchange to pay these bills?*

We were entitled to $2,100 under FTS. We used that money.

☐ *But didn't Air India lose revenue because Padmini Kolhapure was upgraded to First Class? It may be all right to upgrade somebody if seats are empty anyhow, but you had a First Class seat blocked for her.*

This is simply not true. The record will show an upgrading only on one sector, and it will also show that seats were empty and that nothing was blocked for her.

☐ *Didn't you misuse Air India's facilities, like cars?*

Only once did a regional accounts manager insist on giving us his car to go sight-seeing for a day. I assumed it was his own car: it now transpires that it belonged to the airline. But it's absurd to suggest that the driver had to be paid 800 francs for his driving that day. If that's how much he earns a day, then he makes 24000 francs a month—which is more than the regional director earns!

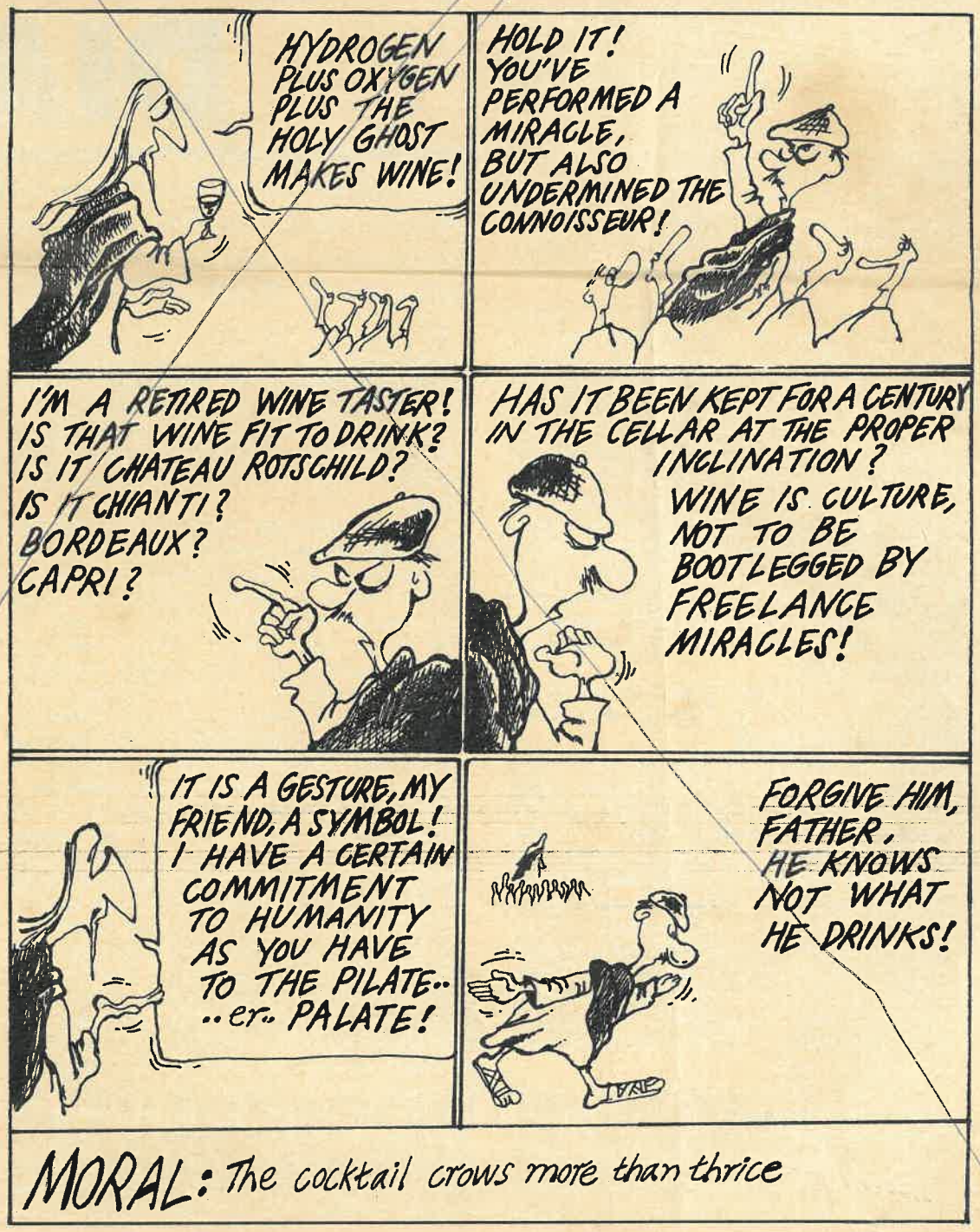
☐ *And didn't the airline pay for your minicabs?*

I have not used any minicabs at Air India's expense. If people claim otherwise, then they are being less than honest.

☐ *How do you react to these allegations?*

Frankly, I am a bit bewildered. They have been levelled on the basis of an anonymous complaint that mis-stated the facts. A man in my position is open to attack from all quarters, so this kind of smear is not entirely unusual. But as any investigation will clearly show that they are baseless, what is all the excitement about? W

GRIM FAIRY TALES/RAVI SHANKAR



see England." Bravo, Bapu!

The fragment of the "London Diary" comprises the narrative portion and is only a one-sixth part of the entire document which, we are told, ran to about 120 notebook pages. According to the *Collected Works*, "the remaining 100 pages were not continuous writing, but *merely a chronicle of incidents* during his stay in London from 1888 to 1891" (my emphasis) and nephew Chhaganlal, to whom Gandhi entrusted the diary intact in 1909, almost 20 years after it was written, chose to copy out only the first 20 pages before passing the document on to the safe-keeping of Mahadev Desai in 1920. To sum up, here we have the strange case of a diary written over a period of three years and which its author deemed sufficiently important to preserve for 20 years, vanishing within 10 years of his parting with it! How come it melted into thin air?

As though to mollify the tragedy, the editors of the *Collected Works* add an element of comedy when they say, presumably on Chhaganlal's testimony: "Well, dear reader, don't take it too much to heart. For what has been lost is merely a disconnected chronicle of incidents that Gandhi thought fit to record of his three student years in London." Alas! I cannot think of a more unprofessional statement. The value of a diary is enhanced, not diminished, by its being a discrete and instant chronicle of incidents. This is what makes it the most important resource for psychobiography; private letters are a rung below it.

Put together Chhaganlal's reluctance or aversion to copy out those last tell-tale 100 pages and the subsequent wholesale disappearance of the diary and you can come only to one conclusion: Gandhi's truth and the "truth" of his censorious guardians do not come from the same mint. Unlike Pepys, Gandhi did not camouflage his diaries. To the myth-makers, this was a serious lapse on his part. Posterity had to be saved from Gandhi's truth. And they took to the easy recourse of tucking the diaries away from public view—where, when, by whom being questions I shall choose to leave to younger, more intrepid hounds.

Let me now turn to the unpublished fragment. The typewritten copy is titled "The Diary of M K Gandhi" (in his own handwriting). It spans a period of 90 days—from June 22 to September 19, 1894. There is an entry, short or long, for every one of those 90 days, showing what an indefatigable diarist Gandhi was during, and perhaps after, that pivotal "Year of the Phoenix". It was during this particular span that his well-orchestrated plan to make amends for his abject failure in Bombay by setting up legal practice in Durban, with assured retainers from the Meman merchants, at last bore fruit. A very hectic 90 days, yet he did not miss writing his daily diary! Are we then to believe that in the preceding 428 days—he set sail from Bombay, as we saw, on April 19, 1893—during most of which he had relatively little or nothing to do, he did not keep the diary with the same punctiliousness? Naivete of that sort would sit ill on anyone who aspires to bring professionalism to the study of Gandhi.

Whence did this 90-day fragment come to light? Why, from the very same nephew Chhaganlal whose involvement with the "London Diary" (as we saw) leaves many unanswered questions. And when? In December 1971. And to whom was this precious cargo consigned? To the Sabarmati Gandhi Museum in Ahmedabad.

Now I am damned if these facts do not point to a most perfidious conspiracy on the part of Chhaganlal and company. Do I sound harsh? Well, look at the following implications.



(1) Why was such a large chunk of the diary held back? Let no one trot out the excuse of damage by rodents and termites. These humble creatures are not given to selective destruction, though men are.

(2) The *Collected Works* project was started in February 1956, that is, nearly 16 years before Chhaganlal deigned to part company with the diary fragment. Did the editors know the importance of Chhaganlal as a resource person on Gandhiana? (Here I should like to remind the reader that Gandhi, for reasons best known to himself, was closer to his nephews Maganlal and Chhaganlal than to his four sons!) If they knew, did they approach him with a formal request for transfer of whatever material he had in his possession? The "Acknowledgements" printed in the first volume (1958) of the *Collected Works* do not mention his name and one cannot but painfully conclude that the editors were either ignorant or indolent or both!

(3) Did the curator of the Sabarmati Museum, on receiving the said "largesse", raise a query on its skimpiness? Or was he as ignorant/indolent as the editors?

I am deliberately keeping the questions open, besides injecting into them a wanton acerbity, so that such of the guilty men as are not too furtive will be impelled to come out with the truth. This is a weekly magazine article, not a research monograph, and if my reasoning is faulty and my accusations are without merit, let someone blow up my conspiracy thesis with credible documentation, so that all of us will be the wiser. On the other hand, dear reader, if you hear nothing but a stony silence, you will surely know what conclusions to draw.

With due apologies for that (not misplaced) burst of indignation, I shall now proceed to exhibit significant entries from the diary fragment, along with my annotations thereon, the latter being enclosed within brackets:

Jun 24: *Rd a long letter fr brother discussing Gita. Paul came in the evening. He said he wd talk to Burn abt partnership. (The day was a Sunday and Rd should be taken to mean Read. Why would Gandhi's eldest brother Lakshmidas—not known for any conspicuous scholarship—write him at length on the* Gita, *unless the latter had confided his spiritual gravitation towards Christianity in one or more letters from Pretoria? Paul was the Indian Interpreter in the Durban court. Gandhi was to have left Durban for home on May 23 by the* SS Reichstag, *but he had earned a month's reprieve at the May 22 farewell party by playing on the gullibility of the Meman merchants. That month had passed and here we find him looking for a partner to set up legal practice in Durban, instead of preparing to return to Bombay. Burn was probably one of the white advocates with a predominantly Indian clientele.)*

Jun 28: *Abdoola Rustomji Two Coolies and myself went to Maritzburg. (It is agonising that Gandhi should privately refer to compatriots, howsoever lowly, as Coolies while publicly resenting the usage! In his first ever letter to the press espousing the South African Indian cause—*Transvaal Advertiser, *September 5, 1893 reproduced on pp 36-38 of my book—he concedes that indentured Indians cease to be Coolies when they have finished their term. Surely the two unnamed Indians who went with him on the deputation to meet the Prime Minister in the Natal capital were such freed men or their educated descendants.)*

Jul 2: *Letter fr Brother. (Lakshmidas was probably worried over Gandhi's staying on in South Africa.)*

Jul 6: *Wrote to Miabhai a long letter and also to brother. (The first-named was Adamji Miyakhan, a Meman merchant in Durban with a working knowledge of English, who took over temporary charge of the Natal Indian Congress in June 1896 when Gandhi left for home, after more than three years' absence, to fetch his wife and two sons. The letter to Lakshmidas was probably to assuage the latter and appears to have been a short one!)*

Jul 16: *Requested A to let me go or give a definite reply. He said he wd see that all the expenses were paid and also the furniture expenses & c. Paul was very anxious that I shd stop. (Clear evidence that the hard-headed Meman merchants, who had been hoodwinked by Gandhi to promise retainers so that the futile fight for Indian franchise in South Africa could be carried on by him without let or hindrance, were beginning to have second thoughts. A refers to Dada Abdulla, whose evasiveness is understandable in the circumstances, since the "white elephant" could not possibly be carried on one man's shoulders alone. Paul, on the other hand, had much to gain and little to lose by Gandhi's staying on in Durban as an advocate.)*

Jul 17: *Went w A to see rooms. A splendid room was found for 2-15-0 & a house in Beach Grove for £8. A said it was decided to make me a written request to stop here & that he wd make me a present of the furniture, fees for admission & books. (Gandhi's ultimatum to Dada Abdulla seems to have had an immediate effect on the sceptic merchants!)*

Jul 25: *Paul came and asked if I wd join Coakes and pay a premium. I said I wd join but not pay a premium. I told him also that I was preparing to depart and told him that he shd not show over-anxiety to Coakes. (There is no mention of Coakes in the* Autobiography, *or in Pyarelal, or in the* Collected Works; *but he appears in my book, on pp 117-22, where I document the hearings before the Borough Magistrate of Durban on objections to the Voters' List, defending the status-quo right of Indians already enjoying the franchise. The phrase "preparing to depart" is best understood as part of Gandhi's strategy not to be seen as overselling himself.)*

Jul 26: *Told A that unless everything was settled by next... I wd understand that I must go. Paul saw me and said Coakes wd give a share & not require a premium. A said the house in Beach Grove will be let for £ 6½. Wrote to the Registrar of the Supreme Court inquiring abt time for licence. (The merchants seem to be vacillating and Gandhi seems to be blowing hot and cold!)*
Jul 28: *Saw Coates. He seemed to be anxious to enter into partnership. He said he wd give 25% for the first six months & 30% for the last six months. He seemed to be quite sincere. A pc from Brother asking me to return soon. (Lakshmidas appears fed up with his prodigal young brother's dilatory answers: hence the peremptory postcard.)*
Jul 30: *Saw Coates. He was agreeable to paying a ⅓rd share. (That Gandhi succeeded in having his way with a well-established white attorney shows what a master haggler he was turning out to be. On the other hand, it is possible that Dada Abdulla, a good part of whose litigation was entrusted to Coates, arm-twisted him to let the young briefless barrister have his way.)*
Aug 7: *Removed to the house in Beach Grove.*
Aug 8: *Many came with the notice of application that Dillier sent out. (The name is Hillier: See my book, pp 117-22)*
Aug 9: *Coakes has won the application case. (See my book, p 121)*
Aug 10: *Wrote to Brother. (Pleasant news at last for the patient Lakshmidas. So his hitherto blundering brother is on the threshold of success!)*
Aug 11: *Ruffe dined w me. Attended the Blue Ribbon Meeting. It was a failure. There were recitations, not meeting where Jesus wd preside. (Ruffe was probably a proselytiser.)*
Aug 15: *Ruffe came & asked for £5. I said that was left to Mr Coakes & that I was not myself in a position to render any such aid.*
Aug 17: *Wrote to Brother. The salvation army Captain dined w me. He had a long chat w Me. He however cd not persuade me that Christianity was the only true religion.*
Aug 18: *It was decided at Abdoola's that a meeting should be held on Monday & Wednesday.*
Aug 19: *Was unwell. Advised Abdoolla as to evidence in Ujamshi's case. (The reference is to the book-keeper who, on being sacked from Dada Abdulla & Co, joined the rival firm in Pretoria and, during the civil suit, very nearly wrecked the chances of his former employers by accusing them of large-scale smuggling across the border between Natal and the Transvaal. In my book, where the true nature of the case is first brought to light, I did not wish to pursue the criminal aspect to the end, lying as it did outside my chief research goal. But this entry shows that, three months after the civil suit was settled, criminal proceedings were in full swing. See, especially, pp 58 and 59 of the book.)*
Aug 20: *Labistour wanted to see me with regard to my petition. Saw him & he said I shd produce a certificate as to the Character of my family. He also suggested that Baker shd telegraph as to my fitness. I telegraphed to Baker. Got a certificate from Abdoolla, Haji Dada & Moosa Hajee Adam. (Labistour was perhaps the secretary of the Natal Law Society which tried hard to obstruct Gandhi's admission as an advocate of the Supreme Court of Natal.)*
Aug 21: *A big meeting yesterday where abt 100 attended. They accepted my proposals. (See entry for August 18.)*
Aug 22: *There was a big meeting. The hall was well decorated. About 100 men attended. There was much enthusiasm. The meeting was closed at 11.45 pm. (This, of course, is the meeting where the Natal Indian Congress formally came into being, three months after the idea was first mooted by Gandhi on May 22, soon after his return to Durban from Pretoria.)*
Aug 25: *Bought a suit of Harvey & Greenacre's. (This perhaps first major addition to his wardrobe in South Africa is further evidence that Gandhi was confident of a successful legal career awaiting him round the corner.)*
Aug 29: Finished the minutes of the last meeting. (That is, of August 22.)
Aug 31: *Telegram fr Escombe saying my application he will move on Monday. Telegraphed to Manager Imperial Hotel to keep one room for me. (Harry Escombe, Attorney-General of Natal, was among the few legislators who were sympathetic to the South African Indian community. The hotel was in Maritzburg, the capital.)*
Sep 3: *Was admitted. Had to put off the hat. Received abt 7 telegrams of congratulations.*
Sep 6: *A sympathetic notice of my admission appeared in the Witness & Mercury. (The* Natal Witness, *est 1846, is the oldest South African newspaper and is published from Pietermaritzburg. The* Natal Mercury *is published from Durban.)*
Sept 7: *Gopee Maharaj's case came up to-day. Coakes had charge of it. (The plaintiff in the case, Dada Abdulla & Co, claimed £263 from the respondent for goods sold to him.)*



Tinkering with a diary is as great a crime as suppressing it.

Sep 10: *Accepted Deloseea's case for £8-5-3 after telling her that she wd lose whether she had an attorney or not.*
Sep 11: *Coakes took Deleesa's case & won. She paid £2 more. (No longer briefless, though, Gandhi was still somewhat shaky.)*
Sep 12: *Rd a note from Arthur, begging for money. Gabriel came to ask for money too. (The two men were among several Indian Christians who helped Gandhi in the petitioning phase of the fight for franchise. Arthur, who wrote a calligraphic hand, made the principal copy of the first petition to the Natal Legislative Assembly.)*
Sep 14: *Conducted Dada Abdoolla's case. (The Coakes-Gandhi combine appears to be functioning smoothly. The reference is to the Gopee Maharaj case.)*
Sep 17: *Rd a letter fr Brother & one fr Chhaganlal. (Chhaganlal Gandhi, 1881-1970, the source of this diary fragment.)*
Sep 18: *Had a very boisterous meeting of the Congress Committee. Ward came in to speak, was not allowed & so went away threatening to write in the papers. (Ward was perhaps one of several white meddlers in the affairs of the Indian community in Durban.)*
Sep 19. *Gopee Maharaj case came up today. Got judgement w costs. (No longer shaky! The next day's issue of the* Natal Advertiser, *an evening daily of Durban, complimented Gandhi on winning his first case. The paper had, on May 26, 1893, called him "an unwelcome visitor", upbraiding him for showing disrespect to the Court in Durban. See p 27 of my book.)*

Out of the 90 entries in the diary fragment, I have excerpted only 35, some fully and others partially. The excerpts have been copied faithfully, and no attempt has been made to correct or improve upon what Gandhi jotted down. Tinkering with a diary is as great a crime as suppressing it.

To assess the psycho-biographical pre-eminence of Gandhi's daily diary of 1893-94, one has but to compare this fragment of a fragment with his diary for 1912 (while still in South Africa) and the one for 1915 (when he had finally returned to India). These are to be found in the *Collected Works*, 11:363-420 and 13:156-185, and are uniformly drab, routine and unilluminating. The holographs are in Gujarati and, in our present state of knowledge (or ignorance), must be deemed to be the only ones of their kind to have survived the vandalism of rodents and rapscallions.

Let me close with a speculation. Here before my mind's eye are the pages of Gandhi's diary for the fortnight, April 19 to May 3, 1893, when he travelled from Bombay to Zanzibar aboard the *SS Safari*, closeted with the ship's captain in the spare berth in the latter's cabin. And what do I find? Of course they "had become great friends". Of course the captain "was fond of playing chess". (The phrases are from the *Autobiography*.) But I find that he was even more fond of other games, such as between man and man, man and woman, and the like. If anyone doubts the clarity of my mind's eye, would he please read Gandhi's candid narration of his first ever experiences in the South African jails? (See, especially, the *Collected Works*, 9:149 and 163.) Writes Gandhi: "When in the presence of men only, there should be no need to conceal any parts of our anatomy... Where is the need to be particular about hiding what is a part of our natural endowment?"

I wish—and so would you, gentle reader—that the young Mohandas Gandhi had followed in the footsteps of Samuel Pepys and written his intimate personal diary in cypher. Then the whole of it would have come down to us intact, since (ahem) underlings cannot unscramble a hidden text, although they are experts at hiding what is open!

A postscript: No writing on Gandhi is complete without its comical aspect. Here is the scenario. I ring up one of the editors of the *Collected Works*. After exchanging pleasantries, the sleuth-hound in me emerges. "Look," I say, sounding as innocent as a child, "among the material that must have accumulated over the 26 years since the project was begun and which you will be printing in one or more addenda or residual volumes, is there anything like a fragment of an early South African diary?"

"No, none at all."

"Are you quite sure?"

"Positively."

I clear my throat. "Lately a fragment has come into my hands," I say in measured tones.

"From where?" There is panic in his voice.

"I can't disclose the source, but I intend writing about it."

I knew he was lying, but I thought he would have the moral courage to tell the truth, even if belatedly. Two days pass and I ring him up again on a slim pretext. "Oh yes," says he, his voice masked, "we do have the stuff you mentioned."

"And you got it some time in 1972?"

"Perhaps."

"Nevertheless, when I visited your office in 1979, nobody breathed a word about it. Strange, very strange, isn't it?"

His voice fell into a stutter and I put down the receiver.

I had to enact a similar harlequinade to get the Gandhi Museum in Delhi to come out with the truth. Took me three days!

Now I ask you, gentle reader, what is all this hush-hush about? W

ORGANISE!

The Indian community of Natal is badly in need of an organization which will be thoroughly representative of all sections. The danger that threatens, by reason of the introduction of the Draft Local Government Ordinance, may be considered a blessing in disguise if, in the face of difficulties, the community will unite in a common cause and join forces. The question of the retention of the municipal franchise is a matter which could very well be tackled by a special committee as presently existing, but it cannot be expected that such a specially appointed body is capable of representing the whole community on general matters. It is, no doubt, difficult to form a body which shall represent all sections of the people. But it is necessary. The Indian community must stand as one in the face of danger to any of its members. The Natal Indian Congress failed at a crucial moment to support the popular cause of passive resistance, and the Natal Indian Association has become useless through the indifference and want of unity among its members. Whether the Congress is to be revived, the Association aroused from slumber, or a new body formed, is the question for all to consider. The Natal Indian Congress was established on the 22nd August, 1894. It had a President and 21 Vice-presidents. With the exception of one, or perhaps two, all were merchants, or, as they are sometimes described, capitalists. The Committee of 37 members was composed of merchants, clerks, and a few other educated men. The only condition of membership was that "anyone who sympathises with the objects of the Congress can become a member by paying the subscription of at least £3 per month in advance." That was enough to kill it at its birth as a popular body. With such a condition, the Congress was bound to become merely a trade protection society, and in that capacity it undoubtedly did useful service. One of the rules framed by the Committee was to the effect that any member who failed to pay his monthly subscription consecutively for three months "without good cause" should be deemed to have ceased to be a member. On referring to the printed list of members and the amounts paid we find that not a single member paid the required amount. Two of the principal merchants paid £2 for four months and then ceased. The other subscriptions ranged from five shillings upwards. Many were not paid at all and only one man continued for six months. So there never was a single member of the Congress, not even the President. At a later date, merchants paid large single donations into the funds. The objects of the Congress were: (1) To bring about a better understanding and to promote friendliness between the Europeans and the Indians residing in the Colony; (2) To spread information about India and the Indians by writing to newspapers, publishing pamphlets, lecturing, etc.; (3) To educate Indians, especially those born in the colony, about Indian history and induce them to study Indian subjects; (4) To ascertain the various grievances the Indians are labouring under and to agitate by resorting to all constitutional methods for removing them; (5) To inquire into the condition of the indentured Indians and to help them out of special hardships; (6) To help the poor and the needy in all reasonable ways; (7) And generally to do everything that would tend to put the Indians on a better footing morally, socially, intellectually and politically. Truly an ambitious programme! That the Congress did not carry out its intentions is common knowledge. It is for us to find out why it failed and how to organise a public body that will actively agitate for reforms within the community, promote education, uplift the masses, abolish poverty, reduce class distinctions to a minimum and guard against the deprivation of rights and privileges. To get up, as if from slumber, and furiously demand that the municipal franchise shall not be taken away, when the fact is that not more than one per cent. of the population in towns is on the roll, is the height of folly. There must be an awakening of the people and a realisation of the needs of the hour. The general public body must represent all parties fairly. Our position is such that we cannot afford to divide our forces. Capitalism and labour do not constitute the only divisions. Indian capitalists have, in times of stress, joined hands with the labourers; both have suffered in the gaols together in the same cause. This spirit we want to keep up. It must never be forgotten that Indians have a common foe to combat. That foe is race prejudice. How we are to fight it, and what programme the future Indian public body should adopt, will be the subject of a further article.

A SIGN OF THE TIMES?

THE evidence we print elsewhere in the inquiry into the death of Bhula Bhawan is remarkable. One witness stated that seven or eight Europeans, standing on the platform of the tramcar, saw a man deliberately push the unfortunate Indian off the car into the roadway where he fell. No-one protested. No-one attemped to stop the car before it reached the next stopping-place. It is hardly necessary to remark that, if the same thing had happened to a European—a German, for instance—a totally different attitude would have been taken up. His skin was dark and so it did not matter! There was feeling about Indians travelling on tram-cars. Can it be that the feeling was relieved and to some extent appeased by the cowardly act? If such callousness is a sign of the times, as suggested by the Magistrate, the times are out of gear. One would have thought that the time of war, with its incitement to deeds of bravery and self-sacrifice, would have brought forth something different. Indians may well ask what is their position? They may give their wealth, their lives, and, in doing so, take their place alongside Europeans on the field of battle, but they must not venture upon a Johannesburg tram-car! And if some bully should dash an Indian to the ground, it should not be thought strange; and the tram-car, and life itself, must be allowed to go on without a thought! Whatever may be the result of the present case, we shall not easily forget the incident. Indians may feel somewhat diffident about boarding the Johannesburg cars whilst this tragedy remains fresh in the memory. But there are others who will have no fears. They will not allow any such occurrence to frighten them from claiming a right which belongs to all sections of the public. These men will best serve their fellows by preserving a quiet, dignified attitude, without fear or favour. Secure in their rights, they will not make themselves unpleasant in any way, but at the same time insisting upon having the ordinary privileges of passengers. It must not be said that the law of the bully and the coward shall hold sway in the land.

THE TRAMWAY OUTRAGE

EVIDENCE AT INQUIRY

Evidence was tendered before Mr. Archibald Cramer at Johannesburg when an inquiry was opened into the circumstances surrounding the death of a young Indian, Bhula Bhavan, who died after a fall from a tram. Mr. L. W. Ritch assisted in the inquiry in the interests of the deceased's relatives.

The first witness called was Thomas Gregory, who deposed to having seen the whole affair. He stated that on April 30th, he was travelling to Brixton on a car which was very full. A lot of people were standing on the platform. At the Good Hope School an Indian came down the stairs, and as he got near the steps someone called out, "Hold him." A man, a Dutchman, caught the Indian by the shoulder, and then, when the car was moving again, pushed him off the tram. At the time the Indian had his back to the street.

Mr. Ritch: You say he was deliberately pushed off? Yes; deliberately pushed off.

Where did this take place, near a stopping place? No; it was roughly between two stages.

As the Indian fell, continued witness, his assailant shouted in Dutch, "Now you can go, you——." When the incident took place the conductor was upstairs.

Mr. Ritch: How many people could have seen this thing happen. All those who were there, about seven or eight.

I regret to have to put this question. Did anybody protest? No.

Did anybody attempt to stop the car before it reached the next stopping place? No.

Did anybody go back to this unfortunate man? Some of the passengers who got off went back.

The Magistrate: Is there any feeling out your way about Indians travelling on trams? Yes.

Have you seen Indians interfered with before this? I have seen conductors on the trams knocking them about and pushing them off.

The witness went on to say, in answer to the Magistrate, that the deceased was respectably dressed and that there was nothing to be said against his behaviour. There was no reason at all to push the Indian off.

The Magistrate: What speed was the car going at the time? The car was going pretty fast.

If I believe what this witness says—and I have no reason to disbelieve him—I do think it competent for this Court to say that I hope tram conductors will not interfere with respectable Indians travelling on trams. The law permits Indians to travel, and if the Indians behave themselves they must not be interfered with. I am sure there is not a Magistrate in any of these Courts or an official in any department of justice who would tolerate any interference with respectable Indians.

Another man who was on the platform of the car told a similar story. He said he noticed two Dutchmen whose conversation centred round the deceased. The taller man of the two remarked "the black Englishman wants to get a ride for nothing. Give him a push and put him off." Thereupon the tall man struck the deceased sharply in the side and the Indian dropped off. The car was in full motion at the time.

In answer to Mr. Ritch, the witness said that so far as he could see, the deceased conducted himself in a perfectly respectable manner. The push was entirely unprovoked and unjustified.

Mr. Ritch: Was anything said in the way of protest? No. When I saw the Dutchman I told him it was not fair to push anyone off like that, because he might break his neck or arms or something.

The sergeant in charge of the case said he picked the deceased up and had him sent to hospital. Neither the motorman nor the conductor came back after the Indian fell.

Mr. Cramer asked the sergeant whether there was any feeling in his district about natives or coloured people travelling on trams.

The witness: Yes. There is a distinctly hostile feeling.

The Magistrate: Against Indians or coloured people as distinct from Indians? The feeling extended to coloured people in general, Indians included.

The motorman was unable to throw any light on the affair. He said he knew nothing about it and was not aware that anything had happened till he returned to the Market Square. He admitted that there was a certain amount of feeling against Indians being on the trams.

The conductor said that there was a very strong feeling among the white people against the presence of non-Europeans on the cars.

The Magistrate: Do the tramway men share this feeling? Well, sir, some do and some don't.

Only those who want to deceive the public and govern it for their own private profit can wish to keep it in ignorance.—NAPOLEON.

INDIAN OPINION.

ENGLISH. GUJARATI. TAMIL. HINDI.

PUBLISHED IN

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OPINION

HOW PHOENIX SETTLEMENT CAME INTO EXISTANCE.

The birth of Phoenix Settlement is closely related to that of "Indian Opinion", which was founded in 1903 by Mr. V. Mandanjit. In the founding year, the paper was being run at a loss, and Mahatma Gandhi (then a barrister in Johannesburg) offered to meet the monthly deficit. The following year, after reading Ruskin's "Unto This Last", Mahatma Gandhi thought of the idea of Phoenix Settlement, and he moved the International Printing Press, which printed Indian Opinion, to Phoenix. In his autobiography, "My Experiments with Truth", he explains how Ruskin's book made an immense impression on him. "I determined to change my life in accordance with the ideals of the book", he says, "... the one book that brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation in my life ...". The three major principles of the book, as he saw them were:

1. That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
2. That a lawyer's work has the same value as a barber's inasmuch as all have the same right of earning a livelihood from their work.
3. That life of labour, i.e. the life of the tiller of soil and the handicraftsman, is the life worth living.

So Phoenix Settlement was founded, on the ideal of an equal living wage (£3 a month) for all involved, regardless of colour or nationality. Everyone should work on the farm and attend to the press in their spare time. Among those working on the press was a cousin of Mahatma Gandhi, Changanlal Gandhi. He and the machinist (Mr. R. Govindoo, now father-in-law of Dr. M. G. Naidoo) agreed to the low wage, but other workers, while agreeing to move to Phoenix, did not join the scheme. Mahatma Gandhi endeavoured to recruit to the settlement various relatives and friends who had come with from India. Few agreed, but outstanding amongst them was Maganlal Gandhi, who left his business and cast his lot in with those at Phoenix. In 1914, Mahatma Gandhi left for India and most of the settlers followed him during World War I. In 1916 those remaining requested assistance, and he sent his two soms, Manilal and Ramdas Gandhi, from India to help. In 1929, Manilal Gandhi returned to India to help in the Independence Struggle.

FROM

"THE INDIAN OPINION" 4.6.1903

(FIRST EDITORIAL)

The Indians , resident in British South Africa, loyal subjects though they are of the King - Emperor, labour under a number of legal disabilities which, it is contested on their behalf, are undeserved and unjust. The reason for this state of affairs is to be found in the prejudice in the minds of the colonists, arising out of misunderstanding the actual status of the Indian as a British subject.....

In the Transvaal , Her Majesty's Government inherited the legislation of the late Republics,which is naturally very drastic. It is now being reconsidered, and the whole of it will be recast in the not very distant future.

However, as the yoke falls most heavily upon Indians in the newly annexed territories, it is worthwhile recapitulating the Republican legislation.

In the Transvaal the Indian cannot trade,or reside, or own landed property, except in locations set aside for him. He must pay a registration fee of £ 3. He may not be out after 9 p.m. and may not walk on the footpaths. These are the principal disabilities.The licensing measure is being enforced with a severity unknown before.

In the Orange River Colony the Indian has no footing except as purely and simple a labourer.

There is this marked distinction worthy of note between the Cape - Natal legislation and the Republican legislation, namely, that while the former, in theory, is applicable to all nationalities, the latter is especially directed against the Asiatics as such.

Strong popular prejudice has practically kept the Indian from the other parts of British South Africa.

Socially and popularly, the

just. The reason for this state of affairs is to be found in the prejudice in the minds of the colonists, arising out of misunderstanding the actual status of the Indian as a British subject.....

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Strong popular prejudice has practically kept the Indian from the other parts of British South Africa.

Socially and popularly, the Indian is a pariah - in some places, less so than in others. He is nicknamed "Coolie". In fact popular prejudice has portrayed him as a "filthy being", without any virtue. The prejudice, it must be confessed, has become much toned down in Natal. The struggle seems to be fiercest in the Transvaal.

.....a tribute to

GANDHI



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MAY HIS SPIRIT GUIDE US TO THE RIGHT PATH.

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SETTING THE MOOD: Mahatma Gandhi as depicted in the movie The Making of a Mahatma, which premieres in Durban on April 14.



FIERY SEQUENCE: A dramatic scene in the movie, Making of a Mahatma, which is based on the book by Fathima Meer.

Mahatma's wife no passive pushover in the home

Meet Mrs Gandhi



THE WAY THEY WERE: Mahatma and Kasturbai Gandhi photographed during their time in South Africa.

Dispel the stereotype of Mahatma Gandhi's submissive, supportive wife and meet the real Mrs Gandhi. ***FAROOK KHAN*** *reports.*

THE world will get a better idea, probably for the first time, of the role played by Mrs Kasturbai Gandhi in the life of her statesman husband when The Making of a Mahatma goes on general release.

The R5 million film, made jointly between India and South Africa has been hailed by President Nelson Mandela as "an education for us all".

But it is Mrs Gandhi, played by Indian actress Pallavi Joshi, who puts this powerful woman's role across for the record.

The movie is based on Fathima Meer's book Apprentice of a Mahatma

to South Africa she resisted but did not stand in his way," Professor Meer said.

Professor Meer pointed out that Mrs Gandhi was no push-over and often stood her ground when she disagreed with her husband.

"Like he considered Natal schools in those days inappropriate for his children, she in turn rebuked him.

Injustice

"She also confronts him about his asceticism and points out that he has family responsibilities which he cannot simply abandon to God.

"Man too must do something, she argued," Professor Meer said.

The movie further reveals that when it came to fortitude, to bearing pain and to resisting injustice, she was just as strong.

When it came to relating to children,



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Significant

The movie deals with the couple's 21 years in South Africa, which many historians say were the most significant in the life of the man who blazed a political trail from Pretoria to London to New Delhi and back.

"They were an ordinary middle class couple in their twenties, with two children. At that stage in their lives he was very ambitious while she was a homemaker. When he accepted an invitation to South Africa she resisted but did not stand in his way," Professor Meer said.

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When it came to relating to children, she was way ahead.

This is a new Gandhi, one the world does not know. This is not the ready made ascetic, descendant from heaven, walking f on his spindly stick. This is a virile, passionate young Gandhi with a wife to match.

The April 14 premiere will be at Durban's Nu Metro Theatre. The sit-down supper, followed by the two and a half hour movie, has already attracted a lot of interest.Tickets are R150 each and the proceeds go to building a Garden of Remembrance in Gale Street, Durban.

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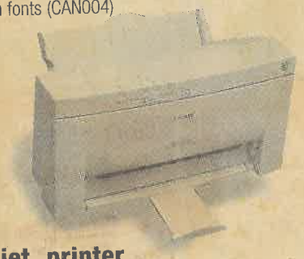
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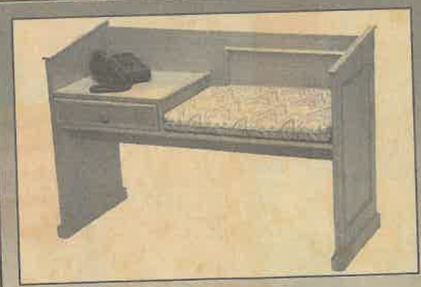
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FREEDOM FIGHTERS: Coretta Scott King and her husband, the Rev Martin Luther King, applied the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence in the fight for civil rights Picture: AP

How 'Gandhiji' inspired Kings in the US civil rights struggle

Tribute paid to good friend of the Indian community as Coretta Scott King is laid to rest

SHELIA M POOLE: Atlanta

CORETTA Scott King referred to Mahatma Gandhi as "Gandhiji", following the traditional Indian practice of showing reverence.

It showed that she "admired Gandhi and his strength", says Subash Razdan, acting chairman of the Atlanta-based Gandhi Foundation of the United States, which promotes the legacies of Gandhi and King.

King and her husband, the Rev Martin Luther King, were followers of the Indian leader's philosophy of non-violent resistance.

Gandhi applied non-violence to India's struggle for independence from the British, and the Kings embraced the concept in their fight for civil rights.

Her death means the loss of a good friend to the Indian community, says Razdan, an Indian-born civil and environmental engineer who emigrated to the US in 1976.

'Martin returned from India more devoted than ever to Gandhian ideals of non-violence and simplicity of living. He constantly pondered how to apply them in America. His great problem was the enormous difference between the mechanised complexity of our way of living and theirs'

Ironically, King died on January 30, the 58th anniversary of Gandhi's assassination.

Razdan says he first met Coretta Scott King in the late 1980s to discuss items to be displayed in a Gandhi Room at the King Centre.

"She was very supportive of our causes, and there was a desire to carry on the message of Gandhi."

The foundation's website contains a memorial to King, describing her as the "matriarch" of the Gandhi Foundation.

Giriraj Rao, the foundation's executive director, says King was instrumental in helping the group erect a statue of Gandhi at the Martin Luther King National Historic Site.

"It was Mrs King, in my opinion, who truly created awareness of Gandhi in the state of Georgia," he says.

At the time, the Indian community was smaller than it is today. Events such as Gandhi's birthday were observed, but in an isolated manner. King helped in opening it up to the entire community.

Clayborne Carson, director of the Martin Luther King Papers Project at Stanford University, says Coretta Scott King was a pacifist and was involved in the peace movement long before she met her husband.

He says she brought much of her political commitment into the couple's relationship.

"I think that background helped confirm Martin Luther King's own commitment to Gandhian principles."



In the early days of the Montgomery bus boycott, the King

civil-rights struggle.

She wrote that she wanted to discuss the role of women in the independence movement.

"We knew that Gandhi had involved the women of India in the struggle for independence and that many of them had gone to jail like the men. Gandhi also worked to liberate women from the bondage of Hindu and Muslim traditions."

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them in America.

"His great problem was the enormous difference between the mechanised complexity of our way of living and theirs.

"He even considered the idea of changing his style of dress to a simpler one, but he decided that since his main purpose was to attract people to the Cause, unusual dress might tend to alienate followers."

Ronen Sen, India's US Am-



CELEBRITY MOURNER: Talkshow



FREEDOM FIGHTERS: Coretta Scott King and her husband, the Rev Martin Luther King, applied the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence in the fight for civil rights Picture: AP

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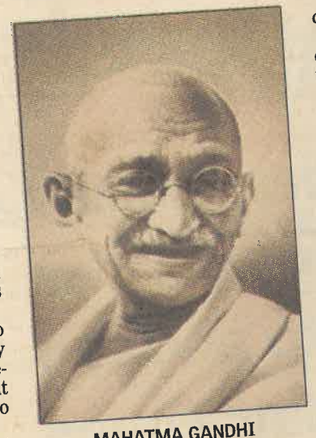
"I think that background helped confirm Martin Luther King's own commitment to Gandhian principles."

In the early days of the Montgomery bus boycott, the King family received numerous threats.

Martin Luther King wanted to get a gun permit for the family bodyguard, even though he believed in non-violence. But Coretta persuaded him not to seek the permit.

Later the couple made what Martin Luther King often referred to as a pilgrimage to India.

In the book *My Life with Martin Luther King*, Coretta wrote about their March 1959 trip to India at the invitation of the Gandhi Peace Foundation.



MAHATMA GANDHI

She recalled a lengthy conversation between her husband and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, during which they discussed Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence and its use in the civil-rights struggle.

She wrote that she wanted to discuss the role of women in the independence movement.

"We knew that Gandhi had involved the women of India in the struggle for independence and that many of them had gone to jail like the men. Gandhi also worked to liberate women from the bondage of Hindu and Muslim traditions."

Coretta was impressed by the dedication of some of Gandhi's followers. She mentioned a religious service she attended.

"Before several hundred people sitting cross-legged on the ground in off-white robes, prayers were read from Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Jewish and Buddhist holy books."

She said that the visit had had a profound impact on her husband.

"Martin returned from India more devoted than ever to Gandhian ideals of non-violence and simplicity of living. He constantly pondered how to apply them in America.

"His great problem was the enormous difference between the mechanised complexity of our way of living and theirs.

"He even considered the idea of changing his style of dress to a simpler one, but he decided that since his main purpose was to attract people to the Cause, unusual dress might tend to alienate followers."

Ronen Sen, India's US Ambassador, was a young man preparing to enter university when the Kings visited India. He remembers being amazed by the huge crowds that gathered wherever they went and by King's rousing speeches.

"It's not just Indian Americans mourning, but India," says Sen. "The spiritual bond between Gandhi and Martin Luther King — two of the greatest men in history — contributed tremendously to the goodwill between people in India and the US." — *New York Times News Service*



CELEBRITY MOURNER: Talkshow queen Oprah Winfrey was among hundreds of high-profile Americans who this week paid tribute to Coretta Scott King. President George Bush was joined by three former US presidents at the funeral service

between the mechanised complexity of our way of living and theirs'

Towards a new South African history syllabus

CLAIRE DYER, subject head of history at Northwood and chairman of the Natal History Teachers' Society, discusses the issue of a new history syllabus, which will be the focus of a workshop in Durban on Saturday.

THE teaching of history in South African schools is coming increasingly under the spotlight in the face of recent political developments.

Many teachers face the prospect of a new history syllabus in a future South African education system with much trepidation, believing that what they have become used to will be thrown out and that a new history will be foisted on them.

This apprehension lies, in part, in the implicit knowledge that the core history syllabus as it stands and which is adopted is inadequate. It fosters a Euro-centric approach highlighting Western and specifically European historical developments — and at a local South African level it focuses on white political history.

At the same time school history has largely ignored the vigorous debate in South African historiography since the 1970s and the recent and not-so-recent trends in approach.

The main thrusts of academic historical research have moved way from traditional political or military history or a "great man" approach to the past. In recent years, as a reflection in part of the demands for a more relevant history, the trend has been towards social and economic history, and women's history.

There is therefore the need to redress the shortcomings of past traditional history through the development of a history which incorporates the past experiences of ordinary men and women.

What is crucial to the critics of the present syllabus is its failure to incorporate the history of African people and their experience from their own perspective.

The African historical experience is largely down-played and the people assume a secondary if not peripheral role in the history of the development of South Africa.

Examples abound of a white interpretation of the past: Isandhlawana is portrayed as a British defeat and not a Zulu victory. The extensive role of Africans in the South African War is ignored.

In truth, South African school history has been embedded in white triumphalism and in particular the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism as the dominant force. Not much cognisance is given to the central role of Africans in South Africa's socio-economic and political development.

At the same time it must be pointed out that to redress the wrongs of the past does not mean simply replacing one form of nationalist triumphalism with another: a syllabus which is entirely Afro-centric or dominated by a Third World perspective will not serve the interests of history either.

History is fundamental to an understanding of the present. It is the one discipline that encompasses all human experiences. It thus forms an essential part of a school curriculum and an edu cation stystem that will foster tolerance and understanding in a new South Africa.

It is not only the future syllabus that must be debated but also an appropriate methodology that will encourage



MAHATMA GANDHI: a figure from our past sometimes overwhelmed, in school syllabuses, by white triumphalism.

empathy, tolerance and acceptance of the experiences and viewpoints of all South Africans.

It is essential that all examination systems should move away from the sterile, factual approach to the teaching of history and should encourage a critical, analytical approach which is open-ended and which stimulates debate.

This should replace rote learning and the regurgitation of "facts" in tests and examinations.

The Natal Education Department has gone some way towards the skills-based approach — which requires analysis and interpretation, use of a wide range of sources and an emphathic approach which fosters understanding and not judgment.

It is hoped that this workshop will stimulate further debate among educationists and the broader public and that we will reach consensus on the need for an inclusive history for a new South African nation.

Nat Nakasa, a reporter for the Rand Daily Mail, who won the Nieman Fellowship in 1964 and was issued with an exit permit by the Government prohibiting his return from the United States, wrote on his departure in 1964: "My people are South Africans, mine is the history of the Great Trek. Gandhi's passive resistance in Johannesburg, the wars of Cetshwayo and the dawn raids which gave us the treason trails in 1956. All these are South African things, they are part of me."

It is to this level of understanding and tolerance that we should all aspire in our search for understanding of all our past.

■ The workshop is organised by the NHTA in conjunction with Teachers' Association of South Africa, History Working Group, National Education Co-ordinating Committee, the Society of Natal Teachers and Natal African Teachers' Union. It will be held on Saturday, February 15, from 8.30am at SH1, Natal University, Durban. It is free and open to all.

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CREATIVE ACTIVITIES
1 Main Act
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MORNING RING
DAY
MONDAY



History teaching comes under the spotlight

Jill Gowans

THE teaching of history in the new South Africa comes under the spotlight at a workshop in Durban on February 15.

"The current history syllabus has become a symbol of all that is wrong with apartheid education," said Mrs Claire Dyer, chairman of the Natal History Teachers' Association.

"It is characterised by a Eurocentric approach, reinforcing racist attitudes and, to a large extent, avoiding a critical approach.

"Government education departments are currently developing a new history syllabus. This has hardly involved teachers at all. While some opposing views have been canvassed, these have been ignored, and the proposed 'new' syllabus departs little from the present one."

Next week's workshop is part of a national attempt to give teachers in Natal and KwaZulu the chance to voice their opinions.

It is being organised by the association, in conjunction with the National Emergency Crisis Committee, the Society of Natal Teachers, Teachers' Association of South Africa, History Working Committee and the Natal African Teachers' Union.

The keynote address will be given by Rob Steborger of UCT's Faculty of Education. Other speakers include Dr J. Mathews, of the Natal Education Department, and Dr John Pampallis, of the Education Projects Unit at Natal University.

Dr Yonah Seleti, of UND's Department of History, will be the chairman.

It will be held in Shepstone 1 lecture theatre, Natal University, Durban, from 8.30am and is open to all history teachers and other interested people. There is no charge.

□ Further information from Mrs Claire Dyer, 234439.

Gandhi revisited

SURENDRA BHANA reviews Burnett Britton's book *Gandhi Arrives in South Africa* on the first four years of Mohandas K Gandhi's stay in South Africa from 1893 to January 1897



MOHANDAS K GANDHI

THE new insights about Gandhi's South African years centre primarily around the law cases Gandhi handled from the time he was admitted to the Natal Bar in September 1896 to the middle of 1897 when he left for India.

Britton skillfully combines Gandhi's legal work with his public endeavours that included drafting petitions, writing letters to the press and promoting the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) he helped found in 1894. We see Gandhi mature as a lawyer and as a public servant through page after page of details, some old and some new but always fascinating.

The book ends with Gandhi's return on the ship, Courland, on December 18 1896 in the midst of howling anti-Indian agitation and in his near-lynching on January 13 1897.

Gandhi was meticulous in preparing for the cases he handled. This helped him when cross-examining witnesses, but he was not a person given to dramatic courtroom flourishes. Indeed, his summations were delivered in dull monotones.

Gandhi grew in confidence with each case, and most of his colleagues in the legal profession came to show him respect.

There were signs of political activity among Indians in Natal before Gandhi came. Various individuals played leadership roles. Leading merchants who did not desire to engage in organising political matters themselves had the means to support initiatives by others.

Cheeky

Britton argues that those who preceded Gandhi failed to sustain their positions as leaders. Mr Frank Ward, an Anglo-Indian, was known for being shady in his dealings with others; Mr Hajee Mohamed Hajee Dada was given to making arguments that were "airy, labyrinthine and footless"; Mr MA Dorasamy Pillay had a high opinion of himself but was regarded by Protector Louis H Mason as a "cheeky opportunist".

All of them had a hand in one thing or another but left no visible impression of their roles. They inspired no confidence. On the other hand, 30-year-old silk merchant Mr Adamji Miankhan was the only one in Britton's estimation who could match Gandhi's understanding of politics. He read widely and became the NIC secretary in 1896 when Gandhi went to India.

While it is true that in Gandhi, the leading merchants had found the kind of person they sought to protect their rights within an imperial framework, it was he who gave meaning and direction to the endeavours by his extraordinary energy and single-mindedness of purpose.

Britton's detailed account of Gandhi's activities brings home this point emphatically. Gandhi had the ability to draw people to him because of his guru-like "calm intensity". In promoting the interests of the NIC, he was as persistent among the merchants as he was among the ex-indentured and indentured Indians. There are several beginning to the end. A committee of white colonists came into being, determined to keep out the Indian passengers, especially Gandhi.

The committee fanned anti-Indian agitation in a shameful way. It directly and indirectly encouraged Natal's Zulus to feel the same way.

Said one agitator: "We all know – Kaffirs and Europeans – that the Indian is not wanted in South Africa. The coolie is too contemptible to be roughly handled or killed by Europeans. The natives are proper persons to deal with them."

Attorney-General Harry Escombe played a duplicitous game. He did not support the committee's illegal behaviour to incite a riot, but used the occasion to promote immigration restriction of free Indians. By allowing the anti-Indian agitation to fester from December 18 1896 to January 13 1897, he and the Robinson ministry, of which he was a part, created a spirit of mob rule

A mob attacked Gandhi late on the afternoon of January 13 1897 as he and Laughton got off a dinghy that dropped them at Victoria Embankment in Stanger Street. Laughton got separated, and it was only the brave intervention of Mrs Jane Alexander that saved him from serious injury and even death.

This study's focus on the first four years of Gandhi's stay in South Africa is significant for the understanding of the later South African Gandhi. The organisation he helped to create and the direction he gave suggest that we should indeed look more closely at Gandhi's leadership role in the early years.

Britton would have us go beyond the view presented by Maureen Swan in *Gandhi: The South African Experience* (1985) who dismisses Gandhi's leadership because she saw him simply as a hired hand of the merchant elite. Gandhi learned from his mistakes; and Britton points to his extraordinary capacity for growth. It is the first work that deals with Gandhi's cases in such detail.

Glorify

This work has been in the making for almost 30 years. Britton practised law in California for 25 years, and visited India, South Africa, and England to conduct his research. His use of archival sources is impressive.

The book is written in a beautiful style, and does not seek "to glorify" Gandhi or "to challenge" his teachings, as the promotional blurb says.

Then what is Britton's overall assessment of Gandhi? While the author does not "glorify" Gandhi, he writes about him with an unmistakable sense of the destiny that the man was going to fulfil

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Hostile

In 1895, Gandhi organised separate feasts among the "Arab" traders and "Madrassis" to promote the Congress at Parsee Rustomjee's place in Field Street. He was also behind the decision to move Congress Hall from the corner of Grey and Commercial Streets to a more spacious location at 117 Grey Street in April 1895.

A party of NIC members that included Gandhi went on a tour of Northern Natal to increase membership and to collect donations in 1895. The white employers of indentured Indians were suspicious, if not hostile, to the tour.

One of them, Mr A Keith Fraser, reported to Captain Lucas: "He (Gandhi) will cause some trouble I have no doubt, but he is not the man to lead a big movement. He has a weak face. He will certainly tamper with any funds he has a handling of. Such, at any rate, is my impression of the man – judging by his face."

While in India, Gandhi wrote, published, and distributed *The Indian Franchise: An Appeal to Every Briton* (1896). This pamphlet was to ignite the fuse that was to explode in December 1896 when the Courland and the Naderi came with passengers, including Gandhi, from Bombay where a few cases of the bubonic plague had been reported.

The quarantine placed on these ships was politically inspired from the occasion to promote immigration restriction of free Indians. By allowing the anti-Indian agitation to fester from December 18 1896 to January 13 1897, he and the Robinson ministry, of which he was a part, created a spirit of mob rule

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Glorify

This work has been in the making for almost 30 years. Britton practised law in California for 25 years, and visited India, South Africa, and England to conduct his research. His use of archival sources is impressive.

The book is written in a beautiful style, and does not seek "to glorify" Gandhi or "to challenge" his teachings, as the promotional blurb says.

Then what is Britton's overall assessment of Gandhi? While the author does not "glorify" Gandhi, he writes about him with an unmistakable sense of the destiny that the man was going to fulfil

The chronological organisation of the book makes for much shifting about as the author attempts to weave Gandhi's work as a lawyer and a public servant so we do not get a good idea of how the two blended. A suitable introduction and conclusion would have done much to explain the author's goals and his understanding of Gandhi.

In a book that goes into such detail, one would have expected some discussion on the relationship between the Indians – especially Gandhi – and the Africans. The African appears in the background as "the uncivilised other" in the franchise debate, for example, but remains hidden in the discourse

Politics in colonial Natal was beginning to institutionalise white supremacy. White leaders were determined to exclude the Indians. Some were prepared to foment racial antagonism between the two subordinate groups to achieve this.

Were they creating the enmities or were they aiding and abetting the differences that were beginning to show? There was tension between the Indians and Africans, and the book refers to a few such instances. But it missed the opportunity to locate it in the white-Indian struggle in which the African was a player, and not simply a passive onlooker.

Professor Surendra Bhana was head of the History Department at the University of Durban-Westville until the end of 1987. He is a History Professor at the University of Kansas

24 DEC 1998
NATAL WITNESS

NATAL UNIVERSITY TO HONOUR GANDHI'S GRANDSON

DURBAN — A grandson of Mohandas Gandhi is to receive an honorary doctorate from the University of Natal, the university announced yesterday.

Gopalkrishna Gandhi, a former Indian high commissioner to SA, is one of seven people to be awarded honorary degrees at the university's graduation ceremony in April, a statement said.

The same honour will be bestowed on Constitutional Court Judge Tholakele Madala, the university's first black graduate to become a judge. Other recipients are writer and educationalist Professor Njabulo Ndebele, shipping magnate Walter Grindrod, architectural scientist Ronald Lewcock, first president of the Foundation for Research and Development Reinhard Arndt and American analytical chemist Graham Cooks.

— Sapa.

7 April 1998
STAR

Sonia Gandhi voted in as Congress leader

New Delhi – The Italian-born widow of former Indian premier Rajiv Gandhi was elected leader of the Congress party here yesterday, but she warned it should not bank on the aura surrounding her name to return to power.

Sonia Gandhi, whose election revived the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty's link with the party dating back half a century, said the once-dominant party faced a major battle to restore its tainted image.

"I am no saviour as some of you may believe," the 51-year-old widow told delegates of the All India Congress Committee.

She said the party's "rejuvenation" would be "long drawn" but could be achieved "if we can act together and hold together". Gandhi also said the party would have to focus on the rank and file and clean up its corruption-tainted image.

Yesterday's vote by a show of hands was almost unanimous. A political resolution was then accepted, giving Gandhi full authority to restructure the party.

The Congress, founded in 1885, has been in steady decline after dominating politics under the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty for most of the half-century since independence.

It lost power in 1996 in its worst-ever election results following a series of high-profile corruption scandals. Its total of 141 of 545 seats in recently concluded elections failed to improve on that showing. – AFP

PLANNED PROGRAMME FOR _____

DAY	MORNING RING	CREATIVE ACTIVITIES	LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT						STORY
			Nature or Interest Table						
MONDAY	entertain	1 Main Act 2 Supp. Act						Theme of the Week	

Towards a new South African history syllabus

CLAIRE DYER, subject head of history at Northwood and chairman of the Natal History Teachers' Society, discusses the issue of a new history syllabus, which will be the focus of a workshop in Durban on Saturday.

THE teaching of history in South African schools is coming increasingly under the spotlight in the face of recent political developments.

Many teachers face the prospect of a new history syllabus in a future South African education system with much trepidation, believing that what they have become used to will be thrown out and that a new history will be foisted on them.

This apprehension lies, in part, in the implicit knowledge that the core history syllabus as it stands and which is adopted is inadequate. It fosters a Euro-centric approach highlighting Western and specifically European historical developments — and at a local South African level it focuses on white political history.

At the same time school history has largely ignored the vigorous debate in South African historiography since the 1970s and the recent and not-so-recent trends in approach.

The main thrusts of academic historical research have moved way from traditional political or military history or a "great man" approach to the past. In recent years, as a reflection in part of the demands for a more relevant history, the trend has been towards social and economic history, and women's history.

There is therefore the need to redress the shortcomings of past traditional history through the development of a history which incorporates the past experiences of ordinary men and women.

What is crucial to the critics of the present syllabus is its failure to incorporate the history of African people and their experience from their own perspective.

The African historical experience is largely down-played and the people assume a secondary if not peripheral role in the history of the development of South Africa.

Examples abound of a white interpretation of the past: Isandhlawana is portrayed as a British defeat and not a Zulu victory. The extensive role of Africans in the South African War is ignored.

In truth, South African school history has been embedded in white triumphalism and in particular the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism as the dominant force. Not much cognisance is given to the central role of Africans in South Africa's socio-economic and political development.

At the same time it must be pointed out that to redress the wrongs of the past does not mean simply replacing one form of nationalist triumphalism with another: a syllabus which is entirely Afro-centric or dominated by a Third World perspective will not serve the interests of history either.

History is fundamental to an understanding of the present. It is the one discipline that encompasses all human experiences. It thus forms an essential part of a school curriculum and an education stystem that will foster tolerance and understanding in a new South Africa.

It is not only the future syllabus that must be debated but also an appropri-

MAHATMA GANDHI: a figure from our past sometimes overwhelmed, in school syllabuses, by white triumphalism.

empathy, tolerance and acceptance of the experiences and viewpoints of all South Africans.

It is essential that all examination systems should move away from the sterile, factual approach to the teaching of history and should encourage a critical, analytical approach which is open-ended and which stimulates debate.

This should replace rote learning and the regurgitation of "facts" in tests and examinations.

The Natal Education Department has gone some way towards the skills-based approach — which requires analysis and interpretation, use of a wide range of sources and an emphathic approach which fosters understanding and not judgment.

It is hoped that this workshop will stimulate further debate among educationists and the broader public and that we will reach consensus on the need for an inclusive history for a new South African nation.

Nat Nakasa, a reporter for the Rand Daily Mail, who won the Nieman Fellowship in 1964 and was issued with an exit permit by the Government prohibiting his return from the United States, wrote on his departure in 1964: "My people are South Africans, mine is the history of the Great Trek. Gandhi's passive resistance in Johannesburg, the wars of Cetshwayo and the dawn raids which gave us the treason trials in 1956. All these are South African things, they are part of me."

It is to this level of understanding and tolerance that we should all aspire in our search for understanding of all our past.

■ The workshop is organised by the NHTA in conjunction with Teachers' Association of South Africa, History Working Group, National Education Co-ordinating Committee, the Society of Natal Teachers and Natal African Teachers' Union. It will be held on Saturday, February 15, from 8.30am at SH1, Natal University, Durban. It is

HOW PHOENIX SETTLEMENT CAME INTO EXISTANCE

The birth of Phoenix Settlement is closely related to that of "Indian Opinion", which was founded in 1903 by Mr. V. Mandanjit. In the founding year, the paper was being run at a loss, and Mahatma Gandhi (then a barrister in Johannesburg) offered to meet the monthly deficit. The following year, after reading Ruskin's "Unto This Last", Mahatma Gandhi thought of the idea of Phoenix Settlement, and he moved the International Printing Press, which printed Indian Opinion, to Phoenix. In his autobiography, "My Experiments with Truth", he explains how Ruskin's book made an immense impression on him. "I determined to change my life in accordance with the ideals of the book", he says, "... the one book that brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation in my life...". The three major principles of the book, as he saw them were:

1. That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
2. That a lawyer's work has the same value as a barber's inasmuch as all have the same right of earning a livelihood from their work.
3. That life of labour, i.e. the life of the tiller of soil and the handicraftsman, is the life worth living.

So Phoenix Settlement was founded, on the ideal of an equal living wage (£3 a month) for all involved, regardless of colour or nationality. Everyone should work on the farm and attend to the press in their spare time. Among those working on the press was a cousin of Mahatma Gandhi, Changanlal Gandhi. He and the machinist (Mr. R. Govindoo, now father-in-law of Dr. M. G. Naidoo) agreed to the low wage, but other workers, while agreeing to move to Phoenix, did not join the scheme. Mahatma Gandhi endeavoured to recruit to the settlement various relatives and friends who had come with from India. Few agreed, but outstanding amongst them was Maganlal Gandhi, who left his business and cast his lot in with those at Phoenix. In 1914, Mahatma Gandhi left for India and most of the settlers followed him during World War I. In 1916 those remaining requested assistance, and he sent his two sons, Manilal and Ramdas Gandhi, from India to help. In 1929, Manilal Gandhi returned to India to help in the Independence Struggle, but he returned in 1931, after a year's imprisonment, and was appointed a trustee of Phoenix Settlement.

MICROFILE
(PTY) LTD. JOHANNESBURG
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

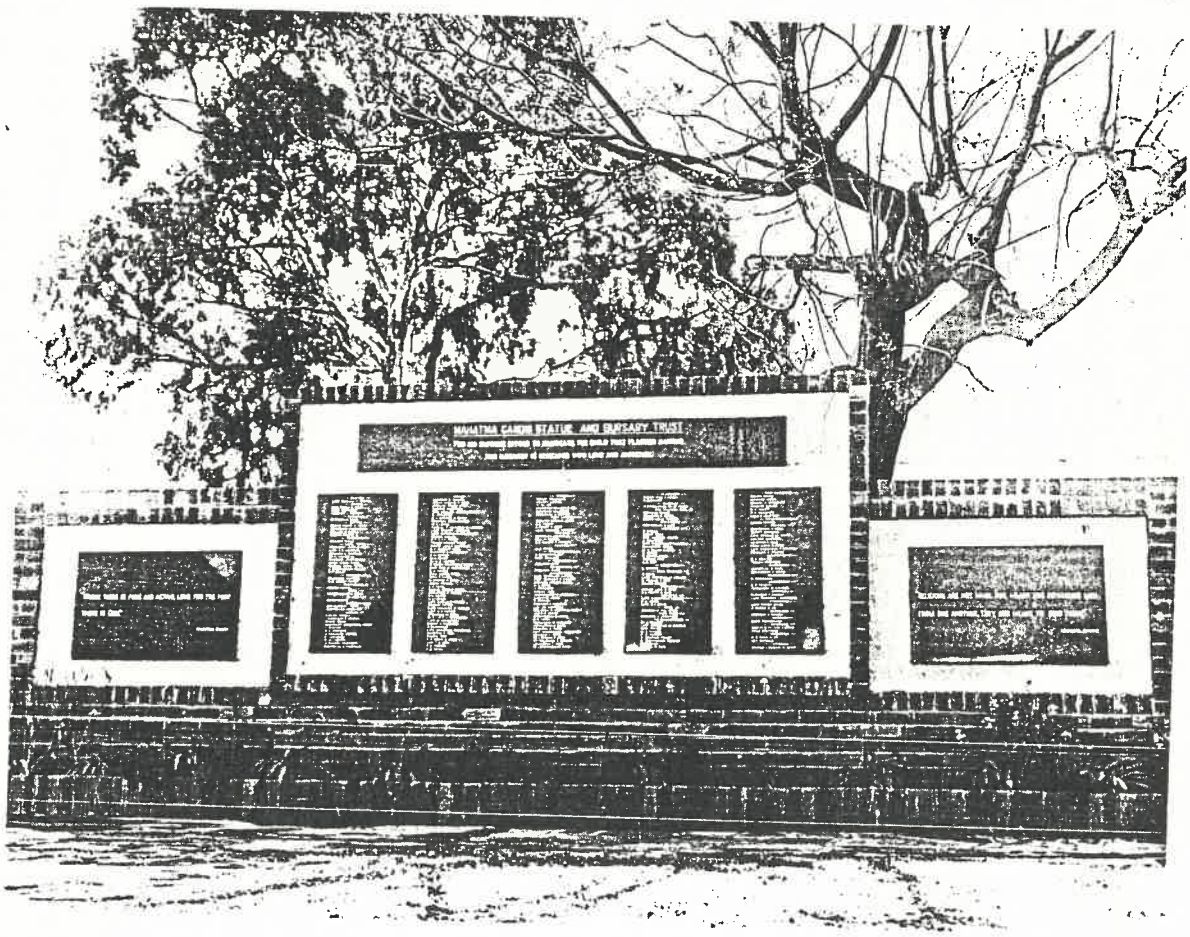
ATUND

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Mahatma Gandhi Statue and Bursary Trust (Ladysmith, Natal)

For his supreme effort to eradicate the evils that plagued mankind this monument is dedicated with love and affection

BIOGRAPHIES OF FOUNDATION SPONSORS



ge gathering of Hindoos, blished in Durban. AFRICAN CHRONICLE
3 APRIL 1909
P6.

A Lesson for the Indians

Gandhi is gone ! for a quarter of a year
And Chithambram Pillay—Oh God—for life
Is it not time to shed the bitterest tear
And run in their shoes for that strife.

Indians want their honour and equal right
As they know now "Equality"
If not they will pray and agitate like the Bright
Who prayed for humanity.

So wake up ! father, mother, brother and sister
Encourage the firm leaders there
Don't forget—for goodness sake—to be resisters
Even when leaders would be rare.

That shall be—Indians's great motto—bear in mind
As you have had it all the day
Think of God, the Heavenly Father, who is not blind
And they would yield without a say.

Remember that Hampden and his marvellous act
What if it cost you your dear life
Be vigorous, energetic and full of tact
Shake the fear of facing the strife.

They bind, they gag, they believe us to be like child
"Breakers of the law" is their cry
As if to say Indians are savages and wild
To be poophood at every try.

In conclusion my Indian brethren's request
May "The King of kings" save the king
And let us pray to Him above, for that bequest
Of our rights and then dance and sing.

M. B. M.

Not for student use

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South Africa

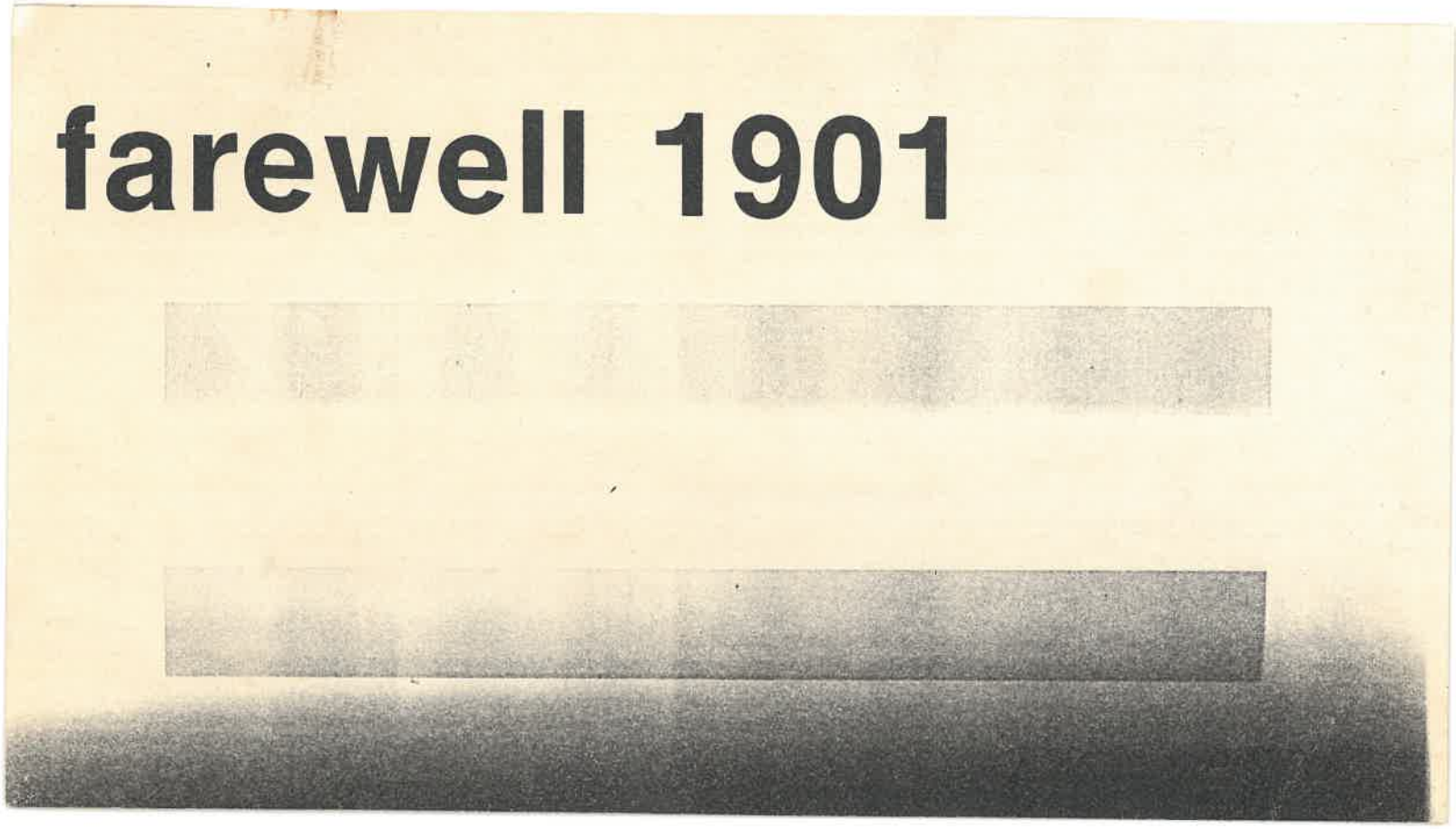
GANDHI

DISPLAY

on (Originals)

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UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN-WESTVILLE
Accession No. DoC 1381/37
DBN 1234
Class No. B/GANDHI

farewell 1901



NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

THE RESULTS OF SATYAGRAHA


PHOENIX
SETTLEMENT
1906 ZULU WAR
SATYAGRAHA

THE TWO PROTAGONISTS DEPARTURE

THE RESULTS OF SATYAGRAHA PROF GOKHALE

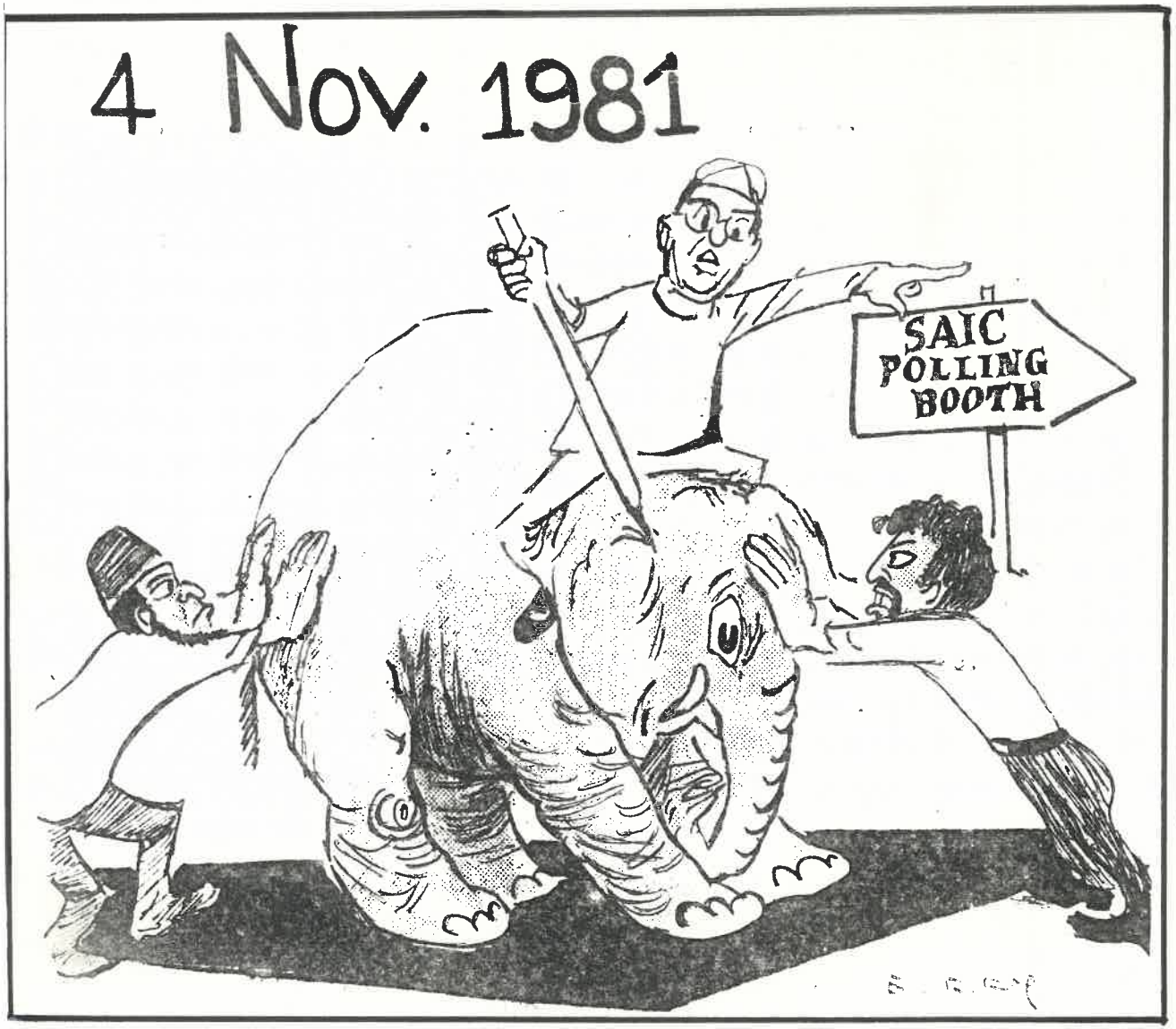
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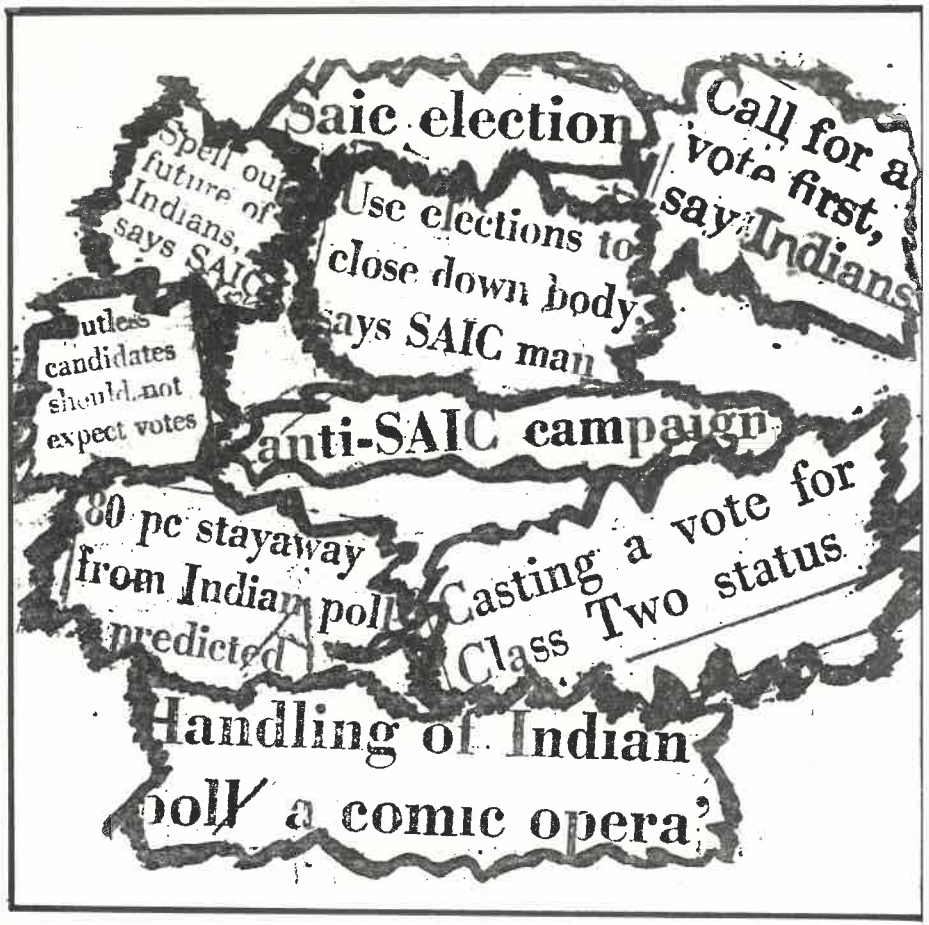
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INDIAN VOLUNTEER AMBULANCE CORPS
farewell 1901
INDIAN OPINION
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT
1906 ZULU WAR ✓
SATYAGRAHA
TRANSVAAL
PROTESTS
TOLSTOY FARM
PASSIVE RESISTANCE
SATYAGRAHIS
PASSIVE RESISTERS
FRIENDS OF GANDHI
DEPORTATIONS
THE RESULTS OF SATYAGRAHA
PROF GOKHALE
PASSIVE RESISTANCE 1913/14
THE TWO PROTAGONISTS
DEPARTURE

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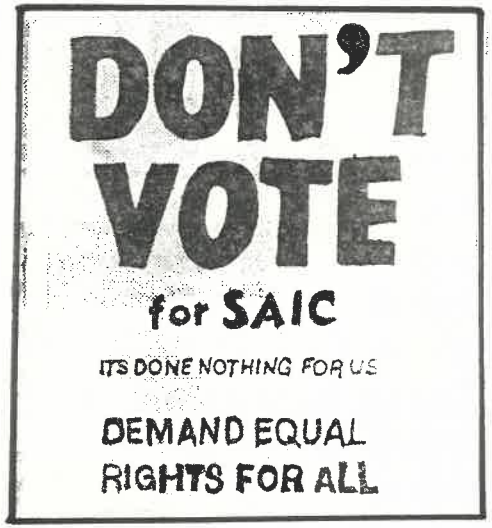
4 Nov. 1981





TO VOTE, OR NOT TO VOTE..... 10,5% VOTED.....

Although this low-keyed election produced a disappointing result, it introduced Indians to the democratic process. Objections to the S.A.I.C were on the grounds that it would be a toothless and ineffective "apartheid" institution.



PASSIVE RESISTERS

FRIENDS OF GANDHI

DEPORTATIONS

THE RESULTS OF SATYAGRAHA

PROF GOKHALE

1906 ZULU WAR

SATYAGRAHA

TRANSVAAL

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NATAL INDIAN

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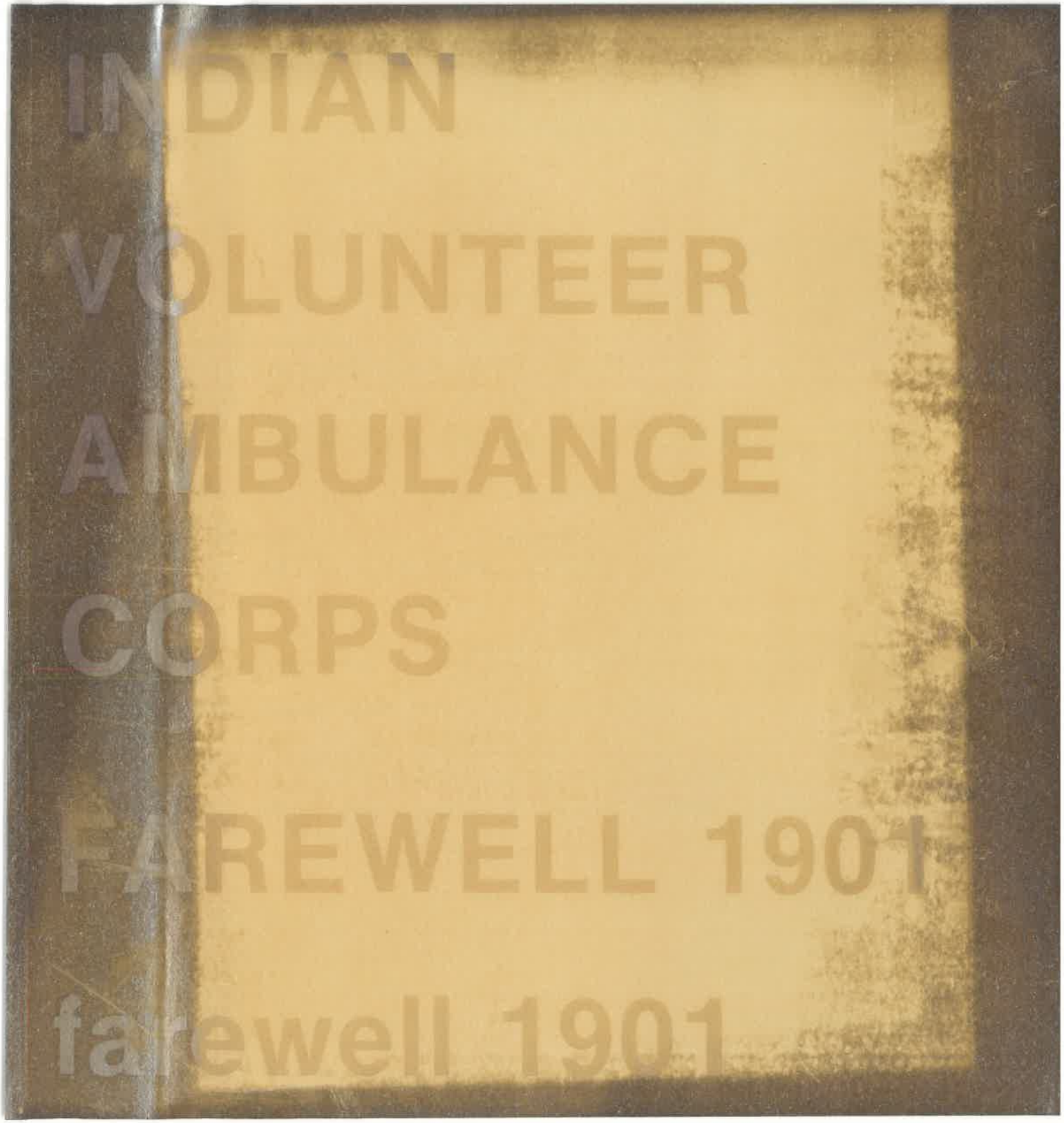
NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

DURBAN DEC 1896

PASSIVE RESISTANCE 1913/14

THE TWO PROTAGONISTS

DEPARTURE


INDIAN
VOLUNTEER
AMBULANCE
CORPS
FAREWELL 1901
farewell 1901

PASSIVE RESISTERS FRIENDS OF GANDHI DEPORTATIONS THE RESULTS OF SATYAGRAHA PROF GOKHALE

CLASS : _____



D O C U M E N T A T I O N C E N T R E

UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN-WESTVILLE

TITLE : Gandhi film
1996

AUTHOR(S) : _____

JOURNAL : _____

VOL/YEAR : 1760/1388-1395

Date 21 APR 1996
SUNDAY TRIBUNE
(1)
1760/1388

Hindu anger at Gandhi film

Introducing the Koran to train episode said to give Islamic bias

A religious row has broken out over the long-awaited film on the life of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa, reports YASANTHA NAIDOO.

A new movie on Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa is set to ignite the wrath of Hindus by the introduction of the Koran in the most poignant scene.

Historians and Hindu leaders this week accused the scriptwriters of "distorting" history and the facts to suit a personal agenda by also giving the movie a pro-Islamic slant by giving "overdue prominence" to the role played by Muslim merchants in the Indian people's freedom struggle.

The historical documentary, *The Making of the Mahatma*, which opens on the local circuit on Friday, deals with the formative years of Gandhi's leadership and his concept of non-violent protest action.

The religious dispute concerns the turning point in the film – and in Gandhi's life – when he was thrown off a train at Pietermaritzburg station for occupying a first-class coach reserved for "Europeans Only".

In his "darkest hour" he is shown in the movie turning to a copy of the Koran for solace, having been handed the book by a Muslim as the train left Durban station.

No documentation

Historians claim there is no documentation of Gandhi's having turned to the Koran for healing words at the Pietermaritzburg station.

Scriptwriter Professor Fatima Meer, on whose book *Apprenticeship of a Mahatma* the film is based, explained the appearance of the Koran as "poetic licence' used by director and co-scriptwriter, Shyam Benegal.

Ram Maharaj, chairman of the National Hindu Development Trust, said the scene was "blatantly biased towards Islam".

"I challenge Professor Fatima Meer to prove as historical that Gandhi turned to the Koran when he was kicked off the train. If she was unsure about this fact, she should not have focused on any particular holy scripture.

"It is widely known as a fact that Gandhi embraced and respected all religions. However, Gandhi referred to the Hindu scriptures, the Bhagavad Gita, as his mother. If he turned to any scripture, and there is no documentary proof of this, he would have, in his darkest hour, turned to the Gita for spiritual strength."

Ranji Nowbath, well-known Durban historian, said the idea of Gandhi's turning to the Koran was a "joke".

"While scriptwriters may argue that poetic licence was used, why must this licence be used when the film is supposed to have been a historical documentary? Why must you tamper with the facts, particularly with such a sensitive matter?"

Mr Nowbath said the facts seemed to have been distorted to suit Professor Meer's own whims and fancies.

"According to records, around June 1893, Gandhi was a heathen," he said.

Professor Meer, who wrote the script with Indian director Shyam Benegal, said poetic licence was used in writing the train scene.

"In my original script, I envisioned Gandhi being visited by his mother as a source of strength during his greatest time of need. However, it was Mr Benegal's idea to use the Koran.

Religious unity

"Mr Benegal comes from a film industry which tries to promote Hindu and Muslim unity. Gandhi respected all religions and the fact that he is shown turning to the Koran highlights this fact."

She said when Gandhi left Durban station, he was given a copy of the Koran by Dada Abdulla.



LICENSED: Scriptwriter Professor Fatima Meer claims "poetic licence" was used during the train scene.

Professor Meer said there were instances in the film which indicated the profound effect of the Gita on his life.

"However, you cannot reflect accurately every single detail of Gandhi's life in a film. And in any case the film was already half an hour too long."

Strong criticism of the movie also centred on scant attention paid to the role of indentured labourers who were mostly Hindus.

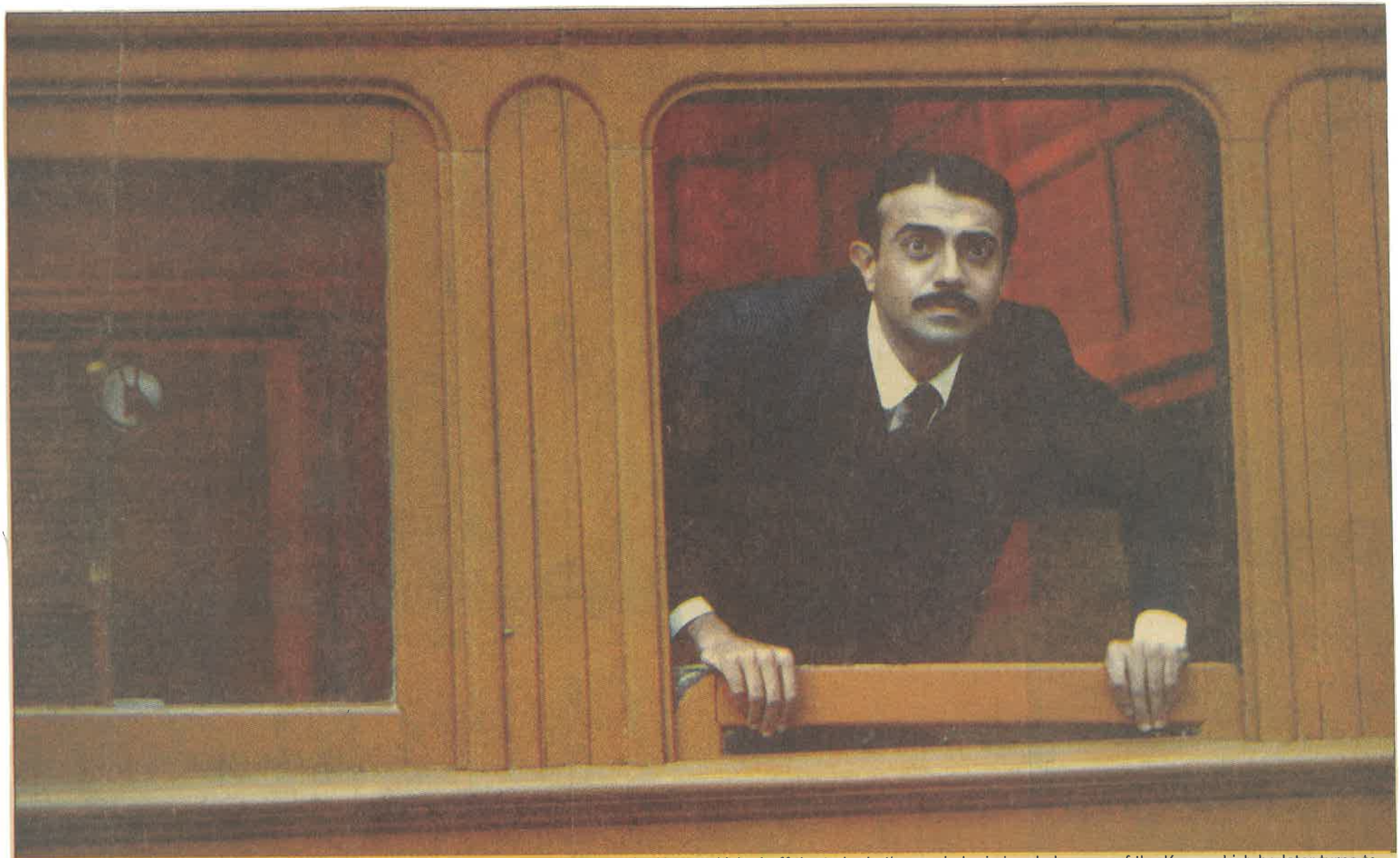
"Indentured labourers were not given the type of prominence they deserved, while Muslim merchants were given full preferential treatment. The film may be construed as a subtle move towards religious conversion," said Yana Pillay, representative of the SA Tamil Federation.

Mr Nowbath said the indentured labourers were the ones who had fought the struggle.

"The film glorifies the merchants, while it was the Velliammas who died for the struggle or went to jail. The film does not do these humble people justice."

However, Professor Meer disagreed, saying she paid particular attention to the role indentured labourers played.

PTO



JOURNEY: Mahatma Gandhi, played by Rajit Kapur, leaves Durban station for Pretoria. He was kicked off the train. In the movie he is handed a copy of the Koran which he later turns to for succour on the cold platform after being put off the train at the Pietermaritzburg station.

(2) 21 APRIL 1996
SUNDAY TRIBUNE

(3) 21 APRIL 1996

SUNDAY TRIBUNE

FILM REVIEW

Film stretches its point – and tries the viewer's patience

What was called "art" or "better" cinema in India (a concept not very many South Africans are familiar with) until the 1960s with Satyajit Ray's gentle portrayal of individuals caught up as victims of the world's wrath and Mrinal Sen's wry depiction of the complexities of the Indian middle class was what I would call the cinema of subtleties.

Then came the 1970s and Shyam Benegal's *Ankur* (Sprout) with its powerful and intense message of rebellion against oppression spilling on to the screen right at the end – very much like a seed sprouting open.

It was a message which went down well with the masses, from the ricksha puller in the city to the rural labourer – and it probably was the first "art" film in India to have broken even commercially.

But that was not all – it introduced to the world a tremendous performer called Shabana Azmi. She was followed by a host of actors and actresses of international calibre such as Naseeruddin Shah, Amrish Puri, Om Puri and Smita Patil who were brought forth which probably in itself could go down as Benegal's greatest contribution to the film industry.

By the 1980s, audiences were familiar with Benegal's message – that there was a life beyond despair, no matter how hopeless the situation might seem, be it the struggling farmers of Gujarat who learn to live again when they discover the magic of team effort in *Manthan*, or the actress who finds living life her biggest role in *Bhumika* or the madam of a whorehouse struggling to keep her establishment together in *Mandi*.



DIRECTOR: Shyam Benegal, an optimist like any true Indian – including Gandhi.

More importantly he showed you how to go about living life beyond despair.

With his keen eye for detail, his films have always been an intense experience for the cinemagoer.

His world is like any true Indian's – an optimist's world.

It was, therefore, inevitable that Benegal should take upon himself the task to portray the making of one of the world's greatest optimists – Gandhi himself.

The Making of the Mahatma is by no means in the same class as Benegal's earlier works. But there were other dynamics at play here. The performers were certainly not of the calibre that you would associate with a Benegal film (Amitha Anand as Jadubhansi was intensely embarrassing). Shooting on a shoestring budget in a foreign land, there were also time and travel constraints.

Nevertheless the film does shine through with its sheer sincerity, particularly so with its principal characters, Rajit Kapur's and Pallavi Joshi's earnest little faces.

Criticising the movie's makers is almost like scolding a bunch of well-scrubbed schoolboys for being too clean.

The film, however, does not try to paint a pretty picture of the Mahatma – he is all there with his human frailties.

But the film does tend to stretch its point – the evolution of Satyagraha as an effective democratic weapon – a wee bit too far by trying the viewer's patience for far longer than necessary.

Considering the paltry R5-million that went into the making of the film, its portrayal of old Durban and Pietermaritzburg was quite authentic.

And a fair share of credit for that must go to the film's cinematographer Ashok Mehta (who also shot the breathtaking *Bandit Queen*).

Certainly not one of the most uplifting films to have hit the screen but it is well worth a visit, because it teaches you a bit of history and above all makes no pretensions about it.

Besides, the makers of the film – the first such venture between India and South Africa – could do with a bit of support.

MANASI MEHTA

India-born Manasi Mehta who qualified as a journalist in New Delhi – and is now based in Durban – has kept close tabs on what's come out of Bollywood. She is also an art cinema buff. She previewed The Making of the Mahatma last Sunday.

A long way from Bollywood

ANDREW WORSDALE spoke to the movie-mad director of the South African/Indian film, The Making of a Mahatma

LAST weekend's lush première of *The Making of a Mahatma* — the first feature film to be co-produced by South Africa and India — had a distinctly political feel to it. Newly appointed Minister of Trade and Industry Jay Naidoo led the eulogies, praising the co-operation between the private and public sectors that made the film possible; newly appointed businessman Cyril Ramaphosa continued them with his reading of President Nelson Mandela's address, which cited Jans Rautenbach's love-across-the-colour-bar classic, *Katrina*, as one of South Africa's great cinematic achievements. The whole affair was presided over, in a grandmotherly way, by SABC board member Fatima Meer, on whose book, *The Apprenticeship of a Mahatma*, the film is based.

The Making of a Mahatma tells the story of the young Gandhi, who came to South Africa in 1893, fresh from law school, on a legal brief and ended up staying for 21 years to confront the racism that marked South African life. It was here that Gandhi first propagated his notion of *satyagraha* (passive resistance), and the film provides fascinating insights into the politics and polemics that developed his spiritual determination.

The movie also looks at Gandhi's personal life, and his at-times-troubled relationship with his wife, Kasturba. In addition, it paints a broad picture of the Indian community's involvement in the resistance movement.

It is a telegraphed history of incredible detail, cramming a load of incidents into its two-and-a-half hours. And to director Shyam Benegal's credit, the pace never flags, the film never becomes dull. Rajit Kapur is superb in the lead, portraying Gandhi's wilfulness and strength of character, as well as the more gentle and eccentric sides of the man. Equally good is Pallavi Joshi as Kasturba, his long-suffering but supportive wife. The performances are well modulated, and local actors Paul Slabolepszy as Smuts and David Clatworthy as the sympathetic German collaborator Kallenbach are among several who stand out. The film is intimately filmed but conveys a feeling for the period, and the economical use of extras is sufficient to render a sense of the epic.

However, and here's the rub, this is not really a cinematic experience, but a piece of political sermonising. Part of the problem lies in the screenplay, and particularly the dialogue. It's as if the writers (Meer, in collaboration with Benegal and Indian scripter Shama Zaidi) put ideology and facts into the mouths of the characters; what's worse, when they do come alive, the film plays like a stoic melodrama. The result feels rather like an educational TV mini-series.

Still, it's a first for this country: a state-financed melodrama of politically corrrect propaganda. Which explains all the gleaming faces in smart suits at the première.

Last week I spoke to director Benegal, and a more charming, intelligent and movie-mad person you couldn't hope to meet. Benegal is a veteran of the new Indian cinema, having made 1 000 commercials, over 65 documentaries and more than 25 feature films since 1959. A protégé of Satyajit Ray, his works have ranged from the political realms of *Ankur* (1974), which railed against the caste system, to the deceptively simple melodrama *Bhumika* (1977), about a Bombay movie queen. He was one of the first directors (along with Martin Scorsese and Shohei Imamura) to be invited to communist China, and was instrumental in getting Zhang Yimou's startling debut feature, *Red Sorghum*, shown in the West.

Benegal was full of praise for his South African cast and crew. The project was initiated by Meer in 1991 (Meer joined the SABC board in 1994, so charges of corruption with regard to the film's financing are misplaced). The crew was 90% South African — excluding cinematographer Ashok Mehta (who shot *Bandit Queen*), the two leads and two small supporting roles.

'You have a crazy system here — a virtual distribution monopoly with cinemas placed like islands in the suburbs'

The film was originally budgeted at R4-million, with 60% of the costs covered by the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and 40% payed for by the SABC and the ex-House of Delegates. When it went over budget by R400 000, the Indian government came in with half and South Africa's Department of Arts, Science, Culture and Technology with the rest. Still, it's an awesomely small amount to tell an epic story with. Benegal credits the local producers and assistant director with keeping the economics tightly under control and containing the costly time factor in production.

Apart from singing the praises of our local artists and artisans, what's Benegal's impression of our industry? He says: "Yours is a virgin land in terms of cinema. The most important thing for South Africa to do is to tap the huge local market. The state should be involved in supporting distribution as well. If they only support production finance, film-makers become too dependent on the state ... You have a crazy system here — a virtual distribution monopoly with cinemas placed like islands in the suburbs. It's crucial that you create contact with your audience. That's the great advantage of the Indian film industry — our population demands local product, so American films end up taking only 10% of the market."

Benegal expressed a keen interest in returning to our shores and repeating the fulfilling experience he had on *Mahatma*, but this time, he says with a wry smile, he'd like to work on a story a little less weighty.

The Making of a Mahatma opens on Friday at the Kine Centre in Johannesburg and at the Wheel in Durban

Date 26 APR 1996 02 MAY 1996
Mail & Guardian
26 APR 1996

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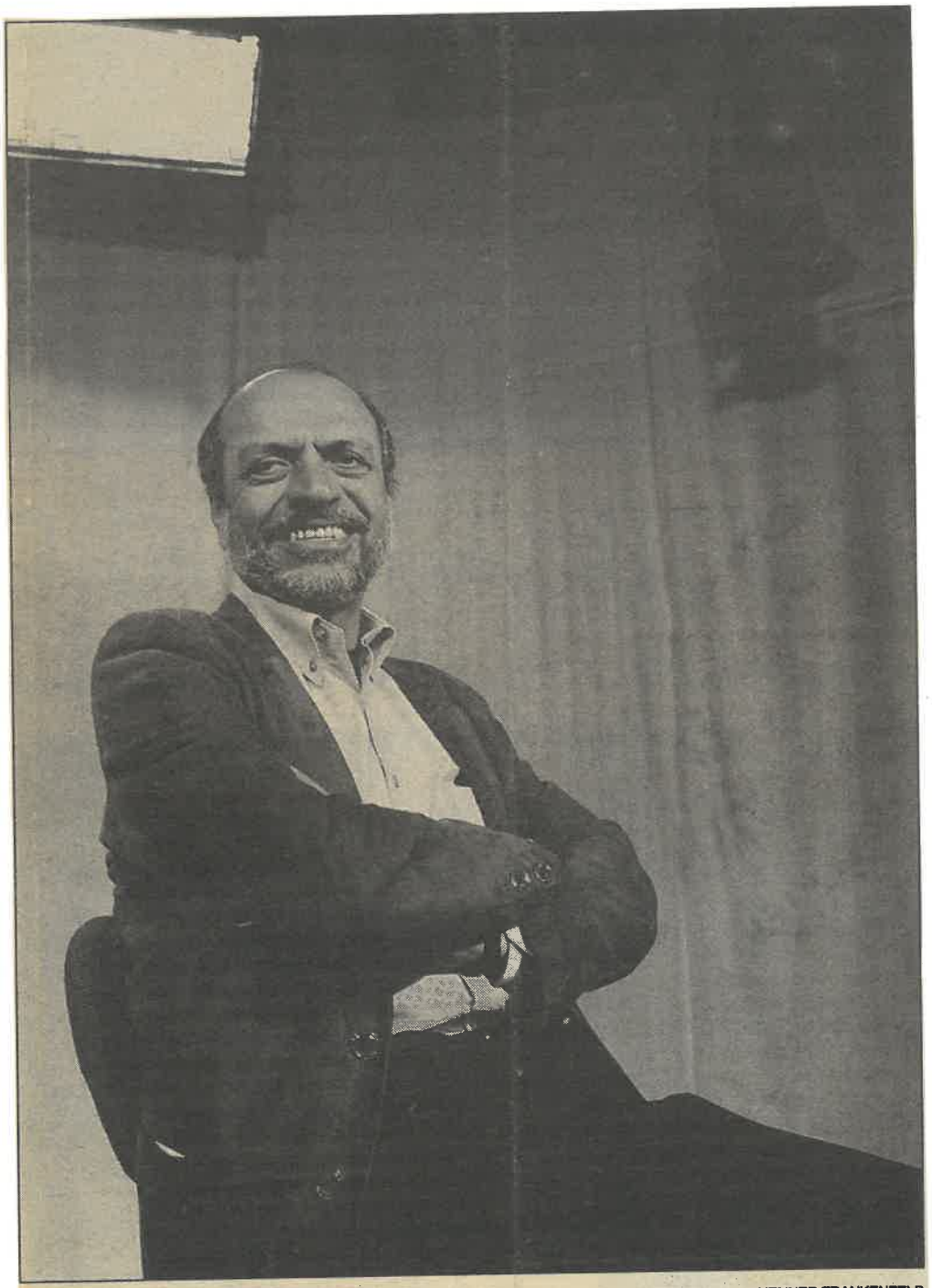
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MAIL & GUARDIAN



Shyam Benegal: Veteran of the new Indian cinema PHOTOGRAPH: HENNER FRANKENFELD

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Astonishing care ... *Award-winning director Shyam Benegal takes detailed and deliberate steps as he guides viewers through 21 years of history in 'The Making of Mahatma'.*

Detailing a story we must remember

By Janet Smith

FILM: The Making of the Mahatma
PLAYERS: Rajit Kapur, Pallavi Joshi, Paul Slabolepszy.
DIRECTOR: Shyam Benegal

Like a layer of finely-threaded, sweet flowers on a carpet of dust, *The Making of the Mahatma* is an all-encompassing film.

And as an important contribution in the revelation of our nation's past, it is uncompromising – but for all its worth, its intense historical perspective drags on its fluency.

The film serves the South African memory of Mahatma Gandhi – international statesman of the common person – well, and award-winning Indian director Shyam Benegal takes deliberate and detailed steps as he leads his audience through 21 years of history.

Yet Benegal seems to lose the beat of the heart of the man on which he lavishes such stern attention at the beginning as the film climbs towards into the inspired acts of passive resistance which helped shift the world's attention to the racial hatred in this country.

Rajit Kapur as Gandhi creates a flawed, very human man – the man it is generally agreed he was through his earlier years – but as human rights become more and more the spring of the Mahatma's philosophy, Kapur's performance grows weaker.

The actor needs the closest attention of the camera to reveal intimacy in his handsome performance, and where Benegal affords him this privilege, he is excellent. He is all but lost in crowds and drowned in too many other voices.

Since Benegal clearly intended to show Gandhi as a driven intellectual, and also as a supremely complex husband and father, he might have sustained an intimate approach through the film. As he leads the competent Kapur through the torment of Gandhi's political development, he veers away from that inner man – the nodal point of interest – and the film becomes quite uneven.

In her role as Gandhi's emotionally courageous wife, Pallavi Joshi has Benegal's finest strokes painted into her early performance. She quietly leads every scene in which she appears and opposite Kapur, she is a consummate player. Yet Benegal later neglects Joshi too, as he seeks to create scenes which encapsulate some of the most public moments in our history.

The later unevenness in characterisation does not detract from the attention to detail throughout, however. Interiors, crowd scenes, the fold on the inside of a jacket, the scuff on the front of a shoe – all this is presented with such astonishing care that the film looks as near to perfect as a work of history should be.

Our own actors are often the only voices who let the director down, insisting on that awful quasi-Afrikaans working class accent which rubs like gravel on the inside of the ear. Even Paul Slabolepszy as General Jan Smuts doesn't get the voice right, although it is an act of pleasure to see him on screen in a new role which deserves development in another film.

In its extraordinary parallel to moments in testimony at the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Benegal presents stories we must know and remember. There is also a beautiful new arrangement of the national anthem which introduces the film, but sadly does not end it.

The Making of the Mahatma needs to be seen, and is not a shameless crib on Richard Attenborough's *Gandhi* as some critics have suggested. Benegal certainly does lure an entirely different story out of the biographical fame of that Oscar winner, and while his own film is unlikely to come before the Academy next year, he has given us a great cinema gift to add to our small archive.

07 MAY 1996
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Date 04 MAY 1996
STAR

SA explores Gandhi's early years

THE MAKING OF THE MAHATMA

Rajit Kapur, Pallavi Joshi

Considering it was financed to a significant extent by South African governmental and quasi-governmental bodies, it is a pity that this production should have snuck so quietly on to the big screen. Positive publicity – box office – recouping some of your/my money.

Essentially a made-for-TV movie – it'll be on the tube in due course – this tells of the 21 formative years young lawyer Gandhi (played by Indian actor Rajit Kapur, with Pallavi Joshi as his long-suffering wife) spent in South Africa.

Based on Fatima Meer's book *Apprenticeship of a Mahatma*, the film shows how his experiences of racism and colonialism here helped fashion the attitudes and character that allowed him to challenge the British Empire in India.

Shyam Benegal, from India, directs a made-in-South Africa film that covers important ground that Richard Attenborough's Oscar-winning epic didn't; local members of the cast include Strini Pillai, Charles Pillai, Keith Stevenson and Paul Slabolepsky.

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Dr Henning

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Date 30 JUN 1996
The Sunday Independent
Nurina Printers 502

Open letter to Fatima Meer

The film about Mahatma Gandhi has sparked a debate which in certain situations have assumed a racial dimension. This debate has exposed the kind of scholarship you, Professor Meer, represent.

Faced by a solid argument presented by a Pan Africanist scholar, Dr Motso Pheko, about the role of Gandhi in this country, you sought academic refuge in an unscholarly asylum. Pheko quoted instances in the then *Indian Opinion* where Gandhi showed disrespect to African indigenous people to the point of calling them "kaffirs".

Instead of producing evidence refuting Pheko's assertion, you simplistically labelled him racist and anti-Indian. To call Pheko names does not refute his assertions about Gandhi. What society expects of you – as a scholar of note – is to produce evidence to the contrary, if any, rather than vague generalisations about Gandhi's so called contribution to this county.

Furthermore, you decided to defend Gandhi's use of the word "kaffir" by saying it was "liberal" use. May this scholar demonstrate the liberal nature of the use rather than an empty assertion? To call a person a "boesman" or "coolie" or "honky" is insulting, and kaffir is no exception – all are insulting.

You state that Pheko insults Africanism. Maybe we have many Africanisms in this country, but the kind of Africanism reflected in the 1995 Pan Africanist manifesto adopted on April 5, 1959, by the Sobukwes, which defines it as a social force upholding the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of Africa, is not insulted. The only "Africanism" insulted is this new one, which goes along with untruths and half truths, a disguised capitulation for the sake of false reconciliation and "rainbow nationalism".

You admitted in your article in the *City Press* of June 19 this year that you were not able to check the accuracy of Pheko's asertions, and that you had taken the issue personally. If this is the case, why have you been so quick to label Pheko as racist and anti-Indian? We await your scholarly response.

I hope you will grow beyond the tired scholarship of labelling for the sake of political correctness.

Thami Ndlovu (candidate attorney)
OD Nzimande & Associates
Pinetown

1760/ 1394

Dr Henning
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Date - 1 JUL 1996
CAPE TIMES

Gandhi book launched in city



WRITINGS, SPEECHES RECALLED: Professor Fatima Meer (left), author of The South African Gandhi: An Abstract of the Speeches and Writings of MK Gandhi 1893-1914, presents a copy of the book to Gandhi's great-granddaughter, Ms Uma Mesthrie, at the book's launch at the BMW Pavilion at the weekend. ***PICTURE: BENNY GOOL***

1760/1395

Date 04 JUL 1996
CAPE TIMES

A look at the man behind the Mahatma

ANOTHER VIEW: Shyam Benegal's engrossing film on the 21 years of Gandhi's life in South Africa is a detailed, human account of the early formative years of the demanding visionary who sometimes caused hardship as well as happiness for those around him, especially his long-suffering wife and children and his many close followers.



PETER FROST

★★★½ **THE MAKING OF THE MAHATMA.** Directed by Shyam Benegal. Starring Rajit Kapur, Paul Slabolepszky, Himal Devnarian, Pallavi Joshi, Charles Pillai, Paul Ditchfield, Peter Elliot and David Clatworthy.

MOVIE REVIEW

SIR Richard Attenborough's 1982 epic of the life of Mohandas K Gandhi has since settled itself into the role of Definitive Work.

Ben Kingsley's internal, contemplative interpretation of Gandhi etched itself deeply into the collective conscience and other film makers blanched at the thought of trying to better represent the mythical story and man.

But Attenborough's biopic inevitably suffered the unavoidable — like a satellite picture from space, the form was clear, but the detail missing.

Now Shyam Benegal's *Making of the Mahatma*, from the book *Apprenticeship of a Mahatma* by Professor Fatima Meer, narrows the focus to the 21 years Gandhi spent in South Africa and the result is a thoroughly absorbing experience.

Meer's book — and thankfully Benegal's treatment — is remarkable for two things; its honest portrayal of Gandhi as man not a saint and how effectively it reflects the importance of South Africa for his later work in India.

The hitherto untouchable Mahatma is portrayed skillfully here from a different angle, perhaps a women's or even feminist angle.

His awesome commitment to the service of others is shown to have detrimental effects on many of those around him, including a long-suffering wife, a clutch of kids and many close followers. Benegal's film doesn't destroy the man — far from it — but seeks to contextualise and humanise him by moving in close and scrutinising the quieter moments and less dramatic decisions of his life.

Rajit Kapur's interpretation of the man helps enormously. Here at last is a Mohandas, not a Mahatma, with a temper, who trips up, who exhibits bad judgement at times and very male preoccupations at others; of order, respect and the belief that he is master of his house.

Benegal follows through Meer's belief that Gandhi's South African years fighting Smuts, the miner's poll tax, registration of non-whites, the marriage question, inhuman conditions and generally the plight of the (very diverse) Indian community, moulded and formed the soon-to-be Indian statesman. Not only in spirit, but practically.

In fighting for the rights of Indians, Gandhi set up his passive resistance movement in Durban which was to be the basis for all his political thought and action in years to come.

His march to the Transvaal (well shot here) in the early years of the century with thousands of striking Indian mineworkers to bring attention to the three pound poll tax on migrant labourers, was echoed later in his march across India for an end to the class system.

There's more integrity. No irritating, short-sighted casting of European stars here; the local roles are taken by locals (including a most effective Paul Slabolepszky as General Smuts), the Indian roles by Indians.

All told, and despite a few less-than-brilliant performances in the smaller roles (the reason it does not merit four stars), it is an accomplished piece of work, fascinating and entertaining and one of those experiences you walk out of feeling relieved you had walked in.

G.P.-S. (G)

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AILY NEWS
3 OCTOBER 1969

To the UN to preach philosophy of Gandhi, but...

DELHI, Friday.

MR. DINESH Singh, the Indian Foreign Minister, is in New York to preach Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence to the United Nations and various American seminars.

At home, many of his countrymen will follow the Foreign Minister's speeches with wry amusement, for barely a week has passed since he was seen welcoming a delegation of Al Fatah guerillas to India and lending its support to their activities.

The contradiction is an apt reminder of how double standards under the guise of non-alignment, and a makeshift policy aimed at short-term prestige, have brought India's foreign relations to their lowest ebb in recent years.

Apart from a dubious relationship with the West, the real decline of Indian foreign policy is found ironically in Delhi's own sphere of interest — the Afro-Asian world and the relationship with Moscow.

OBSESSION

As in the past, India's initiatives on the international front have been guided essentially by the subconscious obsession with Kashmir, and the Foreign Minister's ill-considered attempts to gain an advantage over Pakistan at all costs have culminated in a rebuff from the Arab world.

Perhaps another factor responsible for India's declining international prestige is Delhi's flair for bulldozing its way into fields where greater nations might fear to tread. Its blustering attempt to force its way into the Islamic summit conference at Rabat proved a mistake which has humiliated India and swung the majority of the Hindu community behind Israel.

Recovering from this setback, Indians are examining their efforts in other spheres and finding that there is little to boast about. Admittedly relations with the Soviet Union could not be better, but the Foreign Ministry has failed to counter Moscow's shift towards Pakistan.

RUDE

The rude awakening to the fact that India had lost her special place in Moscow came last year, when Mr. Kosygin, the Soviet Prime Minister, promised military aid to Pakistan. Since then an alarmed India has noticed a perceptible shift in Russian attitudes over Kashmir.

Amid the ensuing outcry, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister, last year made a hasty and unsuccessful attempt to alter the balance of power in the subcontinent by holding out an olive branch to China. As expected, India was rebuffed.

India has experienced more disquieting reverses since Mr. Dinesh Singh took over his portfolio this year. As far as the West is concerned, Mr. Singh's term of office has confirmed suspicions that India's non-aligned policy exists only on paper.

With the decline of its importance and usefulness to India, Britain is taken for granted in tones bordering on contempt.

To be fair, Britain is partly responsible. Mr. Wilson's hasty assertions during the Indo-Pakistan war, the Kenya Asian crisis, and the recent decision to abolish India's cotton textile preferences, have all helped to explode the myth of a "special relationship."

India's relations with the United States are guided by the amount of aid received, and Western diplomats generally are annoyed by India's capacity to find fault with Western frailties while remaining silent over similar faults in the Afro-Asian or Communist world. — Times News Service.

Natal Mercury
1/8/1988

IN the past three decades, several top women political leaders have emerged in the manner described above:

- The late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India, rivaled by few men anywhere in the world for iron will and her indelible stamp on her nation.
- Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka, the world's first woman prime minister and a strong contender to govern her nation once again.
- Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, head of the most visible opposition force confronting President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq.
- Sheik Hasina and Khaleda Zia of Bangladesh, leaders of the longest sustained opposition protests against any leader of their coup-prone country.

Each of them has handled power skillfully, although some — notably Mrs Gandhi and Mrs Bandaranaike — were doomed by their excesses. But not one of them could be considered a feminist.

Intent on attaining or keeping power, they had little time for women's causes, and the fundamental status of women in their countries remains largely unchanged. Each of them swore, at least initially, to uphold the ideals of her late father or husband.



Indira Gandhi of India.

Indira Gandhi, daughter of India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, was known as 'Bharat Mhata' — Mother of India. She was loved, hated, feared, but above all respected. She abolished the princely estates of the maharajahs, intervened in Pakistan's civil war to create the new nation of Bangladesh in 1971 and led India into the nuclear age.

Mrs Gandhi was installed as prime minister in 1966 by men who thought she would be pliable. She soon proved them wrong and stayed in office until a crushing election defeat in 1977, when democracy was restored after 20 months of heavy-handed emergency rule. But she bounded back into office in 1980 and served four more years before she was assassinated by Sikh bodyguards.

'I think being a woman in politics is an asset in India,' said Maneka Gandhi, widow of Indira's younger son Sanjay and political foe of the older son, current Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

'We treat our country as very feminine — Mother Earth. Of course, I do tend to be patronised. But it's not because I'm a woman but because I'm 31,' she said.

'I think most women in this part of the world come up in politics because of family,' Maneka said. 'But whether they are successful or not really depends on their own qualities.'

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The nerve centre of a non-violent political struggle

All that remains of the operational headquarters of Mahatma Gandhi's pioneering South African army of peace is a derelict brick shell under a rusty roof.

That the historic Tolstoy Farm, just south of Johannesburg, has been allowed to decay in obscurity may be a sign of a violent era.

Only 70 years ago it was the nerve-centre of the world's first satyagraha struggle, a revolutionary new political strategy which relied on moral force and eschewed violence.

The eight-year battle waged from 1906 by thousands of Asian South Africans against various racist measures was hailed at the time by Russian writer Leo Tolstoy as "the most fundamental and the most important to us supplying the most weighty proof in which the world can now share"

Although most Asians lived in Natal the resistance movement was concentrated in the Transvaal where they were subject to particularly harsh discrimination.

Gandhi had been in South Africa about 13 years when the "Black Act" caused the Transvaal Asian community to unite in defiance against the Government.

The new law required that every Asian man and woman register and submit to the indignity of being finger-printed. This was not required of other Transvaalers.

Thousands resolved to die rather than register — and stuck to this decision.

When they were arraigned and ordered to leave the Transvaal because they had not registered they resolutely disobeyed the order and were imprisoned. Many hawkers showed solidarity, inviting arrest by failure to produce trading licences.

Three years after the struggle had been launched Gandhi estimated "nearly 2 500 have for conscience's sake allowed themselves to be imprisoned, some as many as five times." This was nearly half the Asian population of the Transvaal which had been drastically reduced as thousands had chosen to leave the colony rather than register.



The "Black Act" was retained despite a ploy by General Jan Smuts who said he would drop the law if Asians voluntarily registered. Thousands of satyagrahis (non-violent resisters), including Gandhi who had stuck to this "gentleman's agreement retaliated by publicly burning their registration certificates.

Further discriminatory measures followed. Migrancy to the Transvaal was made almost impossible for Asians. All non-Christian marriages were declared void. A R5 tax was imposed on impoverished indentured Indian workers in Natal.

Natal Indians now joined the struggle as did increasing numbers of women, enraged at being made "concubines" at the stroke of a pen. The easiest way to invite arrest was by illegally crossing the border to the Transvaal.

Imprisonment and deportation took a heavy financial toll of the movement's stalwarts and their families.

It was the need to sustain them that prompted the founding of Gandhi's second settlement, Tolstoy Farm, in 1910.

The farm was given over for use by satyagrahi Hermann Kallenbach. With its extensive orchards, grounds and shelter it served the material requirements of the resisters.

It also became the heart of the struggle during its last four years, a place for moral training.

The domestic affairs of Tolstoy farm were ruled by the same principles of truth and peace as the non-violent political movement.

Gandhi had by now abandoned Western fashion, donned the cotton garb of the indenturned labourer and led a life of utter material simplicity. Residents at Tolstoy Farm followed suit. This asceticism and the willingness of satyagrahis to engage in manual labour made the settlement more or less self-sufficient.

The Mahatma was a profoundly spiritual man. He insisted residents of the farm,

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Tolstoy Farm, once the nerve-centre of Indian defiance against the Government, is to be restored as a centre for social research and action. Jo-Anne Collinge writes on the moral and political force of Gandhi.



Gandhi . . . his pacifism revolutionised the Indians' political struggle.

who were of various faiths, practise religious tolerance, share their prayers and rituals.

Tolstoy Farm was a microcosm in which Gandhi began to play out the ideas he was later to put forward for India's salvation.

The South African satyagraha campaign culminated in massive action by Indian labourers on the Natal coal fields.

They went on strike to protest the R5 tax. Then — evicted from their mine quarters — over 2 000 took to the road in the Great March, to court arrest by entering the Transvaal and thus drew attention to their plight.

This army of pilgrims was near Johannesburg, destined for Tolstoy Farm, when its members were arrested en masse. They were deported to Natal and jailed in mine compounds where force was used to try to drive them back to work.

This triggered strike action throughout Natal. The authorities retaliated with force.

But eventually Smuts's Union Government was forced to negotiate. The result was the Indians Relief Act of 1914 which abolished the R5 tax, recognised Indian marriages, mitigated immigration control and provided for the phasing out of indentured labour.

Many of these gains were later eroded. But in 1914 the satyagrahis were the victors and Mohandas Gandhi headed home to India a hero.

So South African conditions delivered up to India a seasoned political leader — the Mahatma — ripe to become the central figure in the battle for Indian home rule.

India's victory over colonialism in turn heralded freedom from foreign rule for much of Africa and Asia.

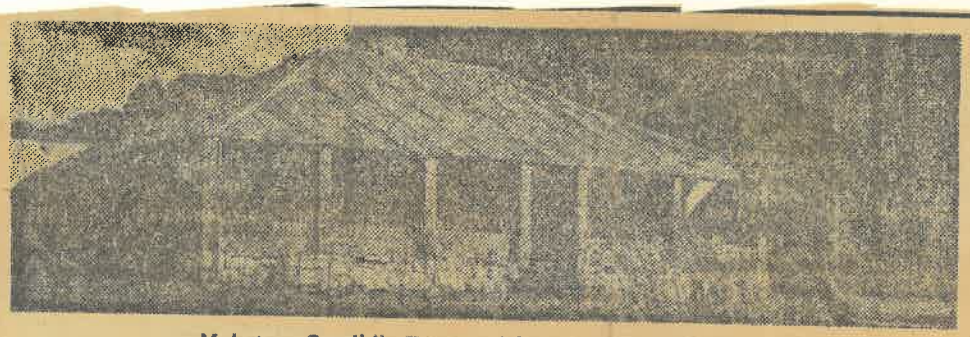
Nor were the ripples of satyagrahi felt only in the Third World. Pacifist, nuclear disarmament and civil rights movements throughout the Western world drew inspiration from the early satyagrahi experience. Most conspicuous of these was the United States black civil rights movement led by Dr Martin Luther King.

It was again employed by Indians in relation to the land issue of the 1940s ad by all groups in the early 1950s Defiance Campaign against "unjust laws".

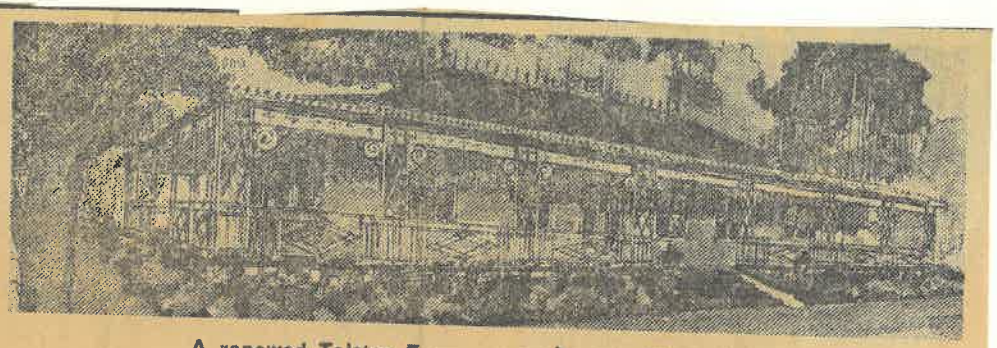
In 1953 The South African Government outlawed civil disobedience as a means of protest. Further restrictions on peaceful resistance followed — accompanied by increased use of violence by nationalist movements.

Events have partly borne out the Mahatma's warning sounded two years before his death in 1948: "One day the black races will rise like the avenging Attila against their white oppressors, unless someone presents to them the weapon of satyagrahi."

16/2/82
Star



Mahatma Gandhi's Transvaal home . . . a neglected reminder.



A renewed Tolstoy Farm . . . architect's impression.

Gandhi's home is to be restored

The historic Transvaal home of Mahatma Gandhi, Tolstoy Farm, is to be restored as a museum, library and conference venue.

The property, just south-west of Lenasia, is owned by the Transvaal Gandhi Centenary Council. The council estimates it will cost about R200 000 to transform the derelict farmstead, once at the heart of the non-violent Asian resistance struggle in South Africa, into a centre of activity for students of social change.

Funding of the project will be entirely by public donation. Council chairman Mr N G Patel is optimistic that fund-raising targets will be met: "Although the farm has been sadly neglected there is a determination in the community to see Gandhi's role in South Africa properly acknowledged. We know there will be immediate support for the scheme."

The council's delay in implementing restorations has been sharply criticised in recent months. It secured ownership of Tolstoy Farm in 1969 when Anglo Vaal Brick and Tile Company made it over as a gift during the centennial of the Mahatma's birth.

Mr Patel defends the coucil's timing of the project pointing out that the Johannesburg Indian community has paid heavily to provide cultural, religious and welfare facilities since removal to Lenasia.

"We have tried to ensure our funding drive does not overlap with other major projects."

He explains the renovated Tolstoy Farm will not be a replica of the 1910 structure. "The restoration will be faithful to the style of the period but the result will be more elaborate than Gandhi's very plain farmhouse.

"Although the embellishments are in contrast to Gandhi's simplicity our main concern is to create a place where people will come to read and talk about social issues.

"We believe we can come closest to the spirit of Gandhi by encouraging active engagement with present-day social and moral problems."

The Tolstoy Farm "workshop" complex will consist of:

- A library containing material on the Gandhian concepts of resistance, change and development. It will include accounts of non-violent political movements round the world.
- Meeting rooms for use by groups concerned with social justice and change.
- A small museum "as a direct reminder that one of the greatest men of this century spent 20 years in South Africa and that our countrymen responded courageously to give substance to his ideals.

It is hoped construction will begin in the next few months and in just over a year Johannesburg will boast a fitting monument to Mahatma Gandhi.

16/2/82
Star

4

Inspiring prophet of peace

Mohandas Gandhi lived from 1869 to 1948 — through both world wars.

He remained a prophet of peace despite witnessing the advent of the atom bomb and the horrors of nazism: "If Hitler is unaffected by my suffering, it does not matter. For I shall have lost nothing of worth. My honour is the only thing worth preserving. That is independent of Hitler's pity."

Yet it was this high-minded idealist who conjured up a range of tactics to wrest from the British Empire its most treasured jewel, India.

The leader of the masses, the party politician, the diplomat at the negotiating table — all these were roles played by Mahatma Gandhi.

His close friend and follower, Nobel prize-winning poet Rabindranath tagore, reflected: "The influence which emanated from his personality was ineffable, like music, like beauty.

Its claim upon others was great because of its revelation of a spontaneous self-giving.

"This is the reason why our people have hardly ever laid emphasis upon his natural cleverness in manipulating recalcitrant facts.

"They have rather dwelt upon the truth which shines through his character in lucid simplicity."

This twin-character, politician-saint, is reflected in many of Gandhi's non-violent battle tactics.

For instance, the fast or hunger-strike was a measure the Mahatma used repeatedly in India. Sometimes his aim in going without food was to symbolise and emphasise to the authorities the plight of the people or injustice of some measure.

But more often the Mahatma's fast was a penance for violence perpetrated by the people he represented. At times the peace of satyagraha action would be broken. Or religious friction would burst into the open.

The fasts were calculated; they were abandoned as soon as the first gestures of conciliation were made. Gandhi was not intent on becoming a martyr — he merely wanted a tool to move people towards peace.

But however shrewdly Gandhi used the hunger-strike it was a method consonant with his basic morality.

When Gandhi was assassinated in 1948 many of his former adversaries joined in tribute. Lord Louis Mountbatten recalled the Mahatma's "life of love and truth" and General Jan Smuts acknowledged he had closed battle with "a prince among men."

16/2/82
Star

QUOTATIONS FROM GANDHI

DRUGS AND DRINK ARE THE TWO ARMS OF DEATH

NON-VIOLENCE IS AN ACTIVE FORCE OF THE HIGHEST ORDER

I HAVE AN UNDYING FAITH IN THE RESPONSIVE HUMAN NATURE

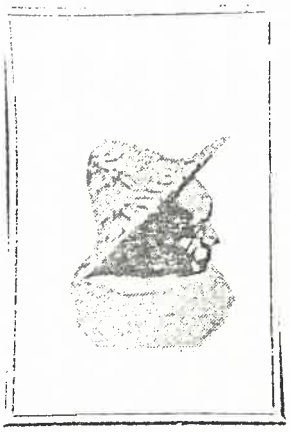
EVERY HOME IS A UNIVERSITY AND THE PARENTS ARE THE TEACHERS

NEVER GO BEYOND YOUR CAPACITY THAT TOO IS A BREACH OF TRUTH

COMMUNAL HATRED IS PERHAPS THE WORST KIND OF LEPROSY IMAGINABLE



Gandhiji Garlanded In Cape Town
Before Sailing To England 1914



Gandhiji Wearing Straw Hat

MY NOTION OF DEMOCRACY IS THAT UNDER IT THE WEAKEST SHOULD HAVE THE SAME OPPORTUNITY AS THE STRONGEST

A SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF ASIATIC CULTURE IS NO LESS ESSENTIAL THAN THE STUDY OF WESTERN SCIENCES