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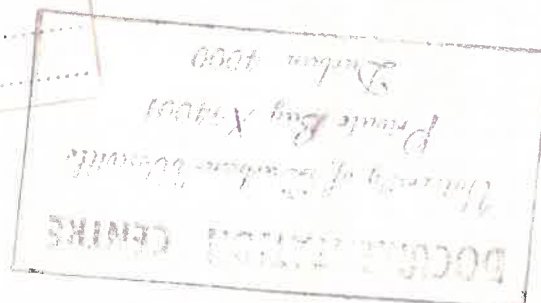
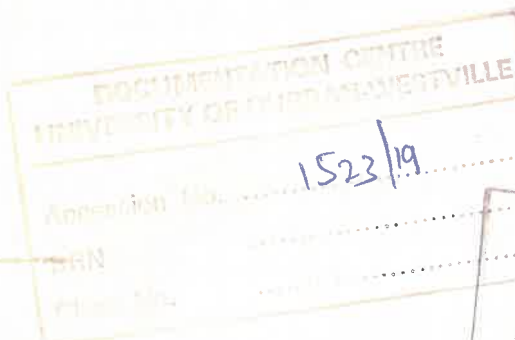
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લેસલે મરચન્ડસ

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GANDHI

1946

Indian Stretcher-Bearer Corps

Government's Appreciation

Proposed Formation of a Permanent Ambulance Corps

The following correspondence has passed between Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Col. Hyslop, P. M. O., Natal Militia. The Principal Medical Officer, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.

Sir,

The Indian Stretcher-Bearer Corps was disbanded on the 19th inst., and the Corps reached Durban on the 20th.

The Corps was called upon to do the work of disinfecting the camp at Mapumulo, of dressing injuries and wounds, and of marching with the troops and doing stretcher work. Most of the Bearers accompanied the troops during the operations at the Tugela, the Otumati and the Umvoti Valleys. In my humble opinion the men did the work willingly and skilfully. The object of the Natal Indian Congress, in offering to form the Corps, was to show that Indians recognised their responsibilities as settlers in Natal, and to induce the Government to utilise Indians as a permanent portion of the Natal Militia. I venture to think that my countrymen are essentially fit for ambulance and hospital work. Trooper Forder, whom we carried from Otumati, had, in addition to being carried, to be nursed by us, and he was so satisfied, that he sought me out specially on his recovery to express his appreciation of the men's work.

The Corps consisted of some skilled English-educated Indians, as also of Indians of the labourer type, but all of them were intelligent workers, and capable in civil life, of earning much more than what would be paid to them by the Indian community. As the community was anxious that its offer should be accepted, in order to avoid any difficulty, the men were induced to accept only one shilling and sixpence per day, which they gladly did; but, in my opinion, it is not possible to get intelligent men for less than £1 per week.

I also think that those who may be called leaders of stretcher parties should receive five shillings per day.

Members of the Corps were all untrained and untutored men; they were, too, called upon to do responsible and independent work, and to face danger unarmed. If the Government would form a permanent Ambulance Corps, I think that special training is absolutely necessary, and that they should all be armed for self-protection.

As one who has been intimately connected with the Indian community for the last thirteen years, I have ventured to place the above views before you for your consideration.

(Sd.) M. K. Gandhi.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 31st inst., intimating the disbandment of the Indian Stretcher-Bearer Corps.

The Commandant of Militia asks me to convey to you and the other members of the Corps his thanks for the services rendered, and in doing so I desire to add my appreciation of the very valuable services afforded to the Medical Department of the Militia, not only as Stretcher-Bearers, but also in connection with the more important work of sanitation.

You mention that the object of the Natal Indian Congress, in offering to raise a Corps, was to show that Indians recognised their responsibility as settlers in Natal, and to induce the Government to utilize them as a permanent portion of the Natal Militia, and in this connection I may say that if I can be of any assistance in arranging for the employment of Indians in Militia Hospitals and sanitary work, my services will always be at your disposal.

I agree with you that if a permanent Corps is formed, special instruction in the duties falling to be performed by its members is indispensable.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Sd.) JAMES HYSLOP,

Lt. Colonel,

P.M.O., Militia.

Sergt. Major Gandhi,
Indian Stretcher-Bearer Corps.

The Constitutional Reservations

Imperial Government and Native Races

It may not be inappropriate to essay some reply to the criticisms which have been directed at the constitution, on account of what are known as the Reservations. These may be roughly defined as the nomination of an Upper Chamber, charged particularly to guard the interests of the natives, and empowered to veto hasty class and racial legislation; the insertion in the Letters Patent of a clause reserving bills dealing with Native Affairs for the direct consideration of His Majesty; the insertion of another clause prohibiting what is known as servile labour, or labour under servile conditions; and finally, the decision of the Imperial Government to allow Swaziland to remain an Imperial Protectorate, without becoming an annexe of the Transvaal. For the reservation of Native Affairs, and the appointment of an Upper House to review native legislation, we have to thank the rabid negrophobia of that statesmanlike body known as the 'Rand Pioneers,' whose members have successfully prevented this Colony from being an-

trusted with the full control of its native subjects. General Botha's proposal that the native locations should be broken up if necessary, by force of arms, was, too, in all probability, among those public utterances which increased the nervous apprehension of the Imperial Government in regard to our future administration of Native Affairs. Having also in view the rebellion in Natal, provoked obviously by mal-administration and a criminal lack of understanding, and suppressed with the recklessness of men who fear the consequences of their own acts, we are not surprised that the Imperial Government does not care to entrust us with the untrammelled control of the natives. Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that the injustice with which all coloured persons were treated under the Kruger regime was one of the reasons put forward for the war against the Republics. It is true that at the peace of Vereeniging the Imperial authorities bartered away their rights to enfranchise even the most advanced and civilised natives, but this only increases their responsibility towards the enormous mass of coloured persons, who, being disfranchised, very rightly claim the protection of the only authority strong enough to protect them against colour legislation and oppression. In nominating an Upper House, and in reserving to themselves the right to very carefully consider all proposed native legislation, the Imperial Government are doing no more than they did in Natal, in which Colony similar conditions existed to those obtaining here. That is to say, the Imperial Government enfranchised a small minority of white Colonists, and very naturally, retained in its own hands certain power to protect the enormous unprotected and semi-civilised proletariat. With the reservation of Swaziland we are heartily in agreement. Experience has shown us that great native territories prosper best under direct Imperial control, and we have Bechuanaland, and especially Basutoland, to-day—where, under the strong arm of the Imperial Government, the native inhabitants are rising with incredible rapidity in the ethical scale, are working out their own salvation undisturbed by relapses into savagery, heedless of the incitements of native agitators against the white race, grateful to their rulers and administrators—as uplifting examples of the success of Imperial Protectorates. It is our hope that Swaziland may some day emulate Basutoland, and that it may become to South Africa, as Basutoland is, a great and valuable asset. We shall probably be subjected to considerable abuse if we suggest that it is the duty of the Imperial Government to rule Swaziland for the Swazis, and not for a coterie of indifferently-reputable concession hunters, whose sole desire is to exploit both the country and its inhabitants for their own mercenary ends.—*Prater's News*.

18th August, 1906

A Plea for India

"The New Hope"

In the course of a letter recently addressed by the Hon. G. K. Gokhale to the *London Daily News*, he says: "The position briefly is this: A foreign bureaucracy, whose members live in the country only long enough to earn their pensions, governs India, uninfluenced by Indian public opinion and uncontrolled in practice by any higher authority. As a result, Indian interests are systematically subordinated to the interests of the Army, the European services, and the European capitalists. The steady and continuous rise in the death-rate of the country, and the miserable pittance spent on elementary education, should be sufficient to satisfy any imperial mind as to the low place occupied by the interests of the people on the Government slate. Our death-rate, according to the Statistical abstract for British India (a parliamentary publication), was under 25 per thousand in 1882-84. It rose to 30 per thousand in 1892-94 (before recent famines or plague appeared on the scene), and it is 35 per thousand to-day. As regards elementary education, the Government of India spends on it only about £200,000 out of State funds, as against 21 millions spent on the Army, and about four millions paid in salaries to Europeans in civil employ: only one child out of eight is at school and one village out of five has a school-house. Your Parliamentary grant to elementary education, it is interesting to note, is 16 millions for the current year.

Now, there is only one remedy for this state of things. It is to redeem the pledges given to the people of India by the Sovereign and the parliament of the country, and associate them steadily more and more with the management of their own affairs, till eventually India become an integral and self-governing part of this Empire. The practical steps by which this result is attained will necessarily have to be a matter of continued compromise between conflicting views. But as regards the necessity of moving forwards, I hope there will be no difference of opinion among those who represent the forces of democracy in this country, and I earnestly trust that this will be made amply clear by Friday's debate.

At present, we in India are moving in a vicious circle. The bureaucracy wants to keep the educated classes out of the government of the country till the masses have been qualified by education to take an intelligent part in public affairs. No steps, however, are taken to push on mass education, and there is no chance of such steps being taken till we have a large voice in our own Government.

The officials again constantly speak as though the responsibility for redeeming England's pledged words were ours and not theirs. They for-

mulate no proposals of their own and confine themselves merely to picking holes in what we urge. Their most favourite plea for inaction is that the people are not yet qualified for any substantial measure of self-government. Mr. Gladstone once observed: "It is liberty alone which fits men for liberty. This proposition, like every other in politics, has its bounds, but it is far safer than the counter-doctrine. Wait till they are fit." The officials in India, however, do not recognise the wisdom of that observation."

Indian
Stretcher-Bearer Corps

Governor's Thanks

The following letter has been addressed by His Excellency, Sir Henry MacCallum, Governor of Natal, to Mr. M. K. Gandhi:

King's House,
Durban, Natal,
7th August, 1906.

Dear Mr. GANDHI,

I cannot allow demobilization to take place without placing on record, on behalf of the Government, my appreciation of the patriotic movement made by the Indian community of Natal in providing a Bearer Company for service in the field during the rebellion.

The number of casualties in our forces has been providentially small, and the labours of the Company have not therefore been as heavy as they would otherwise have been.

At the same time mention has been made to me of the good services rendered by those who volunteered for this service, and of the steadiness displayed by them. I should feel obliged if you would be good enough to convey to all the ranks who served under your command my best thanks for the assistance which they have given.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) HENRY MACCALLUM.

Travelling on the C.S.A.R.

The following further correspondence has been submitted to us for publication:—

To the Chief Traffic Manager,
C. S. A. R.,
P.O. Box 1347,
Johannesburg.

Dear Sir,—I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 19th ulto., C. No. 3053. I am now approaching the British Indian Association about the arrangement with your Department. In the meanwhile, I now find that I cannot travel from Pretoria by the 5 p.m. train to Johannesburg.

I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know whether Indians are prohibited from travelling by that train.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) OSMAN LACOFF
Malay Location, Johannesburg.
12th August, 1906.

Imperial Parliament

British Indians in the Transvaal

Mr. HAROLD COX asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Government of her late Majesty protested on any occasion to the Government of the Transvaal Republic against the use of the word "Native" to include her Majesty's Indian subjects, and whether that protest was ever withdrawn.

Mr. CHURCHILL: His Majesty's Government in the negotiations which terminated in the arbitration at Bloemfontein in 1895, refused to admit that the word "Native" in the London Convention covered Indians. In view, however, of the circumstances of the case, they agreed to legislation by the South African Republic in derogation of the strict interpretation of the Convention.

Mr. HAROLD COX asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the word "Native" in the Treaty of Vereeniging included his Majesty's Indian subjects; and if so, whether his Majesty's Indian subjects were entitled, as "Natives," to acquire freehold property in the Transvaal.

Mr. CHURCHILL: I have previously explained to the hon. member in an answer to a question on March 15 that it was asserted that the proposal to admit British Indians to the franchise was a breach of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the Treaty of Vereeniging which engaged that the question of granting the franchise to Natives would not be decided until after the introduction of self-government. The late Secretary of State felt bound to take account of this view, and accordingly stated in his despatch of March 31, 1905, that, having regard to the terms of peace, his Majesty's Government had been unable to make provision for the representation of any of his Majesty's coloured subjects. Under the special law applying to Asiatics, Law 3 of 1885, British Indians cannot be owners of landed property, save only in the streets, wards, and locations which the Government shall for sanitary purposes point out for habitation.

Japanese and Germans in the Transvaal

Mr. HAROLD COX asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the subjects of his Majesty the Emperor of Japan enjoyed the same rights and privileges in the Crown Colony of the Transvaal as the subjects of the German Emperor? Mr. CHURCHILL: All Asiatic races are subject to certain disabilities which do not apply to Europeans.

CULTURE AND WEALTH.—Culture is missionary and wealth is not. Culture calls on men to learn, and wealth only asks to be let alone.—Principal Forestry in the British Empire.

Opening of Imperial Parliament

The King's Speech

Responsible Government for Transvaal and Orange River Colony

The King opened Parliament in State on Monday last. The King's Speech announces that it has been decided to recall the Letters Patent providing for Representative Government for the Transvaal and to establish Responsible Government in both the Transvaal and Orange River Colony as soon as possible.

It also says that papers will be submitted to Parliament respecting the Army administration of India.

Chambers of Commerce

Asiatic Resolution

The Pretoria Chamber of Commerce is to move the following resolution at the forthcoming Congress of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa to be held in Durban:—

"That this Congress of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa views with alarm the increasingly detrimental effect upon the commerce of the whole of South Africa caused by the continual influx of Asiatics, and desires to express its conviction that it is imperative in the interests of the white population of South Africa that concerted action should be taken by the various Governments with the least possible delay."

The same resolution was passed last year also.

Tamil for the University of London

The following reply has been received regarding the petition for the use of Tamil as an optional subject at the London Matriculation examination:

In reply to your communication of July 22nd, 1905, covering a Petition from the Tamil speaking residents of Natal, I have the honour to inform you that the question of the inclusion of Tamil as an optional subject for Matriculation in this University was fully considered by the Joint Councils on the 8th inst. They were, however, unable to make any recommendation to the Senate with regard thereto.

I am Sir,

Yours faithfully,

ANDREW WATSON,
Secretary to the External Registrar.

MR. MARSHED SUTHER'S buildings at Albert Road conspicuously damaged by fire on the 24th ult.

Indians and Railway Travelling in the Transvaal

The following letter has been addressed by the British Indian Association to the Acting Chief Traffic Manager, Johannesburg:—

Sir,—Mr. M. M. Moosajee has handed to my Association copies of the correspondence between your Department and himself in connection with the train leaving Johannesburg at 8.30.

You have informed Mr. Moosajee that 'coloured passengers are not permitted to travel by the 8.30 train from Pretoria to Johannesburg,' and I suppose vice versa.

This information comes to my Association as a very disagreeable surprise. To the business Indian community the prohibition would be a deprivation which would seriously interfere with their movements. To the Indian community in general it is in the highest degree insulting.

My Association cannot escape the conclusion that this method of pandering to local prejudice on the part of a great administration would result in making the position of coloured people thoroughly intolerable. My Association will be obliged if you will kindly let me know whether it is the intention, and, if so, will kindly refer me to the law or regulation under which the prohibition has been imposed. Incidentally, I may be allowed to remark, that the manner in which such prohibitive rules are from time to time made without any warning or notice to the portion of the community concerned, is extremely irritating and inconvenient. My Association thinks that British Indians are at least entitled to know beforehand regulations that may be framed with reference to them.

I request an early reply.

I have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

ABDUL GANI.

Chairman, British Indian Association.
Johannesburg, 14th February, 1906.

Our Weekly London Letter

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

London, Jan. 26, 1906.

Liberal Embarrassment at Riches

That is the only phrase which can correctly describe the position of the Liberals at the polls as far as the elections have proceeded. This success has been as much a matter of wonder, nay amazement, to themselves as to their opponents. Excluding The Speaker, there are 669 members of the House of Commons, of whom 607 have polled; and the two parties, as they were in the last Parliament and the present, can best be seen in the

following parallel columns:—

The Old Parliament.	The New Parliament.
At the Dissolution on 8th January, there were in the House of Commons:	The results of polls already declared show the parties as follows:
Unionists ... 369	Liberals ... 338
Liberals ... 203	Unionist ... 136
Labour ... 15	Unionist Free ... 5
Nationalists ... 82	Traders ... 49
	Nationalists ... 82
Total ... 669	Total ... 607

(excluding the Speaker.)

From the above it will be seen that even now the Liberals have a clear majority, over all the other sections combined, of 74; and at the rate they are winning, I do not think it would be a very venturesome prophecy to credit them at the end of the election with a clear majority of a round hundred over the whole of the rest of the House. But, then, this majority is only the minimum; and it is a matter of common knowledge that in their fight with their avowed enemies, the rest of the House are more or less their allies. The Unionist Free Traders would be with them in the same division lobby, as they would henceforward be courted and their adhesion sought after with all the ardour of a new love. Labour, according to its latest evolution is, both in theory and practice, only an advanced section of Liberalism; while the Irish, from principle as well as gratitude would oftener than not support the party which they will never forget as associated with the immortal name of Gladstone. The combination of non-Tory groups, therefore, would even now when the results of 62 elections are yet to come put the proportion of non-Tories to Tories as 471 to 136, which means reducing the reactionary forces to about a quarter of its own numerical strength. And the question that is in everybody's mouth is, what would the Liberals, when they resume the reins of Government, do with this most potent weapon of so vast and solid a majority. One thing is certain: they would not set the Thames on fire. Those who are expecting the approach of the millenium at the advent of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman into office must have studied the history of the Government of their own country to very little purpose to give way to such day-dreams. In the political team which Britannia drives in her chariot of State, she is not so much mindful of the rate of her progress as for her safety on the road. The laws enacted by Parliament are justly called statutes, and there they stand defying all time and all parties. There may be prunings and trimmings, amendments and modifications; but no uprooting of the plant, no radical change of any kind.

Already the Cabinet Ministers who are still stumping the country in support of one candidate or another, are preparing the ground to break a future fall. One of the sins that have been visited on the late Government is its extravagance. Its proce-

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held at
DURBAN

on
22nd, 23rd & 24th NOVEMBER, 1957

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held on the

31st May and 1st June, 1947

at the

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Opened by:

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ON THE 30TH MAY, 1947 AT 8 P.M.

President:

Dr. G. M. NAICKER.

Chairman of Committee:

GEORGE SINGH.

E. H. ISMAIL
M. R. PAREKH

Jt. Hon. Treasurers.

A. I. MEER
M. D. NAIDOO

Jt. Hon. Secretaries.

MAHATMA GANDHI

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SHARMA

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER



GANDHIJI DURING WORLD WAR I.—He raised an Indian Volunteer Corps in London for ambulance work in the war. He is in the centre of the picture.

Courtesy "Life."

The Great March

We were compelled in our last issue to cut down the report of the march into the Transvaal, owing to lack of time and space. One of the most interesting accounts comes from the special reporter of the *Transvaal Leader* who travelled down to Volksrust to witness the proceedings. Reporting the case before the Magistrate, the pressman writes:—

Mr. Gandhi, before pleading, asked the Magistrate for a remand in order to enable him to continue his march. He put forward the same arguments as used in his telegram to General Smuts. A remand was granted at the request of the Prosecutor, who had not evidence ready. Bail was then asked for by Mr. Gandhi, and, although the Prosecutor protested, the Magistrate pointed out that every prisoner not charged with a capital offence was in law entitled to be allowed to give bail for his appearance, and said that Mr. Gandhi could not be deprived of that right. Bail was fixed at £50, which was easily found by Indian storekeepers here, and Mr. Gandhi was remanded for a week.

He left almost at once by motor to rejoin the marchers. Thus, if there was an effort on Government's part to put an end to the demonstration by depriving the men of their leader in the hope that they would become discouraged and abandon the attempt to reach the Rand, this effort has been completely stultified. I shared the motor in which Messrs. Kallenbach and Gandhi overtook the main body of marchers about 33 miles from Volksrust. They were well on their way to Kromdraai Station, near Standerton, which is their halt for the day. The narrow ribbon of road which leads to the Rand passes through beautiful grassy country, and, as the weather was pleasant, the strikers were walking easily and showed little fatigue. They were a little beyond General Botha's farm when the car overtook them, and there was extraordinary enthusiasm as Mr. Gandhi alighted among them. The car had halted at Paardekraal, where Mr. Gandhi spoke some encouraging words to the women. Old and infirm men halted there, and Mr. Gandhi left some medicines which a doctor in Newcastle had supplied. All along the road the car passed struggling, and lined up and saluted Mr. Gandhi, calling him "Bapoo," or father.

The Rations

Although the marchers are not paid, they are on a pound-and-a-half loaf of bread and an ounce of sugar per man, the marchers are cheerful and patient to an extraordinary degree. They have the utmost confidence in Mr. Gandhi, and obey him implicitly, although as a rule they are not disciplined or accompanied by force. As lieutenants, Mr. Gandhi has several young Johannesburg Indians who were prominent during the former passive resistance movement, and the mounted constables accompanying the marchers told me they had orders to arrest some of these at Kromdraai and take them in to Standerton.

Cost of the Movement

Mr. Gandhi informs me that the passive resistance movement is diminishing his resources by £250 a day, and that more than the present contribution of £3,000 per month will have to be sent from India if the success of the movement is to be assured. He has, however, no doubt at all about the response from India. Apart from the women at Charlestown, there are communities of strikers in every affected area to be supported, and the cost of the march to the Rand is estimated at one shilling per day per man. Volksrust bakers have received a contract for the supply of bread, which is sent on each day by rail to an appointed station. The sugar is served out for its sustaining properties, and amounts to about five pocketa a day in the aggregate. The Indians make a hole in their loaves, into which they put their handfuls of sugar. Each man carries a pannikin, which he fills with water as often as is

possible. The marchers had an unexpected treat at Paardekraal, where last night tea was served to the full 2,000 odd of them at the expense of a local Indian storekeeper. Mr. Gandhi impressed upon them the fact that tea was not on the regular menu. Leaving Mr. Gandhi with the passive resisters, whose leadership to the promised land he resumed, Mr. Kallenbach and I retraced to Volksrust, and passed about 13 miles from the town a further band of 100 coolies, who crossed the border this morning with as little trouble as their predecessors. Some of those who march to Johannesburg, I learn, are men who were charged at Newcastle with breaking their indentures, and were released on their own recognisances through lack of prison accommodation. They offered to await trial if food and shelter were provided, but this the local Magistrate refused, and so they departed to join in the march on Johannesburg.

Picturesque Pilgrims

The *Sunday Post* of the 9th instant gives, in the course of a special report, the following:—

The pilgrims whom Mr. Gandhi is guiding to the farm of his European friend and supporter, Mr. Kallenbach, near Johannesburg, are an exceedingly picturesque crew. Consisting mostly of the very lowest castes of Hindus, the crowd has the merest sprinkling of Mahomedans—say three per cent. The Hindus are either coal miners or workers in the sugar plantations—some free, and others indentured—and they are, taken as a whole, decidedly inferior to the more prosperous class of Indians familiar to people outside Natal. To the eye they appear most meagre—indeed, emaciated; their legs are mere sticks, but the way they are marching on the starvation rations provided shows them to be particularly hardy, as indeed does the kind of work they performed in the collieries. The rations referred to are a 1½ lb. loaf of white bread and a handful of sugar per day per man. Notwithstanding the arduous and seemingly futile effort on which they are engaged, and the small amount of food provided from day to day, the marchers were, at any rate before the rain came, most cheerful and docile. Mr. Gandhi is looked upon with absolute veneration, and is habitually addressed as Bapoo, signifying father. Nearly everyone has a small pack—containing all his belongings—to carry, and, while some are in European dress and wear boots, most are swathed, as to the lower part of their bodies, in loin-cloths like the Mozambique mine-boys wear on the Rand, although of brighter colouring. Many have long matted hair. With the marchers there remain barely a dozen women, but it is a common sight to see small boys carried on the shoulders of their fathers as they march. Of the 2,000, some 1,500 walk together in a fairly compact body, the rest following in little groups of stragglers within two or three miles. There is a band of about a hundred following about a day's march behind. According to Mr. Gandhi's own statement, the marchers contain many known bad characters, but he is confident that his presence will suffice to preserve order. Certainly, the mounted police accompanying the procession have thus far had a sinecure.

Mr. Gandhi at Work

The special correspondent of the *Sunday Times*, writing from Volksrust before the march commenced, thus describes a scene of the campaign:—

Mr. Gandhi I found in the evil-smelling backyard of a tin shanty at Charlestown, a dorp about half the size of Volksrust, situated on the lower slopes of the historic Majuba mountain. It is the first station across the border in Natal. The redoubtable Gandhi sat in an outhouse on an upturned milk case. Before him was a rough deal table, and at his side were twelve sacks containing 500 loaves of bread. On the table was a large enamelled basin full of coarse, white sugar, and standing round in the shed and yard were sundry, oval gal-vanised hip-baths, full of an unsavoury concoction which I took to be soup. Clad only in his

Indian Opinion

VOL. III.

PHOENIX, NATAL, SATURDAY, 5TH AUGUST, 1905.

No. 31

Contents.

EDITORIAL COLUMNS:—	
Indentured Indians in Natal	Page 505
Special Taxation of Indians	505
The Second Storm Report	506
A Rebuff	506
OTHER ARTICLES:—	
Transvaal Legislative Council	506
"India House"	506
Preference and Poetry	507
Sir Edwin Arnold Memorial Fund	507
The Word "Coolie"	507
Indians and Taxation	508
The Ramayana	508
The Indian in S.A.	509
Indian Affairs in Natal Parliament	509
Natives and Land	510
The Protector's Report	510
Our Weekly London Letter	511
Indians in the Transvaal	512

Indian Opinion

SATURDAY, 5TH AUG., 1905.

Indentured Indians in Natal.

MR. JAMES A. POLKINGHORNE has issued his yearly report ending 31st December last. As a contemporary states, the report is belated, as are most of the Government reports in Natal; consequently there is no doubt there is not the same interest taken in them that would be if they were issued promptly. The present report is a document of more than ordinary interest in that it throws a good deal of light on the working of the Immigration Law as to re-indenture and poll-tax. It gives also a more accurate census of the Indentured Indian population than hitherto. The information given by the Protector is an "eye opener." The Indian population has increased very considerably during the past three years. Between 1896 to 1898 it was 34,712; in 1902 it was 78,004; at the end of 1904 it was 87,980, showing an increase in two years of nearly 10,000; and yet the Protector states in another place that he has not been able to supply the full number applied for in 1902, namely 19,000. The demand for such labour is so great that it has been necessary to refuse fresh applications altogether. The reason for this large increase is obvious. This class of labour is very popular and is daily growing in popularity in the Colony. The men who come out give great satisfaction, and the bread and butter of thousands of Colonists depends very largely upon a steady

inflow of indentured labour from India. The moral, too, is obvious. The noise that we find here about the Indian being an undesirable citizen is largely hypocritical or selfish. We had a striking corroboration of the deduction to be made from the above figures in the observations recently made by His Excellency the Governor of Natal at the time of the opening of the Agricultural Show, when he stated that the Indian agriculturist was indispensable for the development of the Coast lands of Natal.

The Protector is very much dissatisfied with the working of the law as to the poll-tax and re-indenture. He states that the law is very much evaded, and that it has failed in inducing the time expired Indian to return to India. Many of those who have remained have succeeded in escaping the poll-tax. Last year 888 men and 345 women completed their indenture under the new law. Out of this number only 137 men, and 32 women offered themselves for re-indenture. 201 men and 58 women returned to India; 375 men and 146 women paid the tax, and 170 men and 105 women were at the time of drawing up the report unaccounted for. Nor is this to be wondered at. The poll-tax is never at any time a satisfactory mode of raising the revenue. It has not been a deterrent to settlement in the Colony. The framers of the act never expected any such result. It constitutes a source of irritation to the indentured Indian. It levies from them unjustifiable contribution, and constitutes a blot on the fair name of Natal. What is more, it is imposed on men whose services are considered, as has been already shown, to be indispensable to the welfare of the Colony.

Special Taxation of Indians in Natal.

IN connection with the Native Taxation Bill now before the House, the Natal legislators have shown considerable anxiety as to the Indians in the Colony remaining free from any tax whatsoever. Formal proposals were also made—and had it not been for the Speaker's ruling, an amendment would have been carried—including in the Bill Indians residing in the Colony. The Government, however,

in answer to questions, have promised to consider during the recess proposals for specially taxing the Indian community. Knowing as we do how eager the present ministry is to satisfy the demands of the different members even though it may be through fancy legislation or legislation that may be inconsistent with British policy, we would not be surprised if during the next session of the Natal Parliament we are presented with a Bill specially taxing the Indians. It may therefore, be worth while considering whether there is the slightest justification for any such measure. The Natives are being taxed firstly because they do not work, and secondly because it is assumed that they do not contribute their share to the revenue of the Colony. It seems never to have struck the gentlemen who would specially tax the Indians that neither of the above reasons would apply to the Indian community. The largest part of it, pays more than its fair share by way of hard, honest, slavish toil, in that they give, in the words of the late Mr. Escombe, the best years of their lives on a mere pittance. Under the new law, when they become free they and their children have to pay an annual tax of £3 each. It betrays lamentable want of knowledge on the part of the members, when they make all kinds of proposals for taxing Indians generally, if they ignore the act we have just mentioned. As for the free Indians (i.e., merchants, and others) on what grounds can special taxation be justified? They pay their share of the customs dues, they do not live in mere huts. Nor do they live rent free. On occasions they have to pay more than their share of rents to land lords who are not always scrupulous. We would like to know a single department of life in which the Indian community is not called upon to pay its share to the general revenue. But this incident raises the question of non-representation of Indians in a country which is under popular government. It is a most serious thing for any body of people who are under such government to be disfranchised. It is not in human nature to look at questions calmly and philosophically when they come in conflict with some self-interest or other. How then can it be expected that members of the Natal Parliament will look after Indian interests? The

Indian Opinion

VOL. III.

PHOENIX, NATAL, SATURDAY, 28TH OCTOBER, 1905.

No 43

M. H. NAZAR, Editor.

Contents.

EDITORIAL COLUMNS:—		Page
History of the Plague in Johannesburg	727	727
A Correction	727	727
Dr. Campbell on Indians	728	728
OTHER ARTICLES:—		
Mr. Maurice Evans on Asiatics	728	728
Two Licence Cases	728	728
Lord Selborne at Volksrust	729	729
Asiatics in the Cape Colony	729	729
Durban Town Council	729	729
Lord Selborne's Speech	729	729
Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji	730	730
Professor Parmanand	730	730
Durban Dist. Indian Football Assoc.	731	731
The Nelson Centenary	731	731
Plague	731	731
The Survival of the Fittest	732	732
Our Weekly London Letter	733	733
Facts and Comments	733	733
CORRESPONDENCE:—		
Indentured Labour	731	731

Indian Opinion

SATURDAY, 28TH OCT., 1905.

History of the Plague in Johannesburg

THE long promised report of the Bubonic Plague that broke out in Johannesburg last year is now published. It is a bulky volume covering one hundred and three pages, and containing many charts giving a graphic report of the epidemic. Dr. Pakes, the author of the report, has given an immense amount of labour to the work, and has presented to the public a very learned disquisition. The most interesting part of the report must necessarily be the origin of the Plague, and while, if the premises laid down by Dr. Pakes were correct, the conclusions drawn by him would be justified, we fear that many of his most important premises are totally incorrect.

It is, perhaps, extremely unfortunate that a proper judicial inquiry was not made as to the origin of the Plague before so much valuable time and money were spent over the report. In giving the startling reason that Dr. Pakes has done, he has run counter to the findings of the Vienna Commission, as also the Commission that was appointed by the Natal Government when the Plague first broke out in Natal, as also, indeed, to the cablegram that was received by the late Mr. Escombe from the Indian Government. Dr. Pakes contends that "the origin of the first cases was the plague-infected rice imported from Bombay." The authorities we have just quoted came to the conclusion that rice was not a carrier of plague infection. Amongst the

premises that have led Dr. Pakes to his conclusion are that the first cases were those of store-keepers, that the Indian store-keepers were importing rice from Bombay in December 1903, that they said very definitely "this rice contained rat-droppings," and that no special precautions were taken at Bombay to prevent the export of probably and possibly infected rice.

Now, unfortunately for Dr. Pakes' theory, all these premises are without foundation. The very first mistake that has been committed in drawing up the report is to accept only the official date of the outbreak, and to ignore the whole of the previously known history. It was then contended, indeed, proved beyond doubt, that plague had existed in Johannesburg before the 18th. March. In spite of the correspondence that was brought to the notice of the plague authorities in their official capacity, Dr. Pakes has seen fit to ignore the whole of it in his report. He has also ignored the case of the late Dr. Marais, which points unmistakably to the existence of the plague long before he himself succumbed to it. The theory, therefore, that the plague started with store-keepers falls to the ground. Nay, more, the two names given by Dr. Pakes as those of store-keepers were not those of store-keepers at all, as we happen to know. The first cases, taking the outbreak as from the 18th. March, were amongst the labourers who came from the mines.

We should very much like to know where the information, that rice was being imported from Bombay, comes from. As a rule, rice is not imported from Bombay but from Calcutta, and even when it does come from Bombay the bags are made up in Calcutta. It is a serious reflection upon the Indian Government to state that no special precautions are taken at Bombay to prevent the export of probably and possibly infected rice. Those who know anything of Indian travelling know that precautions taken at Bombay are very severe. Therefore all the material premises leading to the conclusion that Dr. Pakes has arrived at are not, in our opinion, capable of being proved. How is it, again, that Johannesburg had remained free from the plague in spite of rice having been imported by Indians before also? For it is not to be contended that rice was for the first time introduced into Johannesburg in 1904. What the real cause of the epidemic was will probably never be known, but so long as it is not found, so long will measures to prevent an outbreak fail. We do not suggest that there

will be a recurrence in Johannesburg, for the plague epidemic, in an altitude so high as that of Johannesburg, is hardly possible, except under the most aggravating circumstances. In spite of his usual fairness, we fear that Dr. Pakes has failed to do justice in entirely ignoring the herculean efforts that were made by the Indian community to prevent an outbreak of plague by placing at the disposal of the authorities all the information of suspected cases, as also warning them of the state of the Location after it passed into the hands of the Municipality. We feel that Dr. Pakes has shirked the real issue by giving extracts from the evidence of Dr. Porter before the Insanitary Area Commission in his work as to the then state of the Indian Location. The measures that were taken to eradicate the outbreak are all accurately described in the report in question, and they reflect very high credit on the worthy Doctor and his assistants. The manner in which the Location and the Johannesburg Market were dealt with was worthy of very high praise, and it was no doubt due to the energetic action taken by Dr. Pakes and his able assistant, Dr. Mackenzie, that the disease was so promptly stamped out.

A Correction

THE *Potchefstroom Budget* has noticed our remarks on Lord Selborne's speech wherein His Excellency has promised in his official capacity that no Indians except those who were here before the war will be admitted into the Transvaal until the introduction of representative government. Our contemporary says:

This is a new phase of the "grievances," and is evidently the initiation of a policy which will do much to alienate the sympathy that has been extended to the Indians already here by the moderate section of the white population. If they are wise they will refrain, in their own interests, from forcing us to believe that after all their ultimate aim is to make the Transvaal a dumping ground for thousands of Indian subjects. *Indian Opinion* talks glibly about an attempt to drive every Indian out of the Colony. As far as the Potchefstroom policy is concerned this is absolutely untrue, because it has been amply proved that the desire of the people of this district is to show the utmost consideration to the Indians holding vested rights by reason of their old established businesses. When, however, we are asked to tolerate an importation that will tend only to perpetuate an undoubted evil the spirit of moderation will, we fear, be eliminated.

We are quite at a loss to perceive how the importation of a few necessary clerks can be "making the Transvaal a dumping ground for thousands of Indian subjects," but it is perhaps

Indian Opinion

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NEWS OF THE STRUGGLE

MR. GANDHI, accompanied by Mr. Budree, left Durban for the Transvaal on Thursday by the Kaffir Mail. They were seen off by a large number of friends. Mr. Budree travelled in order to court arrest as a Passive Resister. At Maritzburg they were met by quite 50 Indians, who assured Mr. Gandhi that there would be a large number of Passive Resisters supplied by Maritzburg. They had already started collections, out of which over £7 was handed to Mr. Gandhi in aid of the struggle. Mr. Padamsing, who was on the platform, decided there and then to join the struggle and got on board. At Ladysmith, too, several Indians saw the party off, and said that they also were preparing to join the struggle. At Dannhauser a large party of Indians was waiting to meet Mr. Budree, who is well-known there. Messrs. Bhawani and Takoo joined the party as Passive Resisters. All four were arrested at Volksrust and, like the pioneer party, they gave only their first names, declining, for the time being, to give any further information about themselves.

The Immigration Officer would not arrest Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi and his companions were very nearly arrested at Ladysmith. The party were third-class passengers and they were put in one of the third-class compartments by the conductor at Durban, but at Ladysmith another conductor came and told Mr. Gandhi to shift from the compartment he was occupying. Mr. Gandhi asked the reason for this and the conductor said that that compartment was reserved for Europeans. Mr. Gandhi pointed out to the conductor that the compartment reserved for Europeans was labelled, that the one he was occupying had no label at all, and, therefore he declined to change. He also pointed out to the conductor that he had travelled in a similar third-class compartment now for over two years; but the conductor said that he was the conductor of the train and that his instructions must be obeyed. Mr. Gandhi then saw the Station Master, who, instead of granting any relief, in a somewhat rough manner said that he would not interfere and that the party were bound to move from compartment to compartment any number of times so long as some accommodation was found for them, and that he was to obey instructions. Disregarding the warning of the Station Master, Mr. Gandhi and his party awaited developments. A large number of Indians had by that time congregated on the platform and they were rather eager that Mr. Gandhi should be arrested so that the question of the Railway travelling difficulty might be to some extent solved. Unfortunately, however, owing to the well-meant, but false, kindness of a friend, Mr. Gandhi's identity was disclosed. No arrest, then, took place, and the conductor told Mr. Gandhi that he was only carrying out the instructions of the Ad-

ministration in doing what he did. Mr. Gandhi said that this was all the better reason why, in spite of his identity having been disclosed, he and his party should be placed in charge for declining to move, which they certainly still did. But it was of no avail.

The Names of the Pioneer Party

We are now in a position to give the names of this party which was sentenced at Volksrust on the 23rd ultimo. They are: Mrs. Gandhi, Behen Jayakumar Pranjivandas Mehta, Mrs. Chhaganlal Gandhi, Mrs. Maganlal Gandhi, Messrs. Parsee Rustomjee, Chhaganlal Gandhi, Rugoo Govindoo, Rawjibhai M. Patel, Maganbhai H. Patel, Solomon Royceppen, Masters V. Govindrajulu, Sivpuja Budree, Coopersamy Moonlight Mudaliar, Revashanker Sodha, Gokuldas Hansraj, and Ramdas Gandhi.

The ladies were allowed to join the struggle after great effort was made by them to take part in it. When Mrs. Gandhi understood the marriage difficulty, she was incensed and said to Mr. Gandhi: "Then I am not your wife, according to the laws of this country." Mr. Gandhi replied that that was so and added that their children were not their heirs. "Then," she said, "let us go to India." Mr. Gandhi replied that that would be cowardly and that it would not solve the difficulty. "Could I not, then, join the struggle and be imprisoned?" she asked. He told her she could but that it was not a small matter. Her health was not good, she had not known that type of hardship and it would be disgraceful if, after her joining the struggle, she weakened. But Mrs. Gandhi was not to be moved. Her determination to stand up for her rights and living on the Settlement, would not be gained. They insisted that, apart from their own convictions, just as strong as Mrs. Gandhi's, they could not possibly remain out and allow Mrs. Gandhi to go to gaol. The proposal caused the greatest anxiety and was most momentous. If the decision was based on the impulse of the moment, they and those who allowed them to join might have to rue the day that it was made and accepted. Then how could they ensure being arrested without making a fuss? They wanted to avoid all publicity till they were safely in gaol. Then there was the risk of the Government leaving them alone as being harmless maniacs and fanatics. If, at the last moment, they flinched, their prominence might seriously damage the cause they sought to advance. All these and several other considerations suggested that the best course would be to deliberately and openly decline to disclose their identity on courting arrest. And if the move failed even then, they were to proceed to Johannesburg and take up fighting without licences and compel arrest. Any hardship was light enough compared to that of having to bear the insult to them or their sisters of not being considered lawful wives of their husbands.

Indian Opinion

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GENERAL SMUTS AND THE £3 TAX

THE following telegram was sent by the Natal Coalowner's Association to the Minister of the Interior on the 25th ultimo:—

"At joint meeting of representatives of coal, sugar, and agriculture industries, held this morning, Mr. Gandhi stated that present strike of coal mines was specifically due to failure of Union Government to carry out definite promise given by them repeatedly that the annual tax of £3 would be repealed. He states that a promise or assurance was given definitely to Mr. Gokhale, and that this is confirmed by a statement made by Lord Amphilh in the House of Lords, and reported in Blue-book, without reservation as to men, women, and children. Mr. Gandhi states that Indians will be immediately advised to resume work, regardless of any other grievances, as soon as Government give assurance that they will carry out their promise. After hearing Mr. Gandhi, the meeting resolved that the Union Government be asked to say whether they gave assurance regarding £3 tax mentioned by him, and as confirmed by Lord Amphilh in the House of Lords; whether said assurance applied to men, women, and children, and, if not, what were the reservations, if any? The meeting would be glad to know, also, what the present intentions of the Government are in regard to tax of £3. In view of the extension of the strike date, they would be indebted for immediate information for guidance of further joint meeting to be convened immediately such reply is received."

The Minister's Reply

In reply to the telegram, Government never gave such promises as Mr. Gandhi alleges, either to Mr. Gokhale or anybody elsewhere. Mr. Gokhale at interview with some members of Government made strong point of repeal of £3 tax in Natal. Government replied that tax was unimportant from revenue point of view, but was imposed as matter of policy in Natal. Government promised to consult Natal members of Parliament, and if they had no objection on grounds of policy, Government would take question of repeal into favourable consideration. Government carried out their promise by consulting Natal members, the majority of whom objected to repeal of tax, otherwise than affecting women and children. Government feel that promise of repeal under present state of affairs would be a public disaster, with consequences which none can foresee, and are not disposed to consider it. With regard to the repeal of tax is an after-thought, and is intended to influence Natal Indians, to whom the real grounds on which he has started his passive resistance movement, and which never included this tax, do not appeal."

Speech by General Smuts

General Smuts addressed a meeting of the South African Party at Pretoria on the 28th ultimo and in the course of his speech, which was delivered in Dutch, he is reported to have said that the Indians, being incensed at an old Natal law under which they were originally satisfied to live in that Colony, also had recourse to strike methods. There was no hope for the Indians, but every risk in steps of that kind. It was said that the Government had promised Mr. Gokhale to repeal the £3 tax, but he emphatically denied that. The Government had told Mr. Gokhale that fiscally the tax was of little account, but it had been imposed as a matter of policy, and if the Natal members of Parliament did not object to the repeal of the tax, the Government would consider it. Those members, however, had decidedly objected, and the Government had consequently kept all it ever promised. The Indians were being misled, and any Government worth its salt would put its foot down when attempts were made at every turn to coerce the public, because these could only lead to revolutions in the long run. He again warned the Indians in Natal, that they were going the wrong way.

General Botha Supports

General Botha, speaking at Nylstroom, said that he was present at the interview with Mr. Gokhale. He only wished to say that he agreed with and endorsed every word spoken by Mr. Smuts in regard to that interview, and in regard to what took place. "At any rate," said General Botha, "we shall do nothing by which your Municipality who, in their address to General Botha, had urged the Government to take up a strong attitude on the Asiatic question."

Mr. Gokhale's Statement

Upon the publication of Mr. Smuts's statement regarding the £3 tax, the Natal Indian Association telegraphed as follows to Mr. Gokhale, at Poona:—

"Government deny having given you undertaking repeal tax. Please cable."

Mr. Gokhale replied as follows:—

"Definite assurance repeal tax. Asked for the authority to make an announcement. The Ministers said it was necessary to mention the matter at first to the Natal members, and suggested I should merely state that Ministers had promised most favourable consideration."

A Breach of Faith

The following resolutions were adopted unanimously at a meeting on the 29th ultimo of the Natal Indian Association:—

"The Natal Indian Association, having received from the Hon. Mr. Gokhale a distinct reaffirmation of

Indian Opinion

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THE ARREST OF MR. WEST

THE usual calm of Phoenix Settlement was, a few days ago, disturbed by occurrences which will leave a lasting impression upon the minds of those who witnessed the scenes. Hundreds of Indian strikers assembled on the grounds, seeking food and protection. They formed themselves into camps here and there about the place and at some of the houses. During the early hours of Tuesday morning a continuous stream of men, women and children could be seen coming into the grounds, carrying with them their very meagre household belongings. In many cases they carried nothing at all, and presented a pitiful sight. They sought a place of refuge, away from the harassing, if not actual ill-treatment, of the estate managers and the police. They were a peaceful and good-natured crowd and it was difficult to imagine that they would ever be otherwise, were they treated in a sympathetic and humane manner. In looking at these people one became more and more convinced that the disturbances reported in the newspapers, and which have resulted in the death of many Indians and the injury of hundreds, could only have been caused by force and violence on the part of those who professed to be their protectors.

About 4-30 p.m. the news flashed round—the police are coming! A feeling of fear and helplessness seized the people and they waited without attempting to fly away. Lieutenant Clark, accompanied by the estate managers and a force of mounted police, armed with stout sticks and revolvers, came up to the press building, where the work of turning the people out was proceeding, and inquired for Mr. Maganlal Gandhi. He at once came forward and he was requested by the officer to ask the people to return to their barracks. Mr. Maganlal said that he would like first to speak to his friend and colleague Mr. West. Mr. West told him that he could not do that, as Mr. West had been arrested and had already left in a motor-car in charge of detectives. Lieut. Clark said that he had instructions to send the people to their respective estates. He guaranteed them full protection from now on if they remained peacefully in their barracks and he requested Mr. Maganlal to explain these instructions to the people. This Mr. Maganlal did in Hindustani. When one sturdy fellow among the crowd persisted in his charges of rough treatment in the barracks, Lieut. Clark emphatically repeated the promise of protection, through his own interpreter. The people shortly afterwards began to move away from the place and there was not the slightest disturbance. Before he went away Lieut. Clark thanked Mr. Maganlal and assured him that protection would be given to these people if they remained quietly in their barracks. He instructed one of his officers, who was in charge of a patrol camp in the adjoining wattle-plantation, to see Mr. Maganlal the next day to hear

complaints, if any, and to prevent people congregating on the property.

Mr. West's arrest was accomplished in quite an easy manner. He had just gone home for a few minutes and was chatting with his wife and a friend when the motor was heard near the house. Mr. West immediately went outside and met Detectives Elton and Walker who stated that they held a warrant for his arrest. They asked their prisoner to enter the car at once as they were anxious to avoid a collision with the people. They argued that, if the people saw Mr. West arrested, it might cause them to make a serious disturbance. He therefore acceded to their request, dressed as he was in his usual attire consisting of shirt, calico trousers and sandals. He was allowed to carry with him a suit of clothes. Mr. West was taken direct to the Durban Gaol and put in a cell at 5-30 for the night; no food was given to him until six o'clock next morning when a native warder pushed in a tin of mealie pap and some dirty white bread. A taste of this wretched stuff was sufficient. Mr. West made a complaint to the Gaol Superintendent and was curtly told that no food was issued after the evening meal hour—five o'clock.

Whilst standing outside the Governor's office Mr. West noticed how insolently the native warders acted towards Indian prisoners. One native came up to some Indian prisoners standing near him and took from one of them his cap and coolly wiped his greasy hands upon it and afterwards cleaned his knob-kerry with it. In the yard was a European official giving orders in English to Indian prisoners. They were asked to line up in a certain place and because they did not understand what he said, and stood in the wrong place, he lost his temper and swore loudly at them. A large number of Indian strikers had that day completed their term of imprisonment and were being released in the yard, each carrying a dirty sack. They emptied the sacks on the ground and I saw that these contained their clothing. As the contents of the sacks were emptied on the ground a cloud of white dust arose which looked like lime. Their clothing was covered with this stuff and it was impossible for them to shake it off. They had to change their dress in the open yard.

Before the Court

Mr. West was brought before the Verulam Magistrate on Wednesday and charged with harbouring Indian immigrants. The Public Prosecutor applied for a remand for a week. Mr. E. H. Britter, who appeared for Mr. West, asked the Magistrate to fix bail. The Prosecutor objected and said that, as the accused was charged with a very serious offence, especially in face of the present critical state of affairs, the Magistrate should seriously consider whether it was advisable to allow Mr. West to be at liberty. But at any rate an undertaking should be given that the offence would not

26-14B

shirt and trousers. Mr. Gandhi, with incredible rapidity and a large clasp-knife, cut the loaves into three-inch slices, made a depression with his thumb in the centre of each bun, filled it with sugar from the bowl at his elbow, and passed them on to the waiting queue of Indians, who were admitted to the yard in batches of twelve through a hole in the fence. And all the time he explained his plan of campaign to me in perfect and cultured English, interspersing his remarks with learned references to "Gladstonian Liberalism" (this was a snipe at General Smuts), and other recondite subjects.

Mr. Gandhi Sentenced

Mr. Gandhi was on the 11th instant charged on three counts, before the Resident Magistrate, Mr. J. W. Cross, of Dundee, with inducing indentured immigrants to leave the Province. The court was crowded with Indians and Europeans. Mr. W. Dalzell Turnbull was specially instructed by the Attorney-General to appear for the prosecution, and Mr. Advocate J. W. Godfrey appeared for Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi pleaded guilty to the charges.

Mr. Turnbull read the section and left the matter in the hands of the Magistrate.

Mr. Godfrey stated that he was under an obligation to the defendant not to plead in mitigation in any way whatsoever. The circumstances which had brought Mr. Gandhi before the Magistrate were well known to all persons, and he was only expressing the desire of the defendant when he stated that the Magistrate had a duty to perform, and that he was expected to perform that duty fearlessly, and should therefore not hesitate to impose the highest sentence upon the prisoner if he felt that the circumstances in the case justified it.

Mr. Gandhi obtained the permission of the Court, and made the following statement:—As a member of the profession, and being an old resident of Natal, he thought that, in justice to himself and the public, he should state that the counts against him were of such a nature that he took the responsibility imposed upon him, for he believed that the demonstration for which these people were taken out of the Colony was one of a worthy object. He felt that he should say that he had nothing against the employers, and regretted that in this campaign serious losses were being caused to them. He appealed to the employers also, and he felt that the tax was one which was heavily weighing down his countrymen, and should be removed. He also felt that he was in honour bound, in view of the position of things between Mr. Smuts and Professor Gubbale, to produce a striking demonstration. He was aware of the miseries caused to the women and babes in arms. On the whole, he felt he had not gone beyond the principles and honour of the profession of which he was a member. He felt that he had only done his duty in advising his countrymen, and it was his duty to advise them again, that until the tax were removed, to leave work and subsist upon rations obtained by charity. He was certain that without suffering it was not possible for them to get their grievance remedied.

The Magistrate then addressed as follows:—In this case the accused had pleaded guilty to the three counts, and the section of law under which the accused was charged made him liable to a fine of £20 for each immigrant he attempted to induce, or induced, to leave the Province. Mr. Gandhi was an educated gentleman, and had the distinction of being a member of the legal profession, and whatever he had done, he had done with a full knowledge of the consequences of his act. The Magistrate then referred to the conditions under which Indians were brought into this Province, and the terms they had agreed upon for remaining here after the expiry of their indentures. He also referred to the contention of the Indians regarding Mr. Smuts's alleged promise to the Indians. The Natal members of Parliament had consented to the tax being removed

so far as it affected the women and children, but not the men. The Government had, therefore, not broken faith with the Indians and he believed that was the ground upon which Mr. Gandhi had advised the Indians to strike. To strike was to defy the law, and the Government's position was that, so long as the Indians were out on strike, it was impossible for them to consider any legislation regarding repeal. The defendant was by his threatening conduct, only bringing ruination to the men and harshness upon themselves. He therefore advised the Indians to stop the passive resistance, and make representations to the Government. He also believed that the Indians were alienating the sympathy of the Europeans who were at one with the Indians in requesting the Government for the repeal of the tax. It was a painful duty to pass sentence upon the conduct of a gentleman like Mr. Gandhi, upon the deliberate contravention of the law, but he had a duty to perform, and Mr. Godfrey, his counsel, had asked him fearlessly to perform that duty. The accused having pleaded guilty, he (the Magistrate) accepted that plea, and passed the following sentences:—Count 1, £20, or three months' imprisonment, with hard labour; Count 2, £20, or three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, to take effect upon the expiration of the sentence in respect to Count 1; Count 3, £20, or three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, this to take effect upon the expiration of the sentence imposed in Count 2.

Mr. Gandhi, in a clear and calm voice, said: "I elect to go to gaol."

A large crowd of friends waited outside to see Mr. Gandhi come out, but for some unaccountable reason the police took the greatest pains to ensure secrecy, and no one knew how he was taken away.

His counsel visited him later, and, through him, desires it to be stated that he was cheerful and confident, and sends as his message to the strikers the following: "No cessation of the strike without the repeal of the £3 tax. The Government, having imprisoned me, can gracefully make a declaration regarding the repeal."

Alleged Ill-treatment on Mines

The Indian Association received telegrams from Newcastle stating that the men on the Ballengeich mine had been brutally whipped in consequence of their refusal to work. Some were unconscious. The Ballengeich men were charged before the Court and 50 were sentenced to three months' hard labour and 136 to six months. Eight ringleaders were sent to Maritzburg gaol and the rest were locked in the mine compound which had been proclaimed as a gaol and surrounded by a fence of wire netting.

From Dundee a telegram stated that there were allegations of serious assaults upon native resistance at Burnside by native police, instigated by and in the presence of the compound manager of the S.A. Colliery who with the police actively assaulted the men. One woman was in hospital and others were seriously injured. Similar complaints were hourly multiplied from all the mines.

The Indian Association wired to the Magistrate at Dundee, to investigate the matter and permit a representative of the Association to be present. The Government replied stating that the inquiry would be made but not agreeing with the latter suggestion.

A further message states that Mr. J. W. Cross, Dundee, and Mr. D. G. Giles, Newcastle, Magistrates, warned Indians refusing to work that they would be starved and thereafter mercilessly flogged under gaol regulations into submission and forcibly driven underground with the lash. Hundreds of Indians on the Ballengeich, Navigation, and Cambrian mines are flogged and shot at. Two have been wounded. The Magistrates refuse protection. Indians leaving the mine to complain to the Magistrate will be shot as escaping prisoners.

5th August, 1911.

OKAY

The Owner of Tolstoy Farm

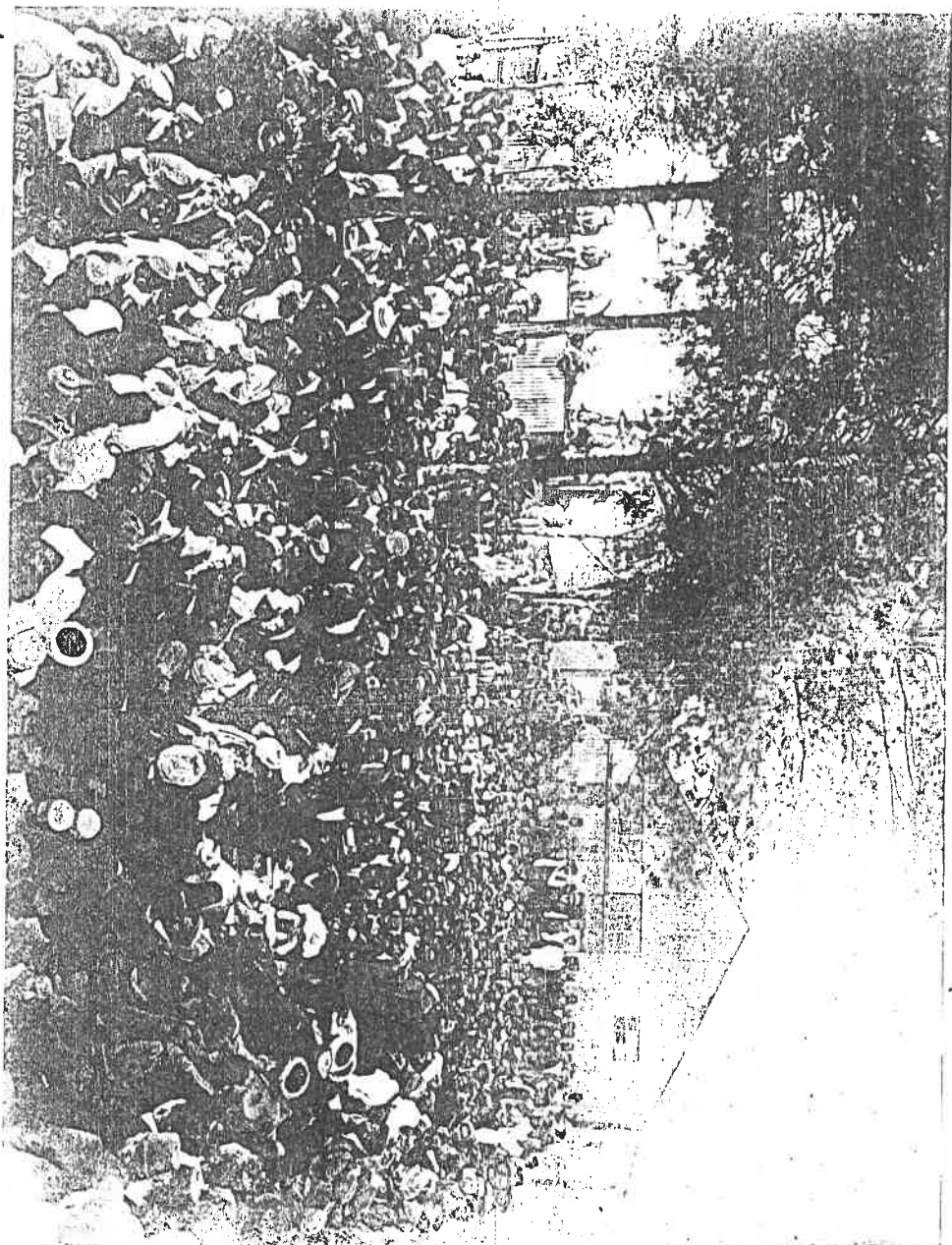


WHERE PASSIVE RESISTERS FOUND A HOME

સત્યાગ્રહીના મિત્ર અને ટોલસ્ટોય ફાર્મના માલિક મી. એચ. કેલનબેક

The Indian Mass Meeting

Held at Pretoria on the 31st July which decided to continue the Passive Resistance crusade against the Asiatic Act.



કચ્છના સામે સુબ્રહ્મણ્ય રાજ્યવાસી કસ્ટ કરના પ્રતિરોધી મળેલી ૨૦૦૦ માણસોની મેળાવડે મળીયા.

Photo by A. Brillenkamp, Pretoria.

who law & order breaks I care
to the world - to set the
law straight

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.

દરાંસવાલના હિંદીની હાડતમાં પોતાનો જીવ આપનાર
મરહુમ મી. એસ. નાગાપન.

Natal to the Rescue!



Mr. S. J. Randeria
Mr. Parsee Rustomjee

Mr. M. C. Anglia

Mr. Dawad Mahomed

Mr. H. I. Joshi

Mr. Adam H. G. Mahomed
(Capetown.)

Some of the leading Indians who have proceeded to Johannesburg to assert their rights.

કોઈ સરકારના હિંદીઓની મદદે ચલેલા બહાદુર હિંદી આગેવાનો.

22.8.1908 -

See 155/41

P19



R. S. V. P.

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 Rustomjee

Hon. Sec. Address Committee

INDIAN OPINION.

ENGLISH.

GUJARATI.

PUBLISHED IN

TAMIL.

HINDI.

Vol. 1.

112 Pages with Supplement.

Durban, June 8th, 1903.

No. 1.

હોમાન ગોરડન એન્ડ કં

હોલસેલ મરચાંદાર.

૪૮૧, સ્પીથ સ્ટ્રીટ, ડરબન.

જ્યાંયે લોકે જાનુ કાપડ તથા અન્યથા યાન.
અથવા અન્યથા યાન કાપડ તથા અન્યથા યાન.
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Indian Opinion

VOL. IV.

PHOENIX, NATAL, SATURDAY, JULY 28TH, 1906

No. 30

Contents

EDITORIAL COLUMNS:—

Indian Stretcher-Bearers	515
What is Beneficial Occupation?	515
Transvaal Permits	515
Popular Representation	516

OTHER ARTICLES:—

Indian Affairs in the Natal Parliament	516
Unoccupied Land Tax	516
Johannesburg Jottings	517
Travelling on the C.S.A.R.	517
The Coloured Franchise	517
Our Cape Dispatch	518
Two Hard Cases in South Africa	519
Burgess Roll Court	519
Indians at Nylstroom	519
The Indian Stretcher-Bearer Corps	520
British Indians at Pietersburg	521
Germiston's Location	522
Hamidia Islamic Society	522
Imperial Parliament	522

CORRESPONDENCE:—

The Indian Senior Wrangler	522
Answers to Correspondents	522

Indian Opinion

SATURDAY, 28TH JULY, 1906

Indian Stretcher-Bearers

THE Indian Stretcher-Bearer Corps that was raised, now over a month ago, has been disbanded, and as our correspondent states, Major Buntine expressed on behalf of the Government grateful appreciation of its work. As our columns have shown, during the month of its existence the corps was called upon to do very arduous and responsible work, requiring the exercise of judgment and intelligence. The bearers had to do the work of dressing wounds, marching with mounted troops, and carrying stretchers through a country which, as the Governor of Natal has recently pointed out, was regarded as inaccessible. The men were unarmed, and yet they had to face the dangers of war, and at one time had to perform their march with their charge to Mapumulo without any escort at all. All this would do credit to any body of men.

And yet, when one thinks of the hundreds of other colonists who went to the front, and what they had to face, the record of the Indian Corps pales into insignificance. It is, however, some satisfaction to the Indian community to know that if it has done so little, it is because it was not allowed by the Government to do more. The offer of the Congress was made immediately after the rebellion

assumed a serious aspect. And had the Government accepted the offer there and then, and enlisted a corps of two hundred Indians, they would have, it is now acknowledged, rendered very useful service. In any event, the fact that the Indian volunteers went without any pay from the Government is without a parallel.

The importance of the work of the Corps, however, lies in the fact that it represents pioneer work, and ought to lead to the formation of a permanent body. The Government, in their letter of acceptance, seem to have said or implied as much. Indians are pre-eminently fit for ambulance work. Such is the universal experience of the military authorities in India. If, therefore, Indians were encouraged to volunteer for such work, the Government would be utilising a hitherto neglected military asset. It is for the leaders of the Indian community to invite the Government to consider the question of permanent Indian volunteering.

What

is Beneficial Occupation?

THE Select Committee appointed by the Natal Legislative Assembly to report upon the Unoccupied Land Tax Bill has now issued its report, which is published in the *Government Gazette* of the 17th instant. The Report is not unanimous. Two influential members of the Committee, Messrs. Evans and Walker have presented a minority report. The draft Bill submitted with the report of the majority retains the artificial definition of "unoccupied land," and condemns Indian occupation as non-beneficial—a feat that is capable of performance only in South Africa. It is disappointing to find men like Hon. Sir J. L. Hulett and Col. Greene associating themselves with an attempt to put a tax upon a man because of the colour of his skin. Messrs. Evans and Walker, therefore, have, in our opinion, rendered a service to the Colony by boldly dissenting from the immoral policy enunciated by the majority of their colleagues. Mr. Walker, who is rather unnecessarily cautious, contents himself by stating that

The evidence laid before the Committee indicated that the question of coloured occupation would have to be considered, which must lead to discussion most undesirable at the present time.

Mr. Evans is clear and emphatic. In the course of his remarks, he says:—

To state, as is done in the Bill, that any cultivation of the land by a coloured tenant, however complete and intensive, is not occupation, unless a European lives on

the land, is to make an invidious distinction, which I cannot accept. We are obliged in this Colony to make race distinctions, and pass class legislation. But I think it a mistake to do so, except when absolutely necessary. The Bill ignores all the careful cultivation done by Indian tenants, a certain amount done by natives, and all that may be done by a coloured person who would not come under the definition of a European. I am anxious to see the lands in the Colony occupied by Europeans but I cannot endorse a definition which does not allow the highest cultivation by those of other races to count in the eye of the law.

Mr. Evans might have added that the Bill, so far as Indians are concerned, will punish a people whose presence is considered to be absolutely necessary for the Colony's welfare. It is to be hoped that, if not the Legislative Assembly, the Legislative Council will unhesitatingly reject the unholy proposal so vigorously and rightly condemned by Mr. Maurice Evans.

IN VIEW OF THE RECENT DECISIONS of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal on the Peace Preservation Ordinance, it is

necessary still further to examine the legal position created by those decisions. The dismissal by the Supreme Court of the application by the Attorney-General for a review of the Bhyat case leaves the question raised in that case undecided. Whilst therefore the Magistrate at Volksrust is bound by his own decision, and to recognise the Dutch Registration Certificates as equivalent to permits, we have no pronouncement from the Supreme Court endorsing the magisterial view. And in the face of the contention, raised by the Attorney-General, the state of the law is one of painful uncertainty to the Indian refugees. Other magistrates may unconsciously attach weight to the argument advanced on behalf of the Crown. It may then come to pass that an Indian holding the Dutch certificate may safely re-enter the Transvaal through Volksrust, and another equally qualified, passing through, say, Komatie Poort, may be prevented from so doing. Not even the most violent anti-Asiatic would, we presume, be able to justify such a deplorable state of things. The Supreme Court decision on the Registration law bears out the whole contention of the Indian community. Can Lord Selborne still claim for the Transvaal administration a reasonable spirit in the enforcement of the Peace Preservation Ordinance and Law 3 of 1885? We trust that the ever-vigilant British Indian Association will invite His Excellency's answer to the query,

to show how scrupulous the population of Johannesburg is in its efforts to separate the sheep from the goats, that native servants are to be seen on the reserved "coloured" trailers—with their European masters' and mistresses' children alongside of them! The unfortunate youngsters.

THE CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE. It will be remembered that the addendum to the Statement of Grievances submitted by the British Indian Association to the Constitution Committee enlarged upon the manner in which the different political parties proposed to deal with the question of Asiatics in the new Colonies, and particularly in the Transvaal. On the 1st inst., a deputation of miners waited upon the Committee, and amongst other demands formulated by them, the following were made: (a) No Asiatic to be allowed to enter the Colony except as unskilled labourers; (b) no additional business, traders, or hawkers' licences to be issued to Asiatics. A very pretty programme indeed, but one which I doubt will commend itself to the favourable consideration of Commissioners whose training has not numbed their sense of Imperial responsibility, and whose politics are not of the "parish pump" order, as Mr. Calquhoun has dubbed those of the majority of the British settlers in the "Africander Land."

A NEW CONCEPTION. The Zimbabwe ruins of Rhodesia have, for some time past, caused much speculation amongst scientific men as to their origin and to the reasons for their existence. Mr. Hall, the well-known archaeologist, has advanced the theory that the Phoenicians were the authors of the "temples," and that they were the originators of the first gold recovery processes in Central Africa, the spot being actually the biblical Ophir. Sir Harry Johnston believes that, about the time of the birth of Christ, there was a Semitic incursion into the country. Recently, another critic, "demolished" the aforementioned theories by pinning his faith to the "certainty" that the monuments were erected to comparatively modern times and by a negro people. Now comes Mr. J. F. Van Oordt, a Capetonian, who traces certain phalli and soapstone cylinders to Western India and possibly to the Dravidians. Perhaps further reference to the pamphlet recently issued by the last named theorist will be made in these columns. Meanwhile, I am awaiting some hypothesis that drags in China by the pigtail. Everything ultimately originated in Cathay, we are told—even crime!

IMPERIAL INTERFERENCE. It has been decided that the question of Imperial interference, in the matter of restrictive or prohibitive colonial legislation, regarding the immigration of Asiatics into the Colonies, shall be brought forward for consideration and discussion at the Colonial

Conference to be held next year. The *Times* has recently suggested that India be also included amongst the territories represented, and that, in that eventuality, the Prime Minister himself should preside. It is an excellent suggestion, and one fraught with enormous possibilities. Will India consent to the enforcement of the restrictive enactments against her sons' free ingress into and egress from other parts of the Empire? That is a very moot point, and it is devoutly to be hoped that the suggestion of the *Times* will be promptly acted upon.

THE PERMIT OFFICE. Information has come to me that the working of the Asiatic Department is not satisfactory to those whose misfortune it is to be brought into close contact with that Government office. Complaint is made that applicants are frequently obliged to wait for days together before their needs are attended to. Naturally, considerable inconvenience is caused, and much irritation. Moreover, there is great reluctance on the part of witnesses to appear for the purpose of assisting to establish (or otherwise) the claims of applicant refugees for admittance, owing to the intolerable delays that are caused them by their being made to await the convenience of the officials, and to their being treated, as it is alleged, as though they had some criminal intent. It is a common cause of complaint that the Asiatic Department's customary method is to reverse the ordinary British habit of regarding every man innocent until he is proved guilty. That is another of the inconveniences and injustices due to class and colour distinctions in these unhappy colonies.

Indian Storekeepers at the Cape

And the General Dealers' Bill

A Reuter telegram to the *Natal Advertiser* states that the Indian section of the Cape community has been much perturbed lately on account of the Bill, which is mainly directed against the small Indian trader.

A meeting was held on Sunday afternoon, at Capetown, under the auspices of the British Indian League, the president of which moved that a deputation of five members be appointed to interview the members for the City and other members, with a view to securing their co-operation in having the Bill so altered or amended that no injustice would be inflicted upon any general dealer. The motion was carried, and the deputation appointed. It was also carried that should the deputation be unsuccessful, communication should be opened up by cable with the Viceroy of India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Indentured Indians on an Estate.

Their Wretched Plight.

Startling if True.

We give below the purport of a contribution to our Gleaner columns:

Several indentured Indians are working at a colliery near Ladysmith. They have been suffering great hardships for some time. When they could suffer them no longer, many of them left their place in the still silence of the night, in order to lay their complaint before the magistrate. They were with their children and were shivering with cold. This was on Victoria Day. Their complaint was as follows:

(1) We are called upon to go to work at 3 o'clock in the morning. We are released late in the evening. Sometimes we are not given even sufficient time to change our kails.

(2) We are obliged to use for drinking and cooking water that is dirty. We are asked to cut and fetch our own water. We have the clean water that is brought to the colliery, or a piece of wood to burn.

(3) If at the time of working we damage a piece of coal, we are fined.

(4) Mealie meal is mixed with our rice. As we are not used to this food, we have to suffer from illness. When we are sick, little attention is given to us.

(5) We are often paid for our wages.

(6) Women that are with child are also made to work.

(7) We are not given a rest when we wish to look after our children.

(8) We were sent to work under our former manager.

Men with these complaints reached Ladysmith hungry and thirsty, with their wives and children, about 1 o'clock. Being without purses, they had a rough time of it at the hands of the Kafir Police. The Court was closed. The men, therefore, passed the day in the compound. Mr. Dunning then came upon the scene. On the men telling him that they were there because they could not obtain justice from him, he ordered sixteen of the men to be arrested. Ultimately the Magistrate pardoned the men through the intercession of Mr. Vinden, and the men returned to work. I do not know who the men were, but I wish in this manner, to bring the Government's attention to the Government? Where is the Government? Where is Mr. Bernard Labrec, who promised to do all he could to relieve the lot of the indentured Indians?

In this connection, I wish the following information to be sent from the *Ladysmith Gleaner*:

Some considerable amusement was occasioned on Thursday last by the advent in town of about one hundred and fifty coolie men and women, who marched down the street in a solid body until they arrived at the Magis-



The late Mr. J. D. Lazarus, who was closely associated with Gandhi during the Mahatma's stay in South Africa.

HE WAS HOST TO GANDHI IN S.A.

"Leader" Reporter

ONE of the most well-known and respected figures during the Passive Resistance Movement led by Mahatma Gandhi at the turn of the century was the late Mr. Jasudason Dossan Lazarus, the pioneer Indian educationist who died last week at the St. Aidan's Hospital at the age of 90.

In fact, during the miner's strike in Northern Natal around the years 1913, Mr. Lazarus met Gandhi and acted host to him. Gandhi, spent many days at his humble 3-roomed home in Newcastle where even many of the striking labourers took refuge.

In his widely-read book, "Satyagraha in South Africa" Gandhi made special mention of Mr. Lazarus who he wrote "received me into his home with open arms."

"It has never been easy for friends to harbour me under their roof," said Gandhi, "but to receive me now was tantamount to inviting financial ruin upon one's head or perhaps even to facing imprisonment."

"Poor Lazarus would sacrifice some wages if it came to that. He would be willingly cast into prison."

"He not only sheltered me but he devoted his all to the cause. My stopping there converted his house into a caravan. All sorts and conditions of men would come and go and the premises at all times would present the appearance of an ocean of heads. The kitchen fire would know no rest days and night."

"Mrs. Lazarus would drudge like a slave all day long, and yet her face as well as her husband's would always be lit up with a simple as with perpetual sunshine."

MARIAM & MAHOMED v. IMMIGRANTS 383
APPEAL BOARD.

The following statement was filed by the Board :—

SPECIAL CASE.

In the matter of an appeal before the Immigrants Appeal Board, sitting at Durban, of Mariam, an Indian female, born in India, and her child, Mahomed, the Mahommedan wife and son respectively of Ismail Suliman Bulla.

FACTS ADMITTED.

1. Ismail Suliman Bulla is a person exempted by paragraph (f) of section 5 of the Immigrants Regulation Act No. 22 of 1913.

2. Prior to the year 1912 the said Ismail Suliman Bulla contracted in India a marriage with one Aisa, under the tenets of an Indian religion.

3. On the 15th April, 1912, the said Aisa arrived in Natal with her husband, the said Ismail Suliman Bulla, and remained in the Province until 1913.

4. During the period of her residence in Natal the said Aisa bore to the said Ismail Suliman Bulla a female child Khatija.

5. In the year 1913 the said Ismail Suliman Bulla took his wife Aisa and child Khatija to India.

6. In the year 1914 the said Ismail Suliman Bulla divorced his wife Aisa, according to Mahommedan Law, and subsequently married the appellant Mariam in India.

7. That the divorced wife Aisa and her child Khatija are both still alive and reside in India.

8. Between the appellant Mariam and Ismail Suliman Bulla there exists a union recognised as a marriage under the tenets of an Indian religion.

9. The child Mahomed is a child under the age of 16 years born of the said marriage between Ismail Suliman Bulla and Mariam.

10. No other union exists between the said Ismail Suliman Bulla and any other woman who now resides in any Province of the Union.

Issued in exchange for surrendered Domicile No. 6119.

③

COLONY OF NATAL.

No. 3231

(Fee 5/- paid)

I.R.D.....

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION DEPARTMENT.

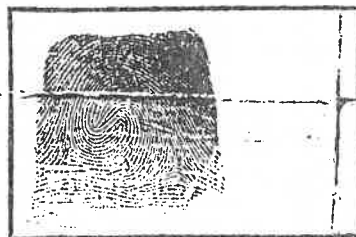
(Act No. 30 of 1903).

CERTIFICATE OF DOMICILE.

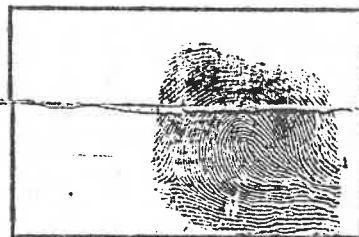
This is to Certify that the person hereinafter described, has produced evidence to my satisfaction that he has been formerly domiciled or resident in Natal within the meaning of the Immigration Restriction Act.

Name Ismail Suliman Bulla
Nationality Indian Place of Birth Bombay
Age 24 years Sex Male Height 5 ft, 3 1/4 ins.
Trade or Profession Tradesman
Caste Mohammedan Married or single Married
Distinctive Marks Scars below Right Calf &
Two scars outside Left Knee
Place of Residence in Natal 514 West Street, Durban
Signature of Holder Ismail Suliman Bulla

Left Thumb Impression:



Right Thumb Impression:



Issued at Immigration Restriction Office, Port Natal.
on 1st June 1905

W. J. J. J.
I.R. Officer.

IMMIGRANTS APPEAL BOARD : NATAL
IMMIGRANTS REGULATION ACT No. 22 of 1913.

Appeal No. 194.

File No. 26/1720

Mr. Ismail Suleman Bulla,

C/o Messrs. Goodricke & Carlisle,

Solicitors, P. O. Box 563, DURBAN.

This is to notify you that the Immigrants Appeal Board
will meet on Thursday morning next, the 22nd instant, at 10.30
o'clock, in the office of the Principal Immigration Officer,
Point, for the purpose of the hearing the Appeal of your wife
MARIAH.

Garrick

THE POINT, PORT NATAL,

17th August, 1918.

PRINCIPAL IMMIGRATION OFFICER
(PROVINCE OF NATAL.)

GWD/MLB

TO: MR. Ismail Suleman Bulla,
TONGAAT. . NATAL.

COLONY OF NATAL.

2

No. 2198

I.R.D.

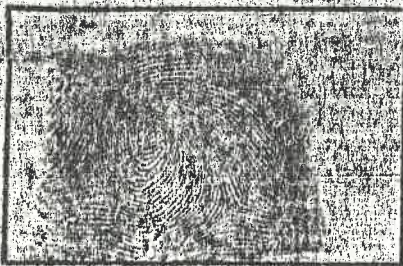
IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION DEPARTMENT

(Act No. 30 of 1903)

CERTIFICATE OF DOMICILE.

See 5/- paid
This is to Certify that the person hereinafter described, has produced evidence to my satisfaction that he has been formerly domiciled or resident in Natal within the meaning of the Immigration Restriction Act.

Name *Ismail Fakir*
Nationality *Indian* Place of Birth *Bombay*
Age *28 years* Sex *Male* Height *5' 8 1/2"*
Trade or Profession *Printer*
Caste *Mohammedan* married or single *Married*
Distinctive Marks *Scar between thumb & first finger left hand & long scar back of neck*
Place of Residence in Natal *48 Victoria Street Durban*
Signature of Holder *Ismail Fakir*
Left Thumb Impression
Right Thumb Impression



Issued at

on

Ad Office, Durban,
14th July, 1904.

1904

A. S. ...

Issued in exchange for Surrendered Certificate No. 10483 of 19th February, 1903

The PASSIVE RESISTER

Official Organ of the Passive Resistance
Council of the Transvaal Indian Congress

JOHANNESBURG

Vol. 1. No. 9.
26th AUGUST, 1946.

We Welcome Them!

THEY SERVED IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM

IN Johannesburg the Indian community gave a rousing welcome to the Transvaal resisters who have been released from prison, on Sunday at the Gandhi Hall. Similar meetings have been held in other centres such as Pretoria and Durban. At all these meetings the spirit of the returned resisters has made the Indian community realise that our brave resisters will continue to fight the policy of segregation and in particular the Ghetto Act until this Act is repealed. Their determination has made many more men and women join the resistance movement.

A GRAND WELCOME

The Gandhi-Hall welcome was a grand welcome. The Hall was packed out long before the meeting commenced. Many people had to stand outside on the pavement and listen to the speeches through the microphone installed outside. Besides the Chairman and the Secretary of the Council, the speakers were confined to the returned resisters themselves.

We give here extracts from the speeches of our resisters who called upon the Indian community of the Transvaal to give even greater support to the resistance movement.

MOLVI SALOOJEE: The Indian people of South Africa are fighting a policy of oppression. It is the duty of the oppressed throughout the world not to accept oppression but to oppose it no matter what the cost. No oppressor can continue with his policy of oppression if the people rise and proclaim their right

to live as free human beings. The Passive resistance movement is a movement for the liberation of our oppressed people and I am confident that eventually we must succeed.

DR. VALLABHBHAI PATEL: Passive Resistance symbolises the spirit of the Indian people today. We are fresh from jail but we are neither down-hearted nor is our spirit destroyed by the hardship and sufferings we endured for the cause of freedom. In the ranks of the resisters are people from all stations in life showing that our resistance is based on the will of the people and not the creation of some agitators. Our movement is growing daily.

MRS. SURIKALA PATEL: We have accepted the challenge of the South African Government. Although we have no arms or ammunition we are resisting the might of our oppressors . . .

We salute those who are still in jail and put this question to every Indian: "WHAT HAVE YOU DONE IN THIS NATIONAL STRUGGLE?" It is the duty of all of us to join this struggle and vindicate the honour and prestige of our people.

A. E. PATEL: The banner of resistance against oppression is flying high all over the world. Our leader Dr. Dadoo has taken a mandate from the Indian people to lead us under the banner of resistance in this country. He has made a great sacrifice and it is the duty of every Indian to rally to the clarion call of resistance. Let us remember that no sacrifice is too great for the price of freedom.

ENVER BHAROOCHI: We are fighting against the policy of segregation and as time goes on our forces are growing. A day will dawn when all the non-Europeans of South Africa will join hands in a common struggle. The struggle against the Pass Laws and the demands of all non-Europeans for franchise will develop on its own. Our fight must be one of eight million strong.

BHANA RAVJI: In this struggle of our people our women have played a very important and leading part. History will record with pride their contribution.

G. SOOBOO: I remained in Durban when released to serve my community again. I wanted to go back to jail but the Council decided otherwise. I am prepared as a soldier to stand by for further orders.

DETERMINED TO BE FREE

These brave resisters speak the language of people who are determined to free their people. Among them are silent workers like Mrs. P. K. Naidoo who has served her term once more and is prepared to lead her people into action again for the cause of freedom. On Sunday the returned resisters threw a challenge to the Indian community of the Transvaal. It is for every Indian to accept this challenge and join in this historic struggle of our people.

NEW ACTION!



MR. GEORGE SINGH

Over 400 of our resisters have been sentenced to imprisonment since resistance commenced on June 13th, 1946. They were charged under the Trespass Act and under the Riotous Assemblies Act but the authorities would not prosecute them under the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act.

Now our struggle has taken a new turn. On Monday, 19th August, 1946, a plot of ground in Wentworth (a controlled area under the Act) was occupied by our resisters with the permission of the owner of the plot. NOW THE GHETTO ACT HAS BEEN DIRECTLY VIOLATED.

The first batch in this new action was led by MR. GEORGE SINGH, Chairman of the Committee of the Natal Indian Congress.

Occupation of the Umbilo Road Resistance Plot continues nightly.

OUT OF JAIL . . .



The first Batch of 77 Resisters released from Durban Central Jail.

PASSIVE RESISTERS' PROUD RECORD 1946!



DR. NAICKER addressing Johannesburg's great farewell meeting.

DURBAN WELCOMES RUSTOMJEE

DR. G. M. NAICKER presided at a meeting called by the Passive Resistance Council in the Gandhi Library, Durban, on Thursday, 30th January, to welcome Mr. S. Rustomjee, the Joint Council delegate to New York.

In welcoming Mr. Rustomjee, Dr. Naicker saluted and congratulated him for his work in our cause both in South Africa by courting imprisonment, and overseas by assisting India's delegates at UNO.

MORAL STRENGTH

Dr. Naicker said: "UNO's decision has been of great moral strength to our struggle. It has unified our community and has made stronger the unity, co-operation and determination of the non-European peoples as a whole. The time has now come when every family should be represented in the Resistance movement. You must join now as a passive resister."

Dr. K. Goonam and Mr. Ashwin Choudree were the other speakers to join in the welcome.

UNO DEBATE

Mr. Rustomjee described the inner workings of the Joint Political and Legal Committee and vividly described the debate in the Assembly. He said: "The achievements at UNO are not only a moral victory for us and for India, but for elementary human rights of all people. India's delegation

was the only one headed by a woman. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit fought her case not emotionally, but by presenting the facts fairly and squarely. She answered every accusation and charge.

He contrasted the silent reception given to Field Marshal Smuts and the deafening continuous applause Mrs. Vijayalakshmi received when she left her seat to address the Assembly from the rostrum.

HEATON NICHOLLS

Mr. Rustomjee pointed out that Heaton Nicholls in a last minute manoeuvre before the voting appealed to the delegates that no matter what the decision, it would not be binding unless it received the two-thirds majority. "In this Mr. Nicholls thought that the decision would become a stalemate and the Union Government could then disregard UNO. But to his own surprise UNO passed the French-Mexican Resolution by a two-thirds majority."

Will Mr. Nicholls and the Union Government swallow their own words by refusing to carry out a decision which they themselves have openly acknowledged is a binding decision?"

FAREWELL MEETING

DOCTORS
DADOO AND NAICKER

LEAVING FOR INDIA
RED SQUARE, SUNDAY, 9th FEBRUARY, at 2.30 p.m.
Prominent Speakers:

"IMPLEMENT UNO DECISION"
"ATTEND IN YOUR THOUSANDS"

Under the Auspices of the Passive Resistance Council of N.I.C.

ON the 27th June, 1946 Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker with the first passive resisters to be sentenced to terms of imprisonment in the present resistance campaign. During seven months of struggle for freedom and justice and against the Ghetto Act and racialism the Indian community has a proud record.

TOTAL SENTENCED

From the 1st June 1946 to the 27th June 1946 the following number of passive resisters were sentenced to terms of imprisonment:

ALL PROVINCES

From the 1st June 1946 to the 27th June 1946 the following number of passive resisters were sentenced to terms of imprisonment:

OF ALL AGES

An analysis of the age of those imprisoned shows that the highest number of resisters is the youth of the community—under twenty years of age and from the age of twenty and twenty-five. Men and women of all ages have come forward to offer their services and our record shows nine soldiers who did not think sixty was the age limit in our fight for freedom.

FROM EVERY WALK OF LIFE

Every section of the Indian community has joined in this national struggle—men and women, rich and poor, merchant and worker, teacher and student—all have rallied to the call of duty. The best represented are the following: factory workers 287, farmers 77, students 23, housewives 204, waiters 98, municipal workers 71, shop assistants 34, jewellers 29, and in addition four medical practitioners, two priests and a dozen teachers.

UNITED AS NEVER BEFORE

This is the answer of the Indian community to the unwillingness of the Government to discuss the rights of the Indian community and the merchants who are opposed to the Government.

POLICE STOP STUDENTS MEETING

A meeting of the Passive Resistance Council in Johannesburg was held on Saturday afternoon at the Johannesburg Public Hall. The meeting was held in the presence of a large number of students and was presided over by Dr. Naicker. The meeting was held in the presence of a large number of students and was presided over by Dr. Naicker. The meeting was held in the presence of a large number of students and was presided over by Dr. Naicker.

NATAL FORMS RESISTERS' WELFARE COMMITTEE

A special meeting of the Natal Passive Resistance Council was held on Saturday afternoon at the Johannesburg Public Hall. The meeting was held in the presence of a large number of students and was presided over by Dr. Naicker. The meeting was held in the presence of a large number of students and was presided over by Dr. Naicker.

The new organisation is to be called "The Natal Indian Congress Resisters' Volunteer Corps" and its objects among others are: to watch and work for the welfare of all resisters, to foster comradeship amongst them and to improve their status generally by assisting in the organising of regular political classes.

The Committee will also organise distribution of literature and leaflets and will also promote the programme and plans of the Natal Indian Congress.

The other members of the Committee are: Mr. A. K. M. Ismail, Chairman; Mr. A. S. Naidoo, Secretary; Mr. A. S. Naidoo, Organising Secretary; Mr. A. S. Naidoo, Treasurer; Mr. A. S. Naidoo, Members of the Committee.

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Soviet Paper Supports UNO—NOT SMUTS

An article in the Soviet paper "Pravda" has pointed out the decision of the United Nations because it was not possible to make UNO an "instrument of domination over the oppressed peoples" as much as today in the Soviet paper "Pravda" which refers to the Indian community problem in South Africa and the South West African problem as an attack on the "Smuts" Government.

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prevent South Africa from annexing the neighbouring territories," the paper says.

"But times have changed. The General Assembly not only refused to legalise the annexation of South West Africa, but suggested incorporating that territory into the United Nations Trustship system."

Another blow to the Smuts Government was the decision of the Assembly on the question of the Indian community in South Africa. Having announced in 1945 that it would not be able to expel the United Nations as a result of its anti-racialist policy, the Government has now decided to do so.

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DOCTOR NAICKER'S RELEASE

DR. G. M. NAICKER, the President of the Natal Indian Congress is back with his people. His release is a happy event for the quarter million Indian people of South Africa. This national leader of the Indian people led the first batch of resisters on the historic June 13th when the South African Indian people declared war on the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. He was charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act and was sentenced by the Durban Magistrate to an imprisonment of six months and seven days' hard labour. At first the authorities detained him at the Durban Central Jail but later he was removed to Newcastle where he served the greater part of his sentence.

HIS LIFE

Dr. Naicker was born in Durban on 30th September, 1910. He studied in Durban at the Marine College and then proceeded to study Medicine at the Edinburgh University. At the University he was elected a member of the Students' Representative Council. In 1932 he became a member of the Edinburgh Indian Association's Committee of Management and was the Editor of the Association's handbook from 1932 to 1934.

After qualifying as a medical practitioner he returned to South Africa to work among his oppressed people. He set up a flourishing practice but at all times he remained much concerned with the conditions under which Indian people were compelled to live in the land of their adoption and birth. He identified himself with Indian Welfare Organisations and rendered them outstanding services.

CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF PROGRESSIVES

In the Indian National organisations he championed the cause of the progressives. He did not hesitate to expose the opportunistic line the reactionary leaders were pursuing. When the Nationalist Bloc was formed Dr. Naicker was one of its leading members and gave it valuable guidance.

He worked hard to bring about unity between the Natal Indian Association and the Natal Indian Congress and when unity was achieved he with others worked unceasingly for a more progressive policy.

The old leadership of the Congress, however, failed to realise the tremendous support that was being gained by those who stood with Dr. Naicker. In order to combat the policy of dishonourable compromise suggested by the "Old Guard", the Natal Anti-Segregation Council was formed with Dr. Naicker as its President.

A GREAT LEADER

The Anti-Segregation Council was voicing the feelings of the vast majority of Natal Indians. As the Congress elections began to draw nearer it became abundantly clear that this policy would carry the day. Despite the attempts of the Old Guard to retain leadership against the wishes of the Indian people, the Congress was compelled to hold the elections resulting in a complete victory for the Anti-Segregation Council. Dr. Naicker was elected President of the Natal Indian Congress.

Dr. Naicker is a great leader of his people. His courageous action has inspired the Indian people throughout South Africa to follow the path of resistance. On June 13th he led the first batch of resisters. To-day on his release he finds that well over 1,000 resisters have been sentenced to imprisonment for defying the Ghetto Act.

WELCOME

The best welcome the Indian people can give this great leader is to pledge that they will continue this great resistance movement with even greater determination until the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act is repealed.

Africa by U.N.O. had times
dominantly non-European world — on South Africa, no

While the people outside the Union did not appreciate fully what South Africa did for her non-Europeans, it was nevertheless, time to re-examine prejudices and traditional attitudes.

DOMINANT EUROPEAN MINORITY

Speaking on the composition of the Union's population, Mr. H. H. Meys said: "We have a dominant European minority and a subordinate non-European majority. The relations between these two populations were in the past a matter for ourselves alone, but in this shrinking world the position has changed considerably. The actions of any nation which touch on world issues are no longer of concern to that nation only."

INDIA'S POSITION

South Africa had its Asiatic problem, which was no more than a manifestation of the worldwide clash of colour. But now the vast peninsula of India was coming into national consciousness. She regarded South Africa's Asiatic legislation as a slight on her national honour.

A DOMESTIC MATTER

"We contend, and I believe that we contend rightly, that this is a domestic matter and U.N.O. has no jurisdiction to deal with it. There has been the grossest misrepresentation abroad on our policy and legislation. We are on our defence at the bar of the

South-West Africa. General Smuts would be discussed. General Smuts would attend the meeting.

WORLD OPINION

But here again account had to be taken of the world opinion about a white minority dominating a non-European majority. The explanation of South Africa's case for the incorporation of South-West Africa and of Asiatic legislation constituted a tremendously important task for General Smuts.—SAPA.

(See Editorial Comments.)

MOSCOW.

Racial discrimination in South Africa.

in Britain. The world was by generally about the principles of the Atlantic. In London meeting about the outlawed conditions of negroes in the United States. SAPA-Reuters.

London Meeting to Support Passive Resistance

LONDON, Thursday.

A public meeting will be held in London soon in support of South African Indian Passive Resisters and Native Mineworkers.

The meeting is being organised by the League of Coloured People. — SAPA-Reuters.

NATAL'S Preparations For UNO Day Batch

S. V. REDDY INTERVIEWED

The Passive Resistance Council of the Natal Indian Congress is making extensive arrangements for UNO Day Demonstrations. The recruiting officer of the Council, Mr. S. V. Reddy, has the important task of preparing the UNO Day Batch which will consist of resisters from all parts of the Union.

RESPONSE ENCOURAGING

Mr. S. V. Reddy informed "The Passive Resister" that recruiting for the UNO Day Batch was most encouraging. The returned resisters were making applications in very large numbers to join this batch but he had to limit their numbers in terms of the decision of the Join Council. "On the whole the people are showing a tremendous enthusiasm to make the UNO Day Batch the biggest batch yet to occupy the Umbilo camp," said Mr. Reddy.

To Lead Transvaal's UNO BATCH



Mr. NANA SITA, who so ably acted as Chairman of the Passive Resistance Council of the Transvaal Indian Congress when Dr. Dadoo was serving his term of imprisonment is to lead the Transvaal UNO Day Batch of resisters. This was decided upon at the last meeting of the Transvaal Council. With Mr. Nana Sita will be another member of the Transvaal Council whose name will be announced shortly by Dr. Dadoo. The response from the Transvaal to make the UNO DAY BATCH the biggest batch yet sent to the front is very encouraging.

Clairwood's Magnificent Response



Mr. M. P. NAICKER, Secretary of the Natal Passive Resistance Council addressing one of the many Clairwood meetings to bid farewell to their resisters.

The people of Clairwood have responded magnificently to the call of resistance. On October 10th Clairwood bade farewell to its twelfth batch at a meeting attended by over 2,000 people. At this meeting a very large number

of women were present. Clairwood's tenth batch consisted of eleven women. Twenty-five women from the Clairwood district have already been sentenced to imprisonment, since resistance commenced.

In Natal the UNO DAY BATCH was organized by S. V. Reddy & Nana Sita in the
Tve. — when UNO was to start.

DR. DADOO

RELEASED!



THE LEADER OF THE PEOPLE

DR. YUSUF MAHOMED DADOO, the beloved leader of the Indian people, has been released to-day. He served his full term of three months hard labour for defying the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. There was no remission of sentence for Dr. Dadoo because this was his second imprisonment for opposing oppression in South Africa.

A JOYOUS EVENT

His release is a joyous event not only for the Indian community but for all the oppressed peoples and true democrats of the Union, for, he will once again be actively engaged in the fight for greater democracy, a fight to which he has dedicated his life.

AN INSPIRING LIFE

Born on the 5th September, 1909, Dr. Dadoo has spent the greater part of his life in the cause of his people. He received his primary education at the Johannesburg Indian School and then proceeded to the Aligarh University in India. During the years 1925-27 while at Aligarh he came into contact with the Indian free movement. He took a keen interest in the anti-Imperialist struggle in which India was playing such a leading part.

He returned to South Africa for a brief sojourn and in 1929 left for Edinburgh University to join the medical faculty. In Great Britain he took an active part in the progressive movement of the day and in the very first year of his stay in Britain he was arrested for taking part in the demonstration against the Imperialist SIMONS COMMISSION, appointed for India. Since he was still a juvenile he was not imprisoned.

After qualifying as a Doctor he returned to the Union in 1936 and since then the name of Dr. Dadoo has been associated with all major struggles of the non-European people of South Africa.

In 1938 he became the Transvaal Secretary of the non-European United Front, a movement in which he proved his ability as a born leader of the people. In the Transvaal Indian Congress he became the leader of the militant section known as the Nationalist Group.

The authorities were quick to realise Dr. Dadoo's influence among the oppressed people of South Africa and accordingly a strict vigilance was kept on all his activities. In 1941 the authorities came down heavily on him for making an anti-Government speech. He was tried at Benoni and sentenced to four months hard labour which he served at the Boksburg prison. His imprisonment made him even more determined to take an increasingly active part in the struggle for the oppressed people.

THE PRESENT STRUGGLE

He holds a leading position in various organisations. He is a member of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Johannesburg District Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa; the vice-Chairman of the National Anti-Pass Committee; the President of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Chairman of the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council.

In the present Resistance Struggle Dr. Dadoo was the first resister to be imprisoned. His imprisonment temporarily deprived the Indian community of a great leader, but his call to action found a ready response in the hearts of thousands of his people.

On his release Dr. Dadoo finds that over 600 resisters have followed in his footsteps in defiance of the Ghetto Act; he finds the Indian people more united than ever in their opposition to the policy of segregation.

We welcome Dr. Dadoo and can assure him that the Indian people as a whole are proud to have his courageous and militant leadership.

Knowing that their cause is just and inspired by the courage and sacrifice of leaders like Dr. Dadoo, the Indian people of South Africa are prepared to go forward fearlessly to their goal of full democratic rights regardless of the cost entailed in achieving this objective.

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DRS. DADOO AND NAICKER IN INDIA

(From Our Special Correspondent)

DR. DADOO and Dr. Naicker, leaders of the South African Indian community, landed in India at Karachi, on Friday last. They were officially received at the Air Port by the Mayor of Karachi and the Hon. R. K. Sidhu, Member of the Legislative Assembly. A press conference was held on the same day and all newspapers in India carried the news of their arrival in banner headlines.

In a statement issued on their arrival they said that General Smuts by his attitude encouraged racial antagonism to grow to such an extent that South African Europeans were conducting a nation-wide boycott campaign against Indian traders.

ENTHUSIASTICALLY RECEIVED

£2,000,000 AS SOP

They stated that General Smuts was attempting to divide the Indian community by offering £2,000,000 for civic amenities for Indians and by proposing to set up an Indian Advisory Board of Indians and Europeans to advise the Government on matters concerning health, education, social services and housing.

LURING the REACTIONARIES

They said that General Smuts hoped to secure the co-operation of a handful of reactionary and opportunist Indians and to go to the United Nations and tell the Assembly that he had implemented its decision and that the Indians were co-operating with the Union Government.

COMMUNITY NOT DUPED

"But the overwhelming majority of the Indian community in South Africa refused to fall into this trap," they said. They believed that to submit to the "present dishonourable offers" would mean not only the betrayal of their cause, but an insult to the dignity and honour of their mother country.

RESISTANCE CONTINUES

The South African Indians hoped the United Nations would take all possible steps, including sanctions, to bring South Africa to book if the Union Government failed to carry out its decision. They added that the South African Indians would continue their passive resistance campaign.

PUBLIC RECEPTION AT KARACHI

A public reception was given in honour of the South African leaders at Karachi on Sunday. At this reception the Mayor of Karachi presided.

SINDH MUSLIM LEAGUE VISITED

Before their departure for New Delhi on Monday, Drs. Naicker and Dadoo visited the headquarters of the Sindhi Muslim League, where they had important discussions on the South African situation.

IN AFRICA

The Avro York plane which left the Palmteintop Airport on Tuesday morning at 5 a.m. with Drs. Dadoo and Naicker reached Nairobi the same afternoon. A rousing reception was accorded them on their arrival. They were the guests of the East African Indian National Congress during their stay there. Later in the afternoon they addressed a public meeting considered to be the largest ever held in Nairobi.

IN CAIRO

Soon after their arrival in Cairo on Wednesday, Prof. Dade and Dr. Naicker were received in audience by His Excellency Azam Pasha, the Secretary General of the League of Arab States, to whom they conveyed the deep and heartfelt appreciation of the South African Indians, and generally the non-European people for the help given by the Arab States.

AZZAM PASHA SENDS A MESSAGE

While working the strike, Azusa Parish requested that it open the following mass at the Indian and the old town. The mass was held at St. Mary's.



Signing the Historic Declaration on Non-European Co-operation:
Drs. Naicker, Xuma and Dadoo

"By their stand at UNO the Arab States had done nothing more than fulfil their duty for the principles of equality, human brotherhood, co-operation and eternal peace, for which they stand. Nothing would divert the Arab states from their attitude and stand."

The news of their arrival and their meeting with the Secretary of the Arab League relieved the widespread public misgivings as to the Egyptian position. It was known that many of the Egyptian leaders were in London before the meeting with the Secretary.

CABLE FROM S.A. TO AZZAM
PASHA

WILLIAM H. HANCOCK, who was New York's attorney general, then was elected to the U.S. Senate. The United States' long-served attorney general, William H. Taft, who had been elected to the U.S. Supreme Court, was elected to the U.S. Senate. The U.S. Senate elected William H. Taft to the U.S. Supreme Court. The U.S. Senate elected William H. Taft to the U.S. Supreme Court.

M. A. NAIDOO RETURNS

MR H. A. NAIDOO, one of the representatives of the Joint Passive Resistance Council of the United Nations Assembly returned to South Africa on Monday last. On his arrival at Johannesburg he was welcomed at the Palmietfontein Airport by leading members of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Passive Resistance Council.

Mr. Naidoo issued the following statement on his arrival —

"Smuts' refusal to accept the verdict of the United Nations on the question of race discrimination in South Africa can only be regarded as a highly indiscreet and fatal step towards undermining the prestige and authority of an organisation which he himself helped to create.

HIGH HANDED ATTITUDE

The explanation of this high handed attitude can be found

not so much in Smuts' personal satisfaction or otherwise in the new world organisation but in the extremely narrow basis of Democracy in this country. It would be naive to expect a Parliament put in power by a privileged racial minority to endorse the United Nations decision without seriously upsetting the very basis upon which it rests.

DEMOCRACY OR FASCISM

And yet it is only by acknowledging this act that a real solution can be found. Democracy in South Africa must either expand and embrace all sections of the population on the basis of complete equality --and thereby fall in line with world democratic opinion -- or it must give way to even more ruthless forms of oppression. And thus take the path of open Fascism.

It is clear that the present Government has decided to take the latter course. It is equally clear that such a course must further estrange South Africa from the rest of the world.

Can South Africa afford to take this course? Not if she wishes to remain within the UNO and contribute her share towards world peace and friendship.

A THIRD WORLD WAR

It is therefore not incorrect to characterise South Africa's present policy as one that runs counter to the peace aims of U.N.O. — a policy that must find increasing support among those interests which openly declare for a bird world war.

But the overwhelming mass of world opinion is to-day on the side of peace, as it is on the side of the democratic demands of the non-Europeans of South Africa.

STRENGTHEN FORCES

My visit to Europe and America has convinced me more than ever of the need to strengthen the forces working for peace and democracy in South Africa.

It is a great tribute to our people that the Passive Resistance campaign which began nearly a year ago continues with undiminished vigour and faith.

By continuing our fight for Democracy we take our place proudly among the advanced sections of the world in the struggle to make this world free and happy for all men.

eyes of other oppressed people in South Africa, striving for freedom, are watching our movement. They know that upon the outcome of our struggle rests their destiny. Heavy responsibilities therefore rest on our community. We have lit the torch of freedom. Its light has penetrated deep into the hearts of oppressed humanity. Let us not extinguish that light. Let us not fail oppressed humanity."

A GROWING AWAKENING

Rev. Scott pointed to the growing awakening amongst the Africans and other non-European groups. He said there has been on the other hand a hardening of prejudice on the part of the Government. There are a great many issues affecting non-Europeans

science of Christianity. The conscience of our own statesmen and leaders appear to be so blinded by prejudice that they can no longer see the terrible realities of the situation in South Africa today. Rev. Scott thought the Passive Resistance movement or non-European Trade Unions would be justified in inviting other countries such as America and Britain to refuse to purchase South African gold or other products of labour conditions which violate the International labour code, and to insist, if necessary, on drastic changes in our social economy.

A MAGNIFICENT RESPONSE

Dr. Dadoo said he was convinced the Indian people of South Africa are responding in the strug-

gle. In South Africa, they were prepared to appeal to India to continue them stringently. European farmers were already feeling the pinch. They were being shown that oppression brings retribution.

AT U.N.O.

Dr. Dadoo said that South Africa's Indian question will be amongst the most important to be raised at U.N.O. The majority of members of the United Nations will not support Smuts' weak, and unjust case. And as long as South Africa's Indian question remains on U.N.O.'s agenda, so long will South-West Africa never be incorporated into the Union.

with African Indian Congress, playing the game of government. Their proposal for a Round Table Conference is tantamount to a betrayal of the Indian people — and a murderous attempt on the life of the young Passive Resistance struggle. The Indian people are keen for a settlement — but on the basis of the repeal of the Ghetto Act.

The voice of Mr. Pather is the voice of Dr. Mahan.

He uses the tactics of the Union Government in trying to create a split in the ranks of the Indian people by the use of the Communist bogey.

Our community is determined to end oppression. We shall go forward with confidence . . . we are re-affirming our determination to continue Resistance.

A GREAT WOMAN RESISTER

One of the most lovable characters in the Passive Resistance Movement is the elderly Mrs. Lakshmi Govender, a widow with five children. She is symbolic of the sacrifices made by the Indian women in the present resistance struggle. When resistance was launched on June 13th Mrs. Govender was one of the first Natal volunteers. She went into action against discrimination with the first batch and underwent a terrible experience at the hands of the European hooligans in Durban.

MOTHERLY CARE

Even in these critical days when resisters were being nightly assaulted at the Umbilo camp Mrs. Govender's chief concern was not her safety. She acted as a mother to the first batch and it was her primary task to see that all the members of her batch were safe and had some rest.

SERVED THREE MONTHS

When Mrs. Govender appeared before the Magistrate in Durban she was given a sentence of three months' hard labour. She served her term in the Pietermaritzburg jail together with Miss Asvat. During the latter part of September, Mrs. Govender was released.



Mrs. Lakshmi Govender.

She is back in the offices of the Natal Passive Resistance Council and is once again taking an active motherly interest in her many 'sons and daughters' — the returned resisters.

"I AM A SOLDIER"

When asked to comment on her future activities, Mrs. Govender said, "I have no plans of my own. I am now a soldier at the disposal of the Natal Council. I am prepared to carry out any instructions given to me. Until our struggle is won we have to offer all that we have in this great national cause of our people."

Mrs. Govender is not the only one prepared to sacrifice everything for the struggle of the Indian people. The resistance movement is gaining in strength and every day more and more people are joining the struggle to sacrifice all they have in order to win freedom for their community.

PIETERMARITZBURG PLAYING ITS PART

The people of Pietermaritzburg are playing their part in the resistance movement. Already over 100 resisters of Maritzburg have been sentenced to imprisonment and more batches are being sent to the Umbilo camp at regular intervals from the capital of Natal.

MR. MUNGAL

The Chairman of the Pietermaritzburg Council is Mr. S. B. Mungal who has just been released after serving one month hard labour. Mr. Mungal has played an important part in the progressive

movement of the Indian people for many years now. "Pietermaritzburg is going to play a leading part in resistance," said Mr. Mungal when asked to comment on the contribution of his town. "A very big majority of the 9,000 Indian people of Pietermaritzburg realise that our struggle is part of the struggle of the non-European people of South Africa against the policy of segregation. They are determined to make their full contribution to this historic struggle."

JOHANNESBURG'S WELCOME



A section of the huge crowd at the Indian Sports Ground at the historic meeting of Sunday, 29th September.

DURBAN, Wednesday.
THE Government having failed to get the co-operation of the Indian people in making the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act work, in regard to the Land Tenure Advisory Board, has decided to use Gestapo methods provided for in the Act by trying to force Indian Owners of property to give information, according to a statement issued by the Natal Passive Resistance Council.

DURBAN, Wednesday

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NAZI METHODS

The statement continues:
"Our worst fears have been realised. The ~~Guatapo~~ is on the march."

"The Government's Gestapo agents in the guise of Information officers accompanied by the C.I.D. are now making their rounds of Indian property owners and occupiers in controlled areas, to seek information so that they can discover contraventions of the Asia-tic Act."

The statement emphasises that this Nazi method of intimidating our people into co-operation with the Government will be resented by all democratic and freedom loving people in South Africa, and abroad.

It is pointed out that the powers given to these information officers under the Act are so wide that it amounts to nothing less than interference in the domestic and private lives of individuals.

BARRAROUS PENALTY

The penalty for refusal to give information is barbarous and inhuman, declares the statement. It is a maximum of one year's imprisonment or five or both. In addition a continuing fine of £1 a day—all for the innocent crime of refusing to aid and abet the Government in establishing Chinese spies under the Asiatic Act which has been condemned by the Indian people, and all other progressive people throughout the world.

IMPLEMENT UNO DECISION

The statement concludes:
"Now is not the time for the Government to waste energy and money in trying to force the Indian people to work the Ghetto Act, but on the contrary to make efforts to implement the United Nations decision. We demand:

"THAT THE GESTAPO BE ASKED TO STOP GETTING INFORMATION IMMEDIATELY, THAT THE ASIATIC LAND TENURE AND INDIAN REPRESENTATION ACT BE REPEALED AND THE DECISION OF THE UNITED NATIONS BE IMPLEMENTED WITHOUT DELAY."



Mr. A. J. Meer, Joint Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress and Information Officer of the Natal Passive Resistance Council, who led the batch of Resisters, was sentenced to 30 days' hard labour on the 28th.



Mr. S. V. Reddy, another member of the batch, was the Recruiting Officer of the Natal Council, a member of the Natal Indian Congress and National Secretary of the Tin Workers' Union. He is also a member of the Durban District of the Communist Party.

MR. A. I. MEER, Joint Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, together with Mr. S. V. Reddy and eight other volunteers, were to-day sentenced in the Durban Magistrate's Court to 30 days' hard labour.

Mr. Meer made the following statement to the Court.

"We have been charged with trespass, have pleaded guilty and are ready to receive sentence. Before sentence is passed it is necessary to place on record certain relevant factors in connection with the charge." Have we really committed the act of trespass? Does going to the vacant plot at the corner of Gale and Umbilic Roads constitute trespass?

Let us go into the history of this unused piece of unfenced waste land in the heart of the city. It has been there from time immemorial. Our forefathers when they came to this country found it there. Persons, white, black, brown, and yellow, trespassed on it from the time Durban became a city and perhaps even before.

They continue to trespass during almost any hour of the day. Persons might be trespassing there even at this hour while this court is in session. They are not charged. Yet we have been singled out for prosecution. What is the explanation?

The only object in charging us is that we are defying the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act.

But then the question may be asked: Why are we not charged under the Act? The answer again is simple. The Government knows full well that it is an unjust law—a law based on racial arrogance—a principle they dare not defend. They also realise, perhaps too late,

now, that a world tired of the Nazi doctrine of race superiority which it fought to destroy, will no longer tolerate such laws. They have said so by their verdict at the United Nations. The authorities have erected a notice at Gale Street warning trespassers against prosecution. But are trespassers prosecuted? No.

Only those who defy the Ghetto Act are charged. As Passive Resisters we accept the charge. We have embarked on a holy war against an unholly act. And it is the duty of all who believe in justice and the removal of racial oppression to join our army. We extend that invitation to you, Sir, as well.

"Communal Franchise Accentuates Racial Bitterness"

DURBAN Friday

"COMMUNAL Franchise, instead of fostering better race relations only accentuates racial bitterness," declared Mr. A. I. Meer, Joint Honorary Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress in an interview with the representative of the "Passive Resister" commenting on the proposals of Councillor Barns for communal franchise for the Indians under certain conditions.

Mr. Meer pointed out that wherever this form of franchise had been experimented with it had widened the gulf between the different groups. He quoted the examples of East Africa, Ceylon and even India.

"Candidates elected by the votes of only one particular community—whether European or Indian—are apt to disregard the interests of other communities," he continued. "How many Durban City Councillors can show a record of having fought for amenities in Indian Areas? There are none for the simple reason that they are elected on the basis of communal franchise—Europeans voting for Europeans only. They owe no responsibility to Indian voters."

Mr. Meer stressed that a nominally elected City Council would be continually at one another's throats fighting to safe-

guard the interests of their particular community instead of looking to the general welfare of all irrespective of the community to which they belong. Unless full rights of citizenship are granted to all, there could be no real progress in the country.

BARNES IS ENLIGHTENED

Mr. Mead said that the American Herald-Examiner, America and the Evening Star, the latter being the largest of the dailies at the U. S. Assembly, had golden rule majority. It is the fact that there were many who believe in Natal and Cape having a voice in local affairs, and was proving to him that the franchise extended to this extent would be better for America, but he had to broaden it a little more and think in terms of franchise, which was neither universal nor conditional but franchise in its true sense.

Francine

been dedicated
to
Vallamma
& her
mother

And still be held inside the jail
Where our whole race lies.

The walls run on, the heavy chains
Are hung from sea to sea
The slaver bound to hold the serf,
And none go free.

We prayed for what they'd never give,
They sneered at all our pleas!
Ah, shall we choose to die, or live
And bend our knees?

We'll sing once more of her who died,
Of Vallamma, dear child,
And keep alive the flame she lit
Clear and undefiled.

Her bones are dust, the yeld alone
Is silent where she rests,
But the heart of Vallamma beats on
In ten thousand breasts.

And when the treble prison bars
Have crumbled into rust
And the narrow courtyard cramping us
Is heaped with dust,

Then the children of the free
Will raise the glorious cry
For those who knew the way to live
And chose to die.

J.C.

TRANSVAAL WOMEN PLAYING A LEADING PART

- ① Jooma Family
- ② Dadoo -
Evidence &
Pass



The Tenth Transvaal batch was an exclusively women's batch from Pretoria. Since resistance commenced women from the Transvaal have taken the most active part in the national struggle for our freedom.

The Tenth Batch consisted of (from left to right):
STANDING: Miss Rajambhal Padiachy, Miss Rajkumarie Mooloo, Miss Beetha Mooloo, Miss Mooniama Padiachy, Miss Gouri Bharoochi
SITTING: Miss Maniben Nana, Miss Jeewa Mahomed, Mrs. Thainagee Pillay, Miss S. Sanbavalli Pillay and Miss Jasvanthi Gandhi.
The Tenth Batch was led jointly by Mrs. Thainagee-Perumal Pillay and Miss Maniben Nana. Mrs. Pillay is the daughter of the late C. K. Thambi Naidoo and Miss Nana is the daughter of Mr. Nana Sita, Chairman of the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council.

have bravely suffered in India's
cause, borne all insults and
assaults, and gone to jail.

GHETTO ACT CONDEMNED

The Ghetto Act treated a small minority at the expense of the White ruling class of business interests and planters to make permanent the subjugation of the Indian community and proclaim their inferiority as a people.

"It declares that this Act is the most cynical exhibition of racial arrogance, that rivals Hitler's worst anti-Semitic laws."

movement in South Africa against imperial
DR. DADOO
The Committee comes the whole heart that the Communist Party of Africa is giving to struggle, in particular warm congratulations to Dr. Dadoo, South African Communist for his leadership of India's
Finally the Committee that it will do its utmost to bilie the widest support for the just struggle there in South Africa, the great part of India's for freedom and inde

DURBAN'S WELCOME

Dr. YUSUF MAHOMED DADOO will be accorded a grand welcome by the people of Natal on Sunday, 6th October, 1946, in Durban. The Natal Passive Resistance Council is making the necessary arrangements to give this National leader a welcome in which the people of Natal can show their admiration for the sacrifices of Dr. Dadoo.

DADOO ON PRISON REFORM

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo has been asked by the Penal and Prison Reform Commission to give evidence before it at the request of the Transvaal Indian Congress. Dr. Dadoo has agreed to do this on his release from prison. His evidence based on actual experience will be of great importance to the Indian community.

JOOMA FAMILY DONATES £225 FOR RESISTANCE — AT WEDDING

The Jooma family of Middelburg has donated a sum of £225 towards the Passive Resistance Funds. This donation was made at a wedding reception in Middelburg on Sunday, 22nd September, 1946. Official speakers from the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council were present to express the congratulations of the Council to the wedded couples. The total amount donated at the wedding amounted to £300 for the Passive Resistance Funds.

Mr. RUSTO
for
UNC
—S.A.I.C.



Mr. Rustojee has been elected a delegate to the South African Indian Congress to America, and was elected at the S.A.I.C. Executive Town on 22nd and 23rd.

As the leader of the South African Indian Congress to India Mr. Rustojee is a very important part of the Indian community of South Africa. Mr. Rustojee's S.A.I.C. has strong South African dele

SPONSORS

This issue of THE PASSIVE RESISTER has been

by:

DR. V. G. PATEL
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MESSRS. JUBILEE TAILORS.
MR. CASSIM JOOMA.

GOVT. DECISION ON PASSPORTS A "STUPID BLUNDER"

DURBAN, Wednesday. — Even Government supporters are strongly opposing the Government's latest dictatorial step against the Indian community in refusing passports to Doctors Naicker and Dadoo to attend the Asian Conference.

BARLOW IN PARLIAMENT

In Parliament Mr. Arthur Barlow asked: "Are we to understand that anybody who flouts the Gauris should not be allowed a passport in South Africa?" He pointed out that the precedent would be there for the Nationalists to use if ever they got into power. It was a boomerang which would react on the people. He said it was the duty of parliament to see that free access was permitted. Mr. Kentridge, U.P., and Mr. Duncan Burnside, Independent, associated themselves with Mr. Barlow's remarks.

PRESS VIEWS

The Liberal weekly, "The Forum," which also supports the United Party, referred to the Government decision as a "stupid blunder." In a sub-leader the Forum stated: "Apart from such considerations as an individual's right of freedom of movement — a basic freedom for all — the decision is tactically shortsighted, for it plays right into the hands of South Africa's detractors. Besides that, of course, it simply confirms the very worst suspicions of those countries who were told at Lake Success that the non-Europeans in the Union are denied elementary human rights."

LAWRENCE'S EXCUSE

The progressive Independent weekly, the "Guardian," dealt with the subject in an editorial headed "A Feeble Excuse." Mentioning the fact that Mr. Harry Lawrence is not one of our Cabinet Ministers remarkable for his intelligence, the "Guardian" continues:

"He says passports were refused because the two doctors have jail records as passive resisters. They are not murderers, thieves or bandits, mark you, but have been political prisoners, sentenced for non-violent opposition to the Ghetto Act."

The newspaper asks why was a passport then granted to Mr. Ruston to go to America during the last session of UNO and adds: "No doubt Mr. Lawrence regrets the liberality with which he has granted passports to people who have made propaganda adverse to South Africa in other countries. No doubt, also, he wants to prevent that happening again. But why does he try to bulldoze the public by saying 'the Government has no intention of trying to maintain its standpoint on the Indian question by suppressing criticism'?"

"Let Mr. Lawrence prove his belief in democracy and his confidence in his cause by granting these passports immediately. And let us have no more hypocritical apologies for Fascist acts."

MARITZBURG REJECTS ADVICE

The Anti-Royal Visit Boycott meeting held at the V.D.S. Hall, Maritzburg, on Sunday, proved a complete failure.

TENSE ATMOSPHERE

Convenors, including S. R. Naidoo and M. G. Naidoo, discredited moderate leaders, intended reversing the Natal Indian Congress boycott of the Royal Visit. A tense atmosphere prevailed throughout the meeting and even when the convenors of the meeting unsuccessfully attempted to speak, they were not given a hearing, with the result that after two hours the meeting was still in disorder as the moderate leaders were howled down, even though they tried to say they were not opposed to Passive Resistance. They wished to make out that the Royal Visit was a social and not a political question.

Mr. B. A. Maharaj, Joint Honorary Secretary, Maritzburg N.I.C.

was asked to speak so as to calm the gathering. He pointed out why the Natal Congress had decided on the boycott. The convenors attempted to put a resolution to the house and prevented other Congress speakers including Dr. Goomam, from addressing the house.

NO VOTE RECORDED

Although the Chairman called for support for the resolution opposing the boycott, no vote was recorded, since the majority refused to allow a pro-Royal Visit resolution being taken.

HOOLIGANISM

It was evident that the organisers of the meeting had resorted

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

ON

SUNDAY, 23RD FEBRUARY, 1947.

at 9.30 a.m. — AT THE

GANDHI LIBRARY, QUEEN STREET,
DURBAN

AGENDA

1. BOYCOTT

2. COMMUNAL FRANCHISE

3. PASSIVE RESISTANCE

DELEGATES INVITED FROM:

General Branches, P.R.C. Action Committees, Natal
Emergency Organisations and Trade Unions, and
Committee Members and Shop Stewards.

Auspices Natal Indian Congress and P.R.C., Box 2299, Durban

TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ROYAL VISIT

This mass meeting resolved not to collaborate in any celebration connected with the Royal Visit and calls upon the Indian community to refrain from doing so in fullest belief that while we in this country suffer from disabilities and indignities and racial laws which disgrace the statute book, the atmosphere is not one that is conducive to our participating in any festivities and therefore refuses to associate with any persons, organisations or bodies advocating any view supporting the Royal Visit, which can only result in weakening the cause of the Indian people. This meeting therefore signifies the reaffirmation of the policy of the Natal Indian Congress not to co-operate with the Royal Visit celebrations.

CONGRESS MEETING

The Congress officials, called upon the attendance of an open air meeting outside the hall which proceeded with hundreds present without any incidents. Mr. Billy Peters presided and Dr. Goomam, Manilal Goshwami and M. D. Naidoo spoke putting forward the reasons why Indians should not co-operate in the Royal Visit celebrations.

RESOLUTIONS

Two resolutions, one calling upon the Union Government to implement the UNO decision by repealing the Ghetto Act and inviting India to a Round Table Conference and the other, which

JAIL CONDITIONS EXPOSED AGAIN

DURBAN, Wednesday. — Released from jail last week were two leading popular officials of the Natal Passive Resistance Council, Mr. A. I. Meer, Director of Information of the Council, and Mr. S. V. Reddy, Chief Recruiting Officer.

Time and again the Union Government has been forced to admit the effectiveness of the publicity that was issued by the Passive Resistance Council. Credit for the organisation of the news that jolted the world about the conditions of Indians and other non-Europeans in South Africa must go to Mr. A. I. Meer, who is also the Joint Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress. His dispatches on the campaign encircled the world and he developed a regular news service to India, England, America and East Africa.

His exposures of the horrible jail conditions in South Africa which the resisters had to suffer, shocked South Africa, forced Minister Harry Lawrence to make a whitewashing investigation of jail conditions in Durban, and led to a temporary improvement in some jails.

The other major branch of the campaign was the recruiting of resisters, and in charge of this department was Mr. S. V. Reddy, who comes out of jail with the proud knowledge that he has

1,607 resisters have been sentenced for occupying the Gale Street camp.

SELECTED GALE ST. PLOT

Mr. Reddy will also go down into history as the person who selected the Gale Street plot as Resistance settlement. For years he has been prominent in the working class and Indian National movements. He is the General Secretary of the Tim Workers' Union of South Africa, a leading member of the Durban District Communist Party, which he joined a number of years ago and is Joint Secretary of the Clarwood Branch of the Natal Indian Congress (which has such an excellent recruiting record).

He was associated with the Nationalist Bloc of the Natal Indian Association and with the non-European United Front from the inception of the two bodies.

Both leaders were sentenced on 20th January, 1947, a year after Stuart had led the first of the impending battle by announcing

that he would introduce the Ghetto Act, during the 1946 session.

In an interview after his release Mr. A. I. Meer said that there cannot be a more suitable place for the mass production of resisters than the Durban Central Jail.

JAIL CONDITIONS

"First offenders of whatever age, immediately on their arrival come into contact with criminals of all types who make no secret of their various exploits and are free of the reasons for their imprisonment. They openly discuss their future plans of evasion or release." Mr. Meer referred to the disgraceful sanitary conditions prevailing in the jail. He said that the court yard is where all the prisoners were kept for open latrines on two sides of it was here in close proximity of the latrines that one was expected to have one's dinner. The food was a complete loss of appetite. After two days Mr. Meer and his batch were transferred to the Persepolis Jail where they were kept for a few days before being sent to the jail they were now in. Once

CAMPAIGN TO "END IMPERIALISM"

London, Tuesday.

Indian, African and Colonial organisations in the North of England are planning a campaign to end imperialism everywhere now.

They intend the campaign to include the treatment of Indians in South Africa, at the forefront in the transference of power to India, and the recent unrest in Trinidad, British African possessions and Indo-China, as well as the Governments of Persia, South Africa and Egypt.

A. D. J. of the India League said that resolutions from the unions in Britain were being sent. "Within the next few weeks a further number of resolutions will be reaching the Union. The committee in London is at present in the Government."

PASSIVE RESISTANCE COUNCIL
OF THE
NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

REPORT
ON
PASSIVE RESISTANCE

13TH JUNE 1946 - 13TH MAY 1947.

SUBMITTED TO
NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS
PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

----- 31ST MAY 1947. -----

A WARNING from the Ghetto

A number of Indians in the Transvaal — already forced to live in Ghettos and Locations, — utter a warning to their brothers in Natal and to those in the Transvaal who do not live in Locations. Do not be bluffed by the so-called 'benefits' for a policy of segregation . . . We have seen the results. Some of us already live in Ghettos!

The Ghetto Act trundled benevolently through all its stages in the House of Assembly by Field Marshal Smuts himself (despite Smuts' international reputation as a drafter of proclamations on the Rights of Man) was readily recognised by the non-European people of South Africa as a measure designed to perfect and extend the Government's discriminatory policy.

SEGREGATION — OR SEPARATION?

Our people recognise well the meaning of segregation — or separation — call it what you will. True, political parties differ in the way they peddle their colour-bar policy. Some say openly 'the non-European must be kept in his place'. Others work out what they have the cheek to call a philosophy — 'The non-European must be helped to develop along his own lines'. They speak of 'parallel development'; of different 'cultures and civilisations'.

NO REAL DIFFERENCE

But these supposed differences in expressions of policy in practice amount to one and the same thing. They all mean the setting up of ghettos, bazaars and special slum locations . . . of the kind already found dotted along the Reef in the Transvaal.

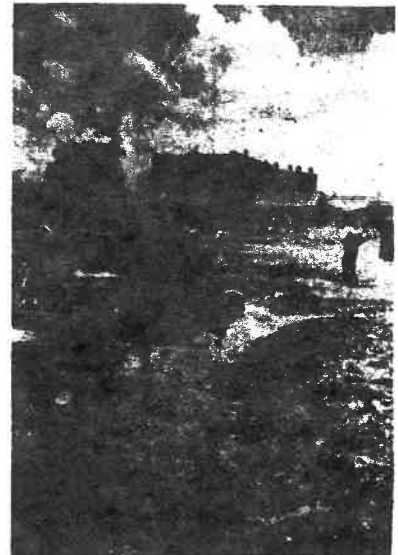
Most of the property is 'owned' by Indians — but on a monthly lease from the Municipality, which is entitled at any time to reclaim its land, without paying compensation to its present landlords.

HIGH DEATH-RATE

Benoni's location was established in 1911. With the location's abnormal high infant death-rate more people have probably died at an early age, than lived out their lives in health and well-being.

THE MEANING OF SEGREGATION

A visit to Benoni's Asiatic Location brings out the meaning of segregation in all its grimness. Here is an area inhabited by about 20,000 people, of whom about 800 are Indians — an area where overcrowding and congestion, poverty and disease push pious, flimsy theories of 'development along their own lines' far into the background. This is where the forgotten people live.



A "STREET"—BENONI LOCATION

LOCATION AN EYE-SORE

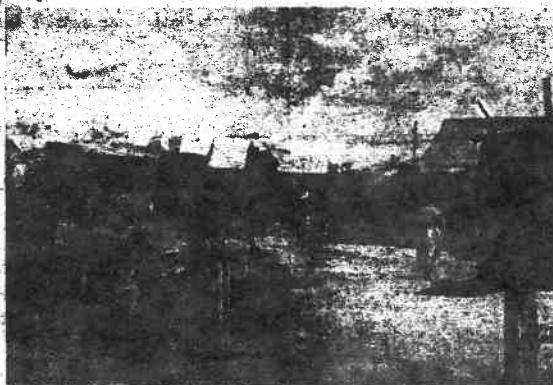
The location is an eye-sore. The houses have been condemned as unfit for human habitation; there are two tarred roads, built specially for Municipal buses; the rest are indescribably swampy, muddy paths; there is no drainage system; the stench from the trickles of dirty water and manure heaps is overpowering. Every road is "graced" by the presence of one communal tap for all the residents in the road. But then, this is a one hundred per cent. improvement on the days when there was one tap only for every two roads!

FORGOTTEN PEOPLE

Here, under these revolting conditions, human beings and animals carry on together a struggle for existence. 350 Indian school-children have never seen the inside of a school. They get their education for life not in the classroom, but in back-yards and side-alleys, on rubbish heaps, and squatting near open cesspools. And here 800 Indians are expected to appreciate the 'benefits' of hypocritical 'herrenvolk' theories of 'development along their own lines'.

WE REJECT SEGREGATION

Yes, the Indian people of Benoni have come to understand this policy. They know well the reply of the City Council when they request some improvement of their conditions. They continue to pay their taxes, and await the benefits of 'European civilisation' . . . and the location continues to exist at the outskirts of the town — neglected and forgotten. The Indians of Benoni understand the policy. That is why they have always rejected segregation . . . and will continue to reject it. They reject locations and bazaars . . . and the Ghetto Act in its entirety. And they utter a stern warning to the people of Natal — to observe what Ghettos really mean in the lives of the people — and to intensify their efforts for a continued and unending fight against the continuation of this scheme.



BENONI LOCATION "HOMES"

“The Grand Old Man of South Africa.”

“સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના હોદીઓના દાદા”



The late Mr. Parsee Rustomjee Jivanji Ghorkhodu
1861 1924

મરતુમ દેશમજા પારસી મી. રુસ્તમજી જીવણજી ઘોરખોદુ.

૧૮૬૧—૧૯૨૪



VERULAM FAREWELL MEETING

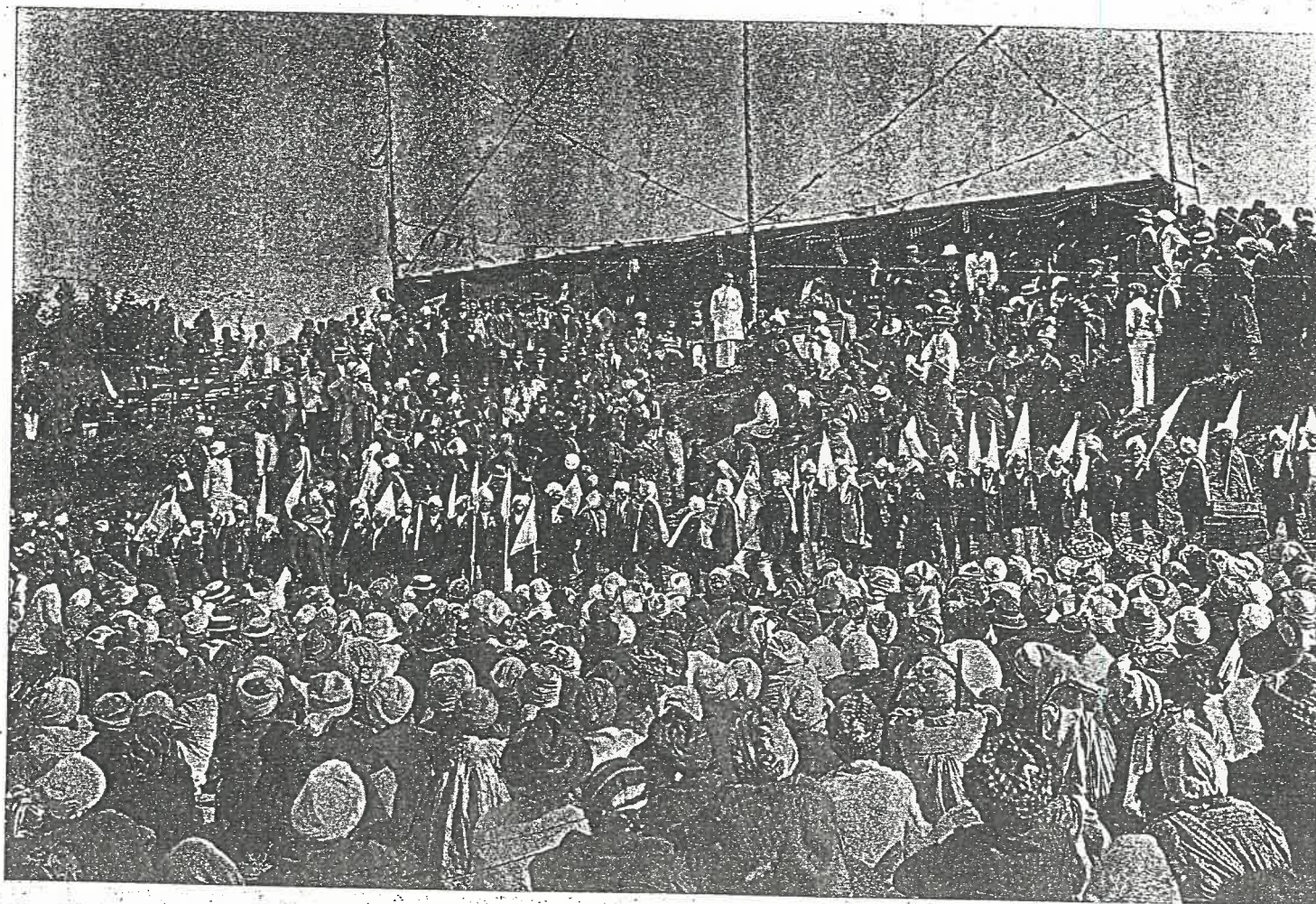
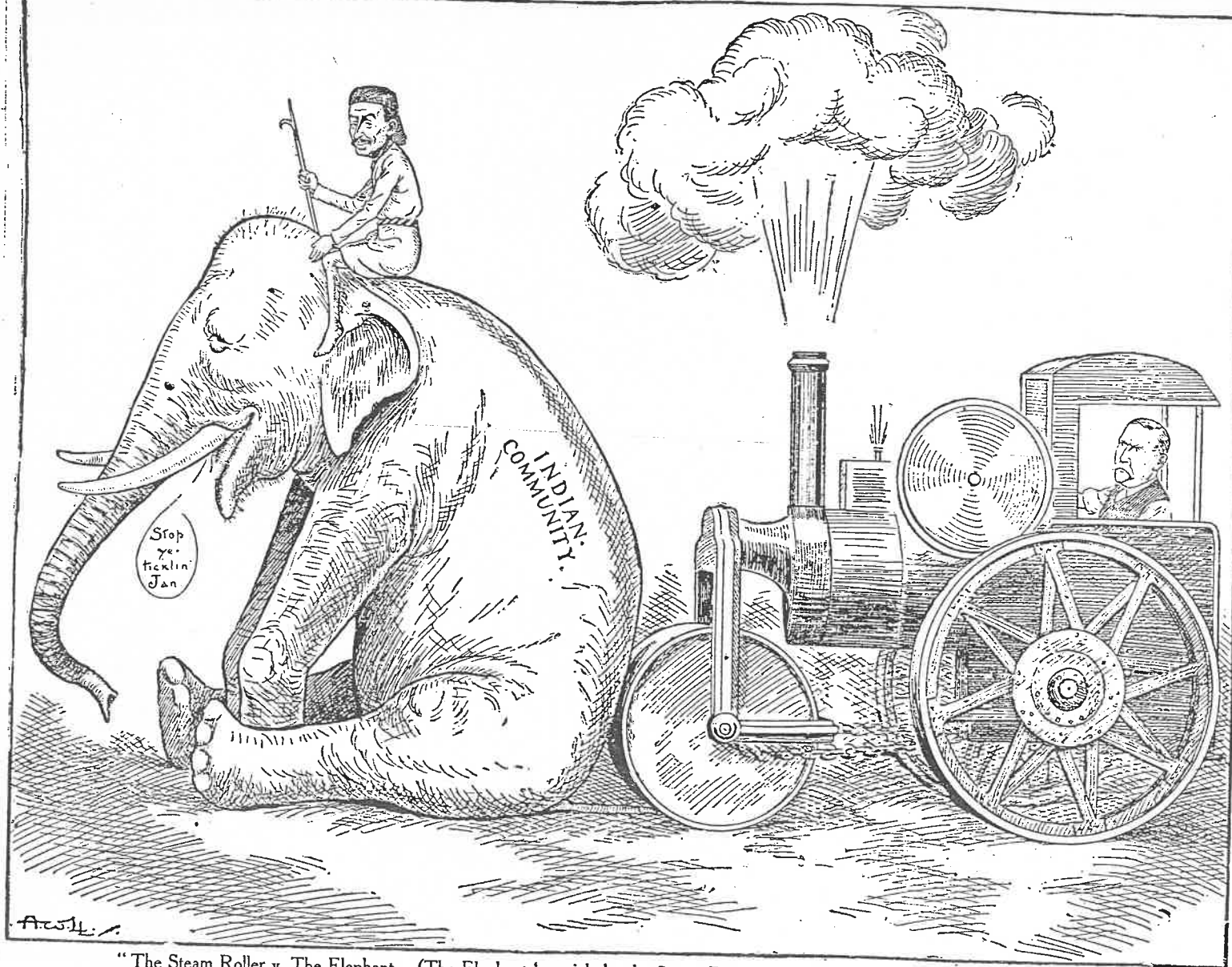


Photo by]

Mr. Gandhi addressing the Verulam Farewell Meeting—about 5,000 persons present, mostly indentured Indians. [B. Gabriel



"The Steam Roller v. The Elephant. (The Elephant 'sat tight'; the Steam Roller exploded.)"—*Sunday Times*.

[Reproduced by kind permission

JOINT PASSIVE RESISTANCE COUNCIL OF NATAL & TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESSES

Memorandum of Appreciation

SOUTH AFRICAN PASSIVE RESISTANCE CAMPAIGN



We salute and honour

a brave fighter for freedom
who served imprisonment
as a passive resister in
..... prison from
to for resisting the
racial colour-bar policy of
the Union Government and
particularly for defying the
Asiatic Land Tenure & Indian
Representation Act (Ghetto Act)

G. M. K. S. S.

CHAIRMAN
NATAL COUNCIL

Y. M. S. S.

CHAIRMAN
TRANSVAAL COUNCIL

DATE

TOLSTOY'S LETTER TO GANDHI.

The following is the translation of a letter of Count Tolstoy's to Mr. Gandhi, which helped him during the passive resistance struggle :—

Kotchety, Russia,
Sept. 7th, 1910.

I received your journal, and was pleased to learn all contained therein concerning the passive resisters. And I felt like telling you all the thoughts which that reading called up in me.

The longer I live, and especially now, when I vividly feel the nearness of death, I want to tell others what I feel so particularly clearly and what to my mind is of great importance, namely, that which is called passive resistance, but which is in reality nothing else than the teaching of love uncorrupted by false interpretations. That love—*i.e.* the striving for the union of human souls and the activity derived from this striving—is the highest and only law of human life, and in the depth of his soul every human being (as we most clearly see in children) feels and knows this; he knows this until he is entangled by the false teachings of the world. This law was proclaimed by all—by the Indian as by the Chinese, Hebrew, Greek and Roman sages of the world. I think this law was most clearly expressed by Christ, who plainly said, "In this only is all the law and the prophets." But besides this, foreseeing the corruption to which this law is and may be subject, he straightway pointed out the danger of its corruption, which is natural to people who live in worldly interests, the danger, namely, which justifies the defence of these interests by the use of force, or, as he said, "with blows to answer blows, by force to take back things usurped," etc. He knew, as every sensible man must know, that the use of force is incompatible with love as the fundamental law of life; that as soon as violence is permitted, in whichever case it may be, the insufficiency of the law of love is acknowledged, and by this the very law is denied. The whole Christian civilisation, so brilliant outwardly, grew up on this self-evident and strange misunderstanding and contradiction, sometimes conscious, but mostly unconscious.

In reality, as soon as force was admitted into love, there was no more love; there could be no love as the law of life; and as there was no law of love, there was no law at all, except violence—*i.e.*, the power of the strongest. So lived Christian humanity for nineteen centuries. It is true that in all times people were guided by violence in arranging their lives. The difference between the Christian nations and all other nations is only that in the Christian world the law of love was expressed clearly and definitely, whereas it was not so expressed in any other religious teaching, and that the people of the Christian world have solemnly accepted this law, whilst at the same time they have permitted violence, and built their lives on violence; and that is why the whole life of the Christian peoples is a continuous contradiction between that which they profess and the principles on which they order their lives—a contradiction between love accepted as the law of life and violence which is recognised and praised, acknowledged even as a necessity in different phases of life, such as the power of rulers, courts and armies. This contradiction always grew with the development of the people of the Christian world, and lately it reached the highest stage. The question now evidently stands thus: either to admit that we do not recognise any religio-moral teaching, and we guide ourselves in arranging our lives only by power of the stronger, or that all our compulsory taxes, court and police establishments, but mainly our armies, must be abolished.

This year, in spring, at a Scripture examination in a girls' high school at Moscow, the teacher and the bishop present asked the girls questions on the Commandments, and especially on the sixth. After a correct answer, the bishop generally put another question, whether killing was always in all cases forbidden by God's law, and the unhappy young ladies were forced by previous instruction to answer, "Not always"—that killing was permitted in war and in execution of criminals. Still, when one of these unfortunate young ladies (what I am telling is not an invention, but a fact told me by an eye-witness), after her first answer, was asked the usual question, if killing were always sinful, she, agitated and blushing, decisively answered, "Always," and to all the usual sophisms of the bishop she answered with decided conviction, that killing was always forbidden in the Old Testament and not only killing was forbidden by Christ, but even every wrong against a brother. Notwithstanding all his grandeur and art of speech, the bishop became silent and the girl remained victorious.

III. INDIAN RELIEF BILL DEBATE.

(Reprinted, with kind permission, from the "Cape Times," June 9th, 1914.)

The MINISTER OF FINANCE moved the second reading of the Indians Relief Bill. He requested members to approach such a thorny and difficult question in a non-controversial spirit. The House were now in a position to finally settle the Indian problem on a satisfactory basis, the recommendation of the Solomon Commission, which inquired into the grievances of Indians, having been accepted as a solution by the Indian Government, and also, with one exception, by the Indian community residing here. He recalled the passing of the Immigration Act last session, and the agitation which followed it. Mr. Gandhi raised four points, on two of which it was possible for the Government to meet him. There were two other points on which it was impossible for the Government immediately after the session to meet the community's views.

RIGHT OF ENTRY.

One was the right of entry of the South African born Indian into the Cape Province. In the Immigration Act of last year provision had been made that Indians entering the Cape Province should be required to comply with a dictation test, and Mr. Gandhi desired that this restriction should be removed. The Government, however, pointed out that the point had been fully discussed during the debates on the Bill, and that the strongest exception had been taken to the removal of the restriction, which revived the restriction under the old Cape laws. The second question was the marriage question. In the Immigration Act of last year a clause had been adopted on the motion of the hon. member for Cape Town, Castle (Mr. Alexander), permitting the entry of a wife married according to polygamous rites, though the marriage was *de facto* monogamous. The Natal Division of the Supreme Court had, however, decided that it was not possible to recognise as legal a marriage celebrated according to polygamous rites. Administratively in the past there had been no difficulty in the matter.

Mr. P. DUNCAN (Fordsburg): Then why did they raise the question?

THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR said that if he were to answer that question it would take a very long time, and he did not think it was necessary to do so. It was a case that had presented some very extraordinary features. When it became clear that the Government could not satisfy the Indian community on these points, the question of the £3 licence was raised. He did not intend to go in detail into that question, but he would say that it was impossible for the Government, when threatened with a strike, to make any concessions at all. Then followed a great deal of bloodshed and violence in suppressing the strike, and subsequently the Solomon Commission was appointed. It was assisted in its labours by a representative of the Indian Government, Sir Benjamin Robertson, whose services had been, as he could say from personal knowledge, of the very greatest value to the Commission. He had smoothed its work considerably, and had thrown light on many difficult questions. The Commission, it would seem, had made fourteen recommendations. Most of these required merely administrative action, and here he would say that it was the intention of the Government to carry out the Commission's recommendations in their entirety, partly by legislation and partly by administration; and in this way to secure that peace which they were all longing for, that peace which was not merely of such importance to South Africa itself, but also to South Africa in her external relations. (Cheers.)

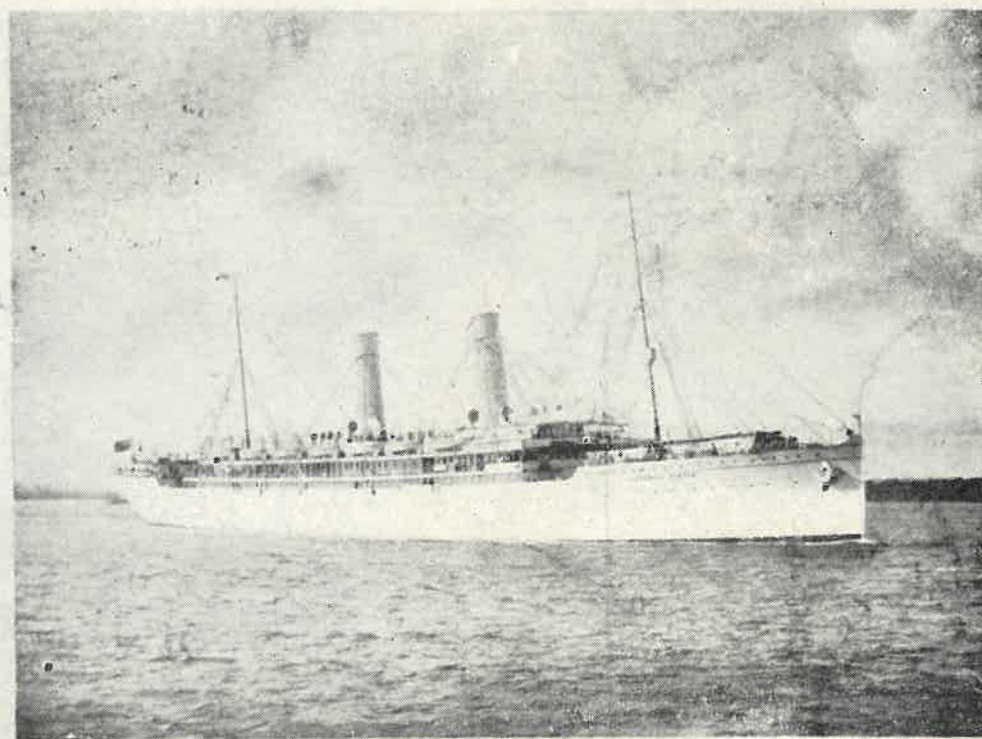
The points dealt with in the Bill included recommendations Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 13 in the report.

THE MARRIAGE QUESTION.

The measure before the House dealt with recommendations 1, 3, 4, 5, and 13 of this Commission. The recommendations 3 and 4 dealt with the marriage question pure and simple. Recommendation 3, with which he would first deal, was as follows: There should be legislation on the lines of Act 16 of 1860 of the Cape Colony, making provision for the appointment of marriage officers from amongst Indian priests of different denominations, for the purpose of solemnising marriages in accordance with the rites of the respective religions of the parties. Both in Natal and the Cape, as far back as 1896, a law was passed giving the Government power to appoint priests of Mahomedan belief. Although little advantage had been taken of the Act in the Cape, yet the Indian community claimed they should have the right to be married before their own priests. Section 1 of the Bill carried out this recommendation. The next recommendation also referred to the marriage question, and was as follows: There should be legislation for the validation, by means of registration, of existing *de facto* monogamous marriages, by which are understood marriages of one man with one woman under a system which recognises the right of the husband to marry one or more other wives. Directions as to the mode of registration and of the particulars to be entered in the register might be given by regulations framed under the Statute. This was a more difficult question for the Commission to deal with—the religious unions which were already existing among Indians in this country, but not recognised by South African laws. The Indians contended that an opening should be given for these unions so long as they were monogamous to be turned into legal marriages by a simple system of registration, which had been adopted. These people could go before marriage officers or magistrates, and when they had satisfied these officers that such a marriage did exist they could have it registered. This was to meet cases where a marriage already existed between man and wife. It was pointed out by the Commission that a marriage like that would not debar these people under their religious tenets from taking more wives. But those would not be legal marriages. Short of legalising polygamy, he did not see what else they could do. That was the most important and the most difficult question before the Commission, and in this connection Sir Wm. Robinson rendered great assistance.

NOT COMPLETE SATISFACTION.

Since then representations had been made by Mohammedans, who were not quite satisfied and who said that according to their faith it was permitted to them to marry more than one wife, and by now giving an opening for one marriage to become legal it seemed a great hardship, and one which the Indians wished to see removed. He (the Minister) argued the question, and they could not possibly satisfy him of any way of dealing with the claim they advanced. They mentioned the course that had been taken in Mauritius, and he (the Minister) promised to go into the matter, but he had not received any information on that point and so could not make a statement that afternoon. So among the Mohammedans there was not complete satisfaction with the report on this point, but so far as the Commission had been able to meet these people in a legal way the Commission had done so. He would now come to the marriage question as it affected immigration, and the Commission reported

[illegible]

Gandhiji was on this boat going to England in 1909 to make representations to the British Government on the treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal.

INDIANS ON STRIKE

On Friday last the news reached us that a strike of indentured Indians employed at the coal mines near Newcastle, Natal, had commenced. The object of the strike is simply and solely to compel the Government, by peaceful methods, to fulfil the promise given to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to abolish the £3 tax on ex-indentured Indians, their wives and children. This is their part of the passive resistance campaign, and as soon as the Government agree to bring in legislation with the desired object the strikers will return to work—this being a strike against the Government and not against employers.

Mr. Naidoo writes from Newcastle:—"Yesterday (the 14th instant) we went to the Railway barracks. Just as we were explaining the position to the people, someone went and fetched the Station-master who came straight to me and asked me what I was doing there. I told him that I had gone there to advise my people to strike work, pending the removal of the £3 tax. He then told me that I had no right there and that he was going to charge me with inciting to cause disturbance. He said the same thing to Messrs. Bhawani Dayal and Ramnaran. We said that he was quite welcome to do so. The poor ladies tried their utmost to get arrested but they could not succeed. They forced their way into the barracks and called upon all women and men to come out, thinking, if they did so, they also would be arrested, and they told the sergeant who came to arrest us that they were also advising these people. But the sergeant took no notice of them and we three were sent to the Charge Office and then to the Gaol where we passed the night in a clean cell but which was full of bugs. We were taken to the Court at nine o'clock the next morning. There were several merchants, also many other Indians, at the Court. We were charged under Sec 1 of the Ordinance of 1850, that is for inciting the people and obstructing and forcibly preventing peaceful servants from performing their duty. I pleaded guilty to inciting the people to strike but said that no force was used and that no obstruction whatsoever was caused to those who wished to go to work, and that I did counsel them not to go to work until the £3 tax was removed, and that I, as a passive resister, would never use force. The Magistrate, after going through the law-book, found us not guilty, but told the sergeant he had charged us under a wrong law and that he could charge us under the Immigration law; but, instead of doing so, they re-charged us for trespassing under certain Railway laws. I told the Magistrate that I could not understand how they could charge us for trespassing as we went to the Railway barracks by the invitation of one of the Indians who lived there and who is a railway servant. He (the Magistrate) said that I ought to have got permission from the station-master to go there. I said that there were many Indians who went there every day to see

their friends and who did not get any permission. He sentenced us all to £2 fine. I said that we had no money and that we were not going to pay. Magistrate said "alright you can go; I shall expect you to be back."

"We all went to the Fairleigh Colliery on the 15th. The men there have agreed to strike to-morrow. There are about 36 men on that mine. If these are not arrested to-morrow, I intend to take some of them with me to go to another mine. I am told that there are 400 men there. I hope to get them all out. They are being well looked after by Mr. and Mrs. L. The poor lady is working from morning to night. The Johannesburg ladies have also sufficient to do. They go about with us as advisers."

The Movement Spreads

Mr. Ephraim writes under date the 16th instant "Mr. Kallenbach arrived at Newcastle at 2 P.M. A meeting was summoned immediately. He referred to the £3 tax. He advised the people to be remain strong."

"A meeting was also held in the compound of Fairleigh Colliery. About 78 struck work next day. They were arrested and imprisoned for two weeks with labour."

"On Friday the movement spread beyond expectation and assistance became necessary to cope with work. Mr. Polak left on a few minutes' notice Newcastle by the mail train and arrived here Saturday early in the morning. He immediately went to work and saw the Magistrate and the mine manager, assuring them that the Indians did not wish to create a disturbance, that no force would be used at the stage, that men on the mines and everywhere would be informed of the position and advised to stop work until a promise was given of the repeal of the £3 tax; that, as soon as the tax difficulty was settled the men on strike would no longer be called upon to participate in the movement and that this step would become necessary as it was stated that the Native employers of labour were averse to the tax being removed. Mr. Polak's advent has further strengthened the movement and at the same time calmed the situation considerably. All kinds of rumours were afloat about the intentions of the leaders. But it is clear that the real situation is known the irritation among the Europeans by the suddenness of the strike has been largely removed. The other Collieries, too, have struck work. The appearance of the brave leader simply acts like a charm and the men obey the advice given them without any great argument being required."

"It is stated that General Botha, who happened to be at Newcastle at the time the strike commenced, was interviewed by the mine managers on the situation."

1913

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MILITARY

UNIVERSITY OF



DURBAN-WESTVILLE

GANDHI, MK
(INDIANS IN SA)
1974-1988

DEPARTMENT:

SUBJECT: GANDHI and Indians
..... in SA.
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Docrat Collector

UKZN Special Collections Gandhi-Luthuli Documentation Centre	
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Gandhi started battle for rights in OFS

THE battle to abolish the law barring Indians from living in the Free State — an issue which became a heated one in Parliament recently — had its beginnings at the time Mahatma Gandhi was in South Africa.

The law, which at the time also affected the free movement of Natal Indians to the Cape and the Transvaal, was defied in an organised manner by Indians under Gandhi in 1908 and again during the Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946.

When the Statute Law of the OFS was passed in 1891 by the old Free State Republic, banning Indians from residing there, existing Indian businesses were closed down and the owners deported without compensation.

It is believed that at the time of the expulsion, there were 253 Indians living in the Free State.

After the establishment of Union in 1910, the existing immigration laws were consolidated under the provisions of the Immigrants Regulations Act of 1913.

It was under this Act that the then Minister of the Interior, J. C. Smuts, issued a deeming order on August 1, 1913, which bars Indians from other provinces living in the OFS. It also bans all other Asians



MAHATMA GANDHI the first.

from entering South Africa.

The order also lumps Indian South Africans in the same category of undesirable immigrants to this country such as prostitutes, mentally deficient people and lepers.

The Deeming Order,

which still remains in force, was challenged in the Supreme Court in Natal in 1914 and in 1917 in the Cape and the Transvaal.

In 1923 the Appellate Division, in a majority judgement, confirmed the validity of the prohibition against Asians.

The crux of the matter before court was whether the Minister's classification was based on racial or economic grounds.

The Cape Supreme Court ruled against the Minister and held that his classification was racial and therefore not in accordance with law.

Natal, Transvaal and eventually the Appellate Division ruled in favour of the Minister.

In one judgement, reference is made to Gandhi

and a viewpoint is expressed that an Asian "may become a disturbing factor in the industrial process of the country."

Gandhi, it seems, was the first to lead a massive industrial strike in South Africa. He led the strike in the sugar industry on the Natal north coast and in the coal mining industry in Northern Natal, which culminated in a mass march from Natal to the Transvaal in defiance of the then ban on Indians entering the Transvaal.

Since 1923 this matter has not been taken to court and there are legal men who believe the view of the Appellate Division might be different in 1983 if the validity of the Deeming Order was again tested in court.

It is now almost 100

years since the first steps were taken to keep Indians out of the Free State and the attitude of the present Government towards the presence of Indians in that province has changed little since.

The Prime Minister Mr. P. W. Botha stunned opposition MPs in Parliament recently when he refused to concede that the fathers of the Free State, who drew up laws barring Indians from that province, had acted unethically, immorally or in an unChristian manner.

"Even if you removed the old laws in Northern Natal (Indians are also barred from living in some Natal towns) and the Free State, even then the movement and residential rights of Indians would be regulated by the Group Areas Act," Mr. Botha told Parliament.

"I say this agitation to open the Free State to Asians will create unnecessary friction."

Mr. Botha said there were no Group Areas for Asians in the Free State and no need for them.

TICKS CHETTY

Better late than never!

THE film "Gandhi" has not gone on circuit in the Orange Free State — but not because it is banned there.

The conservative province is straggling behind the rest of the country and

the film will only open at a Bloemfontein cinema on May 18.

No premieres of the award-winning film were held in the Orange Free State when "Gandhi" was launched nationally on April 22.

A spokesman for the film's distributors, Ster-Kinekor, said it was not possible to predict how the film would be received by Free State audiences.

"They will go and see it just as they do any other movie," she said.

Gandhi Library gets facelift

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S77MD

THE bookbinder spends painstaking hours engaged in a labour of love—bent over old books to restore them.

Mr. Ike Mayet handles each book with care, cleaning the pages, repairing covers and rebinding the books.

Some of the books are over a hundred years old and are fragile with age, others are unique and valuable, most are ordinary, books mainly on religion.

They come from the M K Gandhi Library in Durban.

The restoration of the books are part of the plan to revamp the library which was named in honour of Mahatma Gandhi.

But the plans to upgrade the library were made long before the film "Gandhi" unleashed a sudden rediscovery of Gandhi and Gandhiana around the world.

Mr. R. J. Rustomjee, a member of the trust that manages the Gandhi Library, said there were plans to expand the lib-



Mr. Ike Mayet ... a labour of love

rary, buy new books and periodicals and generally improve the room.

One of the major improvements will be made to the lighting system of the library. The interior design of the library will also be changed, Mr. Rustomjee said.

"At the moment no one uses the library as a library—they use it more as a study place. Over the exam period we have almost a 100 people using

the library to study in.

"We want to bring in new books so that people can use the place as a library," he said.

The Gandhi Library at the moment houses 7700 books, over half which are in the vernacular.

Plans to renovate the library would take up to 10 years, Mr. Rustomjee said.

"We are doing it slowly and we are doing it out of love," he said.

INDIANS TO RETAIN SETTLEMENT

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN, Thursday.
THE Phoenix settlement on the Natal North Coast — shrine and home of the descendants of the renowned Indian philosopher, Mahatma Gandhi — is to be retained in perpetuum for the Indian people and will no longer be incorporated into the African reserves which surround it.

Capt. Jack Basson (UP Sea Point) who has fought a battle for the Gandhi family for the past 18 months, was informed today that his representations to have the settlement set aside permanently for Gandhi's descendants, have been successful.

The land was originally bought by Mahatma Gandhi

17.9.50
while he lived in South Africa and was where he and his family lived and meditated. Gandhi's descendants still live there, including his daughter-in-law.

GRANDSON

During a visit to India last year Captain Basson met and became friendly with Gandhi's grandson, Arun Gandhi, who is a journalist and public relations officer for India's biggest newspaper, The Times of India.

Captain Basson was asked by Mr. Gandhi to make representations to the South African Government on behalf of the family.

"I was informed by the Department of Bantu Administration this morning that the Phoenix settlement will no longer be incorporated into the African areas which surround it.

(News by Alan Robinson, Press Gallery, House of Assembly, Cape Town.)

Strikers RDM held until 13.11.74 fines paid

Staff Reporter

A TOTAL of 161 convicted African strikers were yesterday held in custody at the Randburg Magistrate's Court until their fines were paid for them by their employer.

The men — Randburg municipal workers who went on strike on November 1 because of an alleged pay dispute — appeared before Mr A. du Plessis charged with breaking their contracts.

They pleaded guilty and had nothing to say. They were each fined R20 or 20 days.

Because of the large number of accused a special court was convened in the cells beneath the courts.

After they were released the men were taken back to work in trucks.

About 25 more strikers will appear in the Randburg Magistrate's Court on November 18.

MEMORIAL TO THE MAHATMA

LEADER.

9.4.82

By Ranji S. Nowbath

ABOUT 85 years after the Natal Indian Congress purchased a property in Durban's Prince Edward Street plans have been passed for the erection of a building consisting of shops, a hall and offices in memory of the founder of the NIC, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, then an advocate in Natal.

By the time the project is completed it will have cost about three quarters of a million rands and is being headed by the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Trust whose chairman is Dr Khorshed Ginwala with J.N. Singh as secretary.

The property is at present being used as a car park but the income derived from it meets only a

portion of the annual municipal rates which run to the order of R14 000,00.

The difference is made up from the money invested by the trust, money which it received as compensation from the Department of Community Development which expropriated the other property purchased by the Natal Indian Congress at the time of Gandhi in May Street, Durban.

According to the deeds, the Prince Edward Street property was bought in 1897 and transfer registered on 30 November, 1897 in the name of "Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, of Durban, Abdul Carim Hajie Adam, Moosa Hajie Cassim, Abdul Kadir, Doroosamy Pillay, P. Dowjee Mahomed and Hoosen Cassim" merchants of Durban in their capacity as "Trustees for the Natal Indian Congress, Durban."

The land was sold to the NIC by Shaik Fareed for

1065-0-0 pounds sterling.

A previous owner of the land was James Finlay Ferguson, a jeweller of Durban who bought it on 20 January, 1886. Shaik Fareed had bought the land on 23 January, 1897.

The deed of transfer was prepared by "M.K. Gandhi, Advocate, Durban."

After Gandhi left South Africa in 1914 the land passed into the control of the officials of the Natal Indian Congress of the old school and nothing appears to have been done to develop the property.

Following upon the takeover of the Natal Indian Congress by Dr Monty Naicker and the young radicals in 1945 it was transferred into the name of the "Trustees of Natal Indian Congress" by deed of transfer No 7661/1951 dated 19 September 1952.

There was, at the time, a dispute about whether it had passed into the hands

(Continued on Page 2)

The proposed building will cover about 400 square metres of floor space and will consist of three shops on the ground floor with a spiral stairway leading to a 600 seater hall adjoined by catering facilities, and a roof garden. On the next floor there will be office premises and caretaker's quarters.

It is the intention of the Trust to let the offices to welfare organisations and so create a welfare centre.

The plans have been drawn by Durban artist and architect Rodney Harbar.

A dark stone-clad memorial hall with bas-relief work and lettering to commemorate the work of Gandhi depicting, among other things, early Durban, the Boer War, the founding of the Natal Indian Congress, the founding of the Indian Opinion, the Zulu rebellion, the formulation and the prosecution of the Satyagraha campaigns, confrontation with Smuts, the founding of the Tolstoy Farm and the march from Volksrust, will rise 8 metres (26 feet) from the ground level and up through an exhibition foyer on the first floor.

Initially the ground and the first and second floors will be built but the foundations will be for an eight storey tower block.

The trustees have about R50 000,00 on hand from the proceeds of the expropriation of the property in May Street and a promise of a substantial donation from the Rustonjee Trust in memory of the Rustonjee-Gandhi association.

1789

1897 Deed of Transfer



By virtue of a Power of Attorney from all Men whom it may concern That William Edmund Picher of Pretoria being Advocate appeared before me, Registrar of Deeds the said Applicant being duly authorised thereto by a Special Power of Attorney granted to him by Shaik Fareed

Registered, Property Register Vol. K Folio 71 James Farber Personal Register Acting Registrar of Deeds
Lg 1 Folio 21
30 November 1897
Signed by M.K. Gandhi
Advocate
Durban

The deed of transfer drawn up and signed by M.K. Gandhi.

GANDHI CREED NOT ENTIRELY PACIFIC

WHAT would Gandhi, the great apostle of non-violence, have thought of his successor's forcible occupation of Goa? The question has cropped up in the world-wide condemnation of Nehru and it has been generally assumed that Gandhi would have disapproved of India's fall from grace.

In a timely book, "Gandhi on World Affairs" (Allen & Unwin), an American writer, Dr. Paul F. Power, gives the clue to the answer which suggests that the Mahatma would have found the Goa action not altogether inconsistent with his pacifist philosophy.

Gandhi, says Dr. Power, believed that the actual pro-

cess of war was unrighteous but he also thought — for example, in the Kashmir dispute — that India might have to obtain what he considered to be her just rights by war. In international affairs, his creed of non-violence was a mixture of "unqualified pacifism, conditional pacifism, and patriotic realism."

Gandhi felt that "those men or nations wishing to be free and to the pacific are likely to discover some utility in violence" — a view clearly shared by Nehru.

On the Goan issue, just beginning to emerge in Gandhi's later years, he held that Portugal would be responsible for any bloodshed.

In an interesting study of Gandhi's development from his South African days, Dr. Power warns Gandhians not to represent him as an unqualified pacifist. "This man frequently valued duty, courage and Indian sovereignty more than the absolute purity of means for its own sake."

Gandhi Trust shelves R500 000 multi-project

"Leader" Reporter

THE Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Trust has had to delay embarking on its proposed R500 000 multi-purpose project in central Durban because of the prevailing financial climate, Dr Khorshed Ginwalla, the newly-elected chairman of the trust, said this week.

The alternative, of selling the land and using the money thus realised for the benefit of the community in other ways, was

also not feasible at the present time because of the depressed market conditions.

Dr Ginwalla has set out details of the trust and its intentions in a Press statement in reply to critics who have raised questions about the development of the trust's property in Durban's Prince Edward Street. The site was originally bought by Gandhi for the Natal Indian Congress which he had founded.

The trust, which was registered in 1961, has a large sum of money which it received from the Group Areas Board as compensation for the xpropriation of a property in May Street.

Dr Ginwalla, past president of the Durban Indian Benevolent Society and deputy superintendent of the R.K. Khan Hospital was appointed chairman of the Trust in the place of Dr G. M. Naicker who died earlier this year.

Two new appointments to the Trust are Mr M. J. Naidoo, president of the NIC and Mr Raj Bodasing. The other trustees are Dr A. M. Moola, Dr V. Godfrey, Advocate H. E. Mall, Messrs. K. P. Desai, B. R. Naidoo, N. P. Hargovan, J.T. Bhoola, R.K. Mistri, R.M. Naidoo (treasurer) and J.N. Singh (hon. secretary).

According to the latest financial statement dated 7 March 1978, the trust has approximately R56 000 invested in fixed deposits and the Prince Edward Street property with a book value of R23 879,55 but with a municipal rateable value of R303 750 for the land and R2840 for a building housing a jewellers shop and let at R200 per month and an office.

The office and the vacant land used as a car park are let at R600 per month. The rates paid for the last three years is over R10 000 annually.

MEMORIAL BUILDING

The trustees with the assistance of an architect from the University of Natal, have drawings to put up a memorial

building on the Prince Edward Street site, housing a shopping arcade at ground level, a fully equipped, all purpose 500-seater hall with a suitable stage and change rooms on the second level and suites of offices on the third and four levels and a small hall with covered play space for physical and gymnastic activity.

It is intended that the office be let to welfare bodies to create a central welfare centre. The whole scheme is to cost just in excess of half a million rand and is envisaged as self supporting from the rentals to be received from the 400 square metres of shopping floor space in the arcade. The hall level will provide space for a memorial foyer.

"The trustees have given consideration to the financial climate prevailing and have delayed embarking on the building project at present. They also realise that in the present property market the land will not be able to be sold for anywhere near its true or municipal value and hasty action could cause considerable financial loss to the Trust," said Dr Ginwalla.

They also appreciate the need for assistance to the poorest section of the community for education and welfare and for the needs of the cultural interests of all the people of Durban at a central non-racial venue.

"While they are all too anxious to get along with the envisaged project to cater for these wants, they must exercise caution, having being put in charge of a property for the benefit of the public at large, and a trust which is to perpetuate the memory of Mahatma Gandhi".

Dr Ginwalla said that the trustees had in the past appealed to the public through the press for ideas and suggestion as how best the trust should operate. They are still open to suggestions if their proposed plans do not meet with general approval.

MISTAKE OVER GANDHI RELATIVE

Daily News Reporter

MAHATMA Gandhi's daughter-in-law, Mrs Sushila Gandhi, who has lived at Phoenix, near Durban, for 45 years, was declared a "stateless person" by the Department of Indian Affairs in error, her daughter said today.

The confusion arose when Mrs Gandhi applied for renewal of her South African passport a year ago. Mrs Gandhi intended visiting relatives in India.

As she was born in India Mrs Gandhi holds an Indian Identity card, but became a South African citizen when she married.

When she did not hear from the Indian Affairs Department she approached the authorities two weeks ago and was told that the renewal had been delayed due to her being declared a "Stateless person" in error.

According to Mrs Gandhi's daughter, Mrs Ela Ramgobin, the department is correcting the mistake and her mother expects to receive her passport renewal soon.

Mrs Gandhi hopes to leave for India at the end of the year.

NEW GANDHI 20.1.70. APPEAL LAUNCHED

Daily News Reporter

THE Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Committee is appealing to the public to contribute towards its R250,000 project at the Phoenix Settlement, near Durban, to commemorate



GANDHI

the centenary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi.

The committee has already completed building a polyclinic to serve a population of 40,000 people in the area; a museum to house all available Gandhiana; and a library where the works and writings of the

Mahatma will be housed.

Mr. P. R. Pather, chairman of the appeal committee, said today that nearly R100,000 had already been collected from all races in South Africa.

An amount of R50,000 has still to be paid out to the contractors, and a further sum was required to build a hall to serve as a community centre, and a place of contemplation where members of any faith can meditate.

Mr. Pather said the response from members of the various racial groups in the country towards the committee's appeal had been magnificent.

"We have been assured of further financial support from the public, who I am sure, will want to identify themselves with the life and works of such a great man as Mahatma Gandhi," Mr. Pather said.

Mr. Pather added that money was also required for equipping and maintaining the museum and library, and for expenses that would incur in the running of the huge project.

Gandhi in perspective without sentiment

19.2.86

Gandhi: The South African Experience by
Maureen Swan (Ravan R14,95)

It is widely accepted that Mohandas Gandhi organised, led and united the oppressed, demoralised and apolitical Indian communities of South Africa in a movement against discriminatory legislation. In generally accepted historical terms he was the acknowledged leader of the suffering Indian community of that time, the founder of the passive resistance movement in South Africa.

Maureen Swan, whose learned and controversial book is based on a DPhil thesis for Oxford University, presents an alternative history that is both fascinating and fully backed by substantial fact.

Not a prophet

She demythologises Gandhi and in doing so challenges the orthodox account of the history of that time.

She suggests, and proves, that Gandhi, part of a highly privileged sector of the community, identifies himself with the movement for a only very short period.

This book is not escapist bathtub reading, but a profound and honest attempt to desentimentalise history and Gandhi who emerges as not an inspired prophet, but a very real political figure. No doubt it will raise a few eyebrows and cause much ire among those who believe the more conventional view of our history.

But then, intelligent controversy is always a good read.

Every serious student of history (and even those who are not so serious) should enjoy it and everyone who is interested in the future of this country will find it an excellent and refreshing perspective



Gandhi... his part in history challenged.

and background to the complex political problems of today.

It gives you a totally different look at a history that is part of us and best of all it educates in a readable way.

Carol Lazar

Song and dance to bolster play on Gandhi

"Leader" Reporter

THE Upstairs Theatre is planning an ambitious workshop on the life of Mahatma Gandhi.

"In keeping with Upstairs' experimental approach we are attempting something never before tried in Durban professional theatre," says Saira Essa, director of the theatre.

"When Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi stepped on the quay at Durban harbour in 1893, he little realised that in coming to South Africa he had made one of the most important decisions of his life. The impact he made during his short stay persists to the present, the lessons he learnt directed his actions for the rest of his life," she said.

Intrigued by the dramatic potential of this event, Saira Essa and Rod Bolt began researching Gandhi's South African years.

"For four months we visited museums and libraries, talked to people who knew Gandhi and viewed old documentaries and newsreels. Our two most taxing problems were the amount of

material we assimilated, and how we were to make it theatrically interesting.

"We began a difficult process of elimination. Two things in particular seemed important — the practical value of his teachings and some disturbing discrepancies between what he taught and the way he conducted his personal life. These then, formed our main focus.

"Was he really a saint? We wanted to question without destroying, and to communicate our findings. The best way to do this, we felt was through exciting theatre — a total theatrical experience of song, dance, mime and acting that would at once be entertaining and thought provoking.

"We have drafted a script, and set some directions for a production. We now want to gather a small group of talented and interested actors, who after sharing what we have found out about Gandhi, will enter a workshop from improvisation and a general pooling of experience and criticism in this workshop, we hope that a vibrant and exciting production will emerge," she said.

Anyone interested in the project should contact Upstairs Theatre at 67592/3 for possible auditioning.

GANDHI — his early life

THE APPRENTICESHIP OF A MAHATMA

DN 23.7.50
 "THE Apprenticeship of a Mahatma," a book by Fatima Meer on life of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa, has been published by the Phoenix Settlement Trust.

The publication coincided with the opening of two Gandhi monuments at the Gandhi Settlement at Phoenix, on the Natal North Coast, by Mr. Harry Oppenheimer and Mr. Anson Lloyd recently.

Mrs. Meer, a well-known sociologist at the University of Natal, is also the author of the "Portrait of the Indians in South Africa," which has been widely acclaimed in South Africa and overseas.

Mrs. Meer has given the book to the Phoenix Settlement which was founded by Gandhi 65 years ago. A spokesman for the Phoenix Trust, Mr. Pat Poovalingum, said the book would sell at R2.50 "But we hope to bring out another cheaper edition later which could be widely distributed, especially to school children," he said.

The book describes Gandhi's childhood and teenage marriage and his qualifying as a barrister in London.

Gandhi returned to India where he found it difficult

to establish a legal practice. When the opportunity arose to argue a brief in Natal — he seized it.

Mrs. Meer concentrates on his subsequent life in South Africa, and his leadership of its Indian people.

She relates the confrontations with General Smuts, the early antagonisms between the two great men, and the growing mutual respect and even admiration they later felt for each other.

In the foreword of the book Alan Paton writes: "Gandhi succeeded — one might almost say singlehanded though he would not have liked such a statement — in liberating India from British rule.

"The second part of his task, namely the liberating of India from racial and caste prejudice, he did not complete, but that was due to no defect in himself; such a liberation, of a country from prejudice and injustice, is never completed, and must be begun anew by every succeeding generation."

The book is illustrated by Karen Pillay.

No change in century

STPR
Recently there has been a lot of debate on a "new dispensation" and better deals and a lot of noise on the advancement being made in race relations.

To me this is all hogwash: the lot of the so-called non-white has not improved during the past 100 years. This was really brought home to me when I saw the film "Gandhi."

Some 80 years ago Gandhi was thrown out of a "whites only" compartment of a train merely because he was of the "wrong race group." Just a few months ago a whole compartment of people were thrown off a train for the same reason. Non-whites were pushed off the pavements for the same reason.

Two months ago a child of 12 was arrested and handcuffed to a pole for walking across a "whites only" bridge.

People are still being thrown out of their homes and businesses merely because they are of the "wrong race group" — Pageview 1983.

• Chandrakant Hari
Pageview

Gandhi's message 26.4.83 misunderstood STAR

It was fascinating to watch the drama of Mahatma Gandhi being transferred from the screen on to the political stage. The episode had the makings of a film within a film. Had the political version generated by the segregated premieres been filmed it would have been predictable, full of hackneyed lines and bland like a blue movie or a spaghetti western.

The whirlwind showed that the protesters were less concerned with the real issues underlying both the film and the hero but had an axe to grind and were desperately latching on to the halo of Gandhi to whip up yet another storm in the anti-apartheid teacup.

The substantive issue should have been the continued existence of apartheid in the South African cine world. The whole entertainment scene, including sports and the arts, has been moving in the direction of better sense in race relations.

"Gandhi" accorded us an opportunity to address ourselves to this relic of petty apartheid. The political and moral content of the film and the fact that Mahatma Gandhi had a direct role to play in South Africa in the area of unjust laws provided the perfect climate to coax the cine world, and the Government, to get rid of this nonsensical practice.

But, no, the protesters read a different script altogether. They concerned themselves with the mountain of total apartheid more than this little hill of petty apartheid. In the process they made a mountain out of a molehill.

The apartheid system is made of blocks. Except for blowing up the whole thing at once — which is neither feasible nor sensible — the best thing is to remove as many of these blocks as possible and thereby begin rebuilding a better society.

The furore over the film stemmed, presumably, from a concern with the moral teachings and political track record of Mahatma Gandhi. It has turned out, however, that the story and record of this simple and great man was both misunderstood and thoroughly abused.

It is true that Mahatma Gandhi stood for justice and human dignity. What distinguished him from other champions of human causes is that he set the precedent for a moral, personal and practical commitment to actually defy unjust situations.

He showed that it is not enough to denounce a wrong. Individuals must do something regardless of consequences. Moreover, they must be specific and issue-oriented rather than set themselves on a moral pedestal.

MY VIEW



**Meshack
Mabagoane**

Playwright Athol Fugard, who urged the director not to attend the South African premiere, acted, like most of his characters, out of self-pity and moral paralysis. He merely projected his dramatic imagination on to the political stage and became a player in the pantomime of protest politics.

The real culprit was Sir Richard Attenborough himself. Had he absorbed the message and examples of his supposed hero it should have been clear to him that the furore accorded him the ideal opportunity to live out the life of Mahatma Gandhi.

All he needed to do was to come to South Africa, invite all races to a particular premiere and pronounce that, should there be any hassles, a defiance campaign against this injustice of segregation should ensue.

That is what Mahatma Gandhi would have done. Instead Sir Richard acted the coward by declining to come to South Africa.

Mahatma was not the man to run away from ugly situations. In fact he saw it as morally abhorrent to shirk a responsibility in order to maintain a facile moral and political stand.

Evidently Sir Richard missed this vital aspect of his hero. There is a real difference, Sir Richard, between acting out the life of someone on stage and screen and actually living it out. You deserved the many Oscars but in your personal behaviour you made a travesty of the life of your hero. For that you deserve brickbats.

● Meshack Mabagoane (33) was born in Springs and studied at Waterford School, Swaziland and the University of Nairobi. He is editor-publisher of *African Impact*, a "black insight" magazine published in Johannesburg.

Gandhi's relatives enter premiere row

By BRUCE STEPHENSON
London Bureau

LONDON. — Mahatma Gandhi's relatives in Britain have joined the growing international row over whether Sir Richard Attenborough should attend the whites-only premiere of the film "Gandhi" in Johannesburg next week.

The unseemly row over the segregated screening of a film which has captured the global eye and eight Oscar awards has been headlined world-wide.

Instead of flying back to London from Los Angeles yesterday to a torrent of praise for the Oscar awards, Sir Richard — the film's producer — was bitterly criticised and accused of hypocrisy for his plans to attend the Johannesburg premiere.

And in the House of Commons the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, answered angry opposition criticism of Sir Richard's planned visit by saying it was a personal matter and she could not intervene.

Gandhi's adoptive granddaughter Miss Shanti Naidoo, who lives in London, yesterday opposed the screening of the film in South Africa.

"It is not in the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, who was the person who instigated the boycott movement in South Africa, to isolate South Africa. He was a great believer in isolation."

Asked how she viewed Sir Richard's statement that Gandhi would have wanted the film to be shown in South Africa to convey its central message, Miss Naidoo said:

"No, I don't think that the South African people need to be told they are oppressed people. I think they know and they are righting the system."

She doubted that whites would be affected by the film's message.

At Heathrow Airport yesterday Sir Richard said his decision to attend the premiere had been an agonising one.

"The conclusion I had to arrive at was whether it was better to have the film shown in South Africa uncut, exactly as it is, or not to have it shown at all.

"Gandhi's hopes and aspirations were that problems should be solved without murder and slaughter and that the inequities and iniquities of racial prejudice should be exposed," he said.

He said he planned to attend the premiere of the film in Soweto as well.

Sir Richard said he understood the complaints against his attending the segregated premiere were that it would be a more acceptable situation if an application had been made for a mixed audience at the premiere.

"I didn't know, and was not told, such a thing was possible and quite honestly to have to apply in order to put a black man next to a white man for a public premiere seems to me to be the most

dishonourable piece of action. To have a token black and token coloured is like having a token woman on a board of directors. I think it's unacceptable. Even if I had known, I don't think I would have applied."

He said he was sure the film could help the situation in South Africa.

The chairman of the Transvaal Gandhi Centenary Council, Mr N G Patel, said last night the council did not stand for segregated audiences, neither did it want an "indulgence" for the film.

The organisation's premiere would take place as planned in Fordsburg on April 22.

The Fordsburg premiere is part of the council's campaign to raise R400 000 to restore Tolstoy Farm, near Lenasia, on which Gandhi lived from 1909 to 1914, and to establish the farm as a resource centre — an institute of studies on non-violence.

"To show the Gandhi film to a non-racial crowd on a permit is an indulgence which is not correct. It would be ironic and defeat the purpose," Mr Patel said.

And the Durban premiere of the film, which is being organised by the Rotary Club of Isipingo-Prospecton, would definitely be opened to all races, the club president, Mr Gerry Naidoo, said yesterday.

Talk of the Bazaar

by The Faquir

Critic's eye on 'Gandhi'

CRITICS in India and Indian critics elsewhere have not been very much taken up by the film of Gandhi's life and works, entitled "Mahatma Gandhi". On the other hand White critics here and in the West certainly have the best things to say about the film.

The question really is by why standards is the film to be judged. It spans something like fifty years in the life of one of the greatest men to have trod the earth and deals with a unique political revolution which broke up the British Indian Empire.

The film is no more than a montage of episodes in the life of Gandhi and his experiences and experiments here in South Africa and in India.

Because of this kind of treatment and because of the absence of any connecting commentary people who are not familiar with Gandhian history miss a great deal of history but the message is clear.

It is very, very sketchy on Gandhi's South African life and what there is of it is disconnected and if you look at it with the eyes of a historian there are certainly some, shall I say, mistakes of fact.

• MISTAKES

The train which carries Gandhi from Durban and from which he was bundled out is labelled "South African Railways" and certainly seems to be hurtling from Durban to Pietermaritzburg. Actually what carried Gandhi was a NGR-Natal Government Railways. The African Railways were only due to come in some seventeen years later.

The dramatic burning of the "passes", too, is not without error. My reading of the history of the times tells me that the reference was to "permits".

Certainly not "passes" and they were burnt in what used to be called a "kaffir port" — the three-legged one. I wonder what do we have call these pots today.

There is much to be faulted in the film in detail but its validity lies in the total message it carries. Because of the massive canvas with which it deals it cannot be judged in terms of history. There will, in any case, be as many views about the film as there are critics and assessors.

• OUT

So after years and years of dedicated service to the cause MN Pather has been "ousted" from Sacos. I say "ousted" although Sacos PROs say that MN has stood down.

It is equally interesting to note that MN has been elevated to post of patron from which my friend George Singh was sacked because he elected to play golf at Windsor Park

against a directive by the Windsor Park Golf Course which Sacos declared was a haraam venue.

I think I have already mentioned the fact that even though I have spiked MN he has not reacted in a petty manner, unlike other sports administrators and politicians who turn their faces away when they see me. MN is always ready for a chat — a thorough gentleman.

Perhaps he might recall when we first met — in Pembroke Chambers from where he engaged in his business and played and administered tennis. I doubt if he will stay on the sidelines. He should be getting into public life again.

• FUNNY

It is somewhat funny that the president of a national organisation like Sacos should step down from that post and then become its secretary. This is not the way things are done. But still who can fathom the mind of Sacos. I should have thought that after giving up the presidency, Morgan Naidoo would have gone to the position of patron.

• VERY FUNNY

Even more funny is the fact that the "former patron of Sacos", George Singh, was authorised to represent Sacos at the Asian Games in New Delhi at the end of last year. He carried an official "tikket" for the purpose given him on a Sacos letterhead — or notepaper — and signed by its then Secretary-General, MN Pather.

And this after he had been booted out by Sacos because of his decision to play non-racial golf on at

the Windsor Park Golf Course which Sacos declared was a haraam venue.

In fact so hurt was George by the "expulsion" and so much attached was he to Sacos that he began signing himself as "former patron of Sacos."

Will somebody tell me how then did George Singh get the mandate to represent Sacos at the Asian Games?

• EQUALLY

Equally funny is the decision by my pet golf club, the Durban Golf Club which has now decided to perpetuate the memory of Papwa. When Papwa died the DGC refused to have anything to do with his name or memory because, so it claimed, Papwa had fouled up the non-racial principles of sport by playing on White golf courses.

When it came to the naming of the Linear Park Golf Course the DGC canvassed against it being named after Papwa. Now it has produced a special score card with Papwa's picture on it.

Good for my club. At least it is becoming practical and reasonable. Perhaps the officials will care to look up some records and discover the fact that there is a decision to do something for Papwa's widow and family at a later stage.

• STOCKED

It's a nice long week off work that's coming for most people. It is no secret that I've taken advantage of the liquor war and have done a bit of stocking-up to tide me over the period.

6.12.83

Triumph of a Martyr's Will

GANDHI Directed by Richard Attenborough; Screenplay by John Briley

No matter how vast and tumultuous the crowds assembled for its most spectacular sequences, no matter what the cost and care lavished on its re-creation of vanished epochs, no matter how vividly it realizes the violence of great historical forces caught up in deadly conflict, the epic cinema finally depends on small matters—the touch of a hand, a look in the eyes, a whisper of dialogue—to make a lasting emotional connection with its audience. This is particularly true of films about figures whose claim on the attention of the world is exerted not through force of arms but through force of mind and spirit. The temptation, which has become almost a generic convention, is for film makers to adopt a dehumanizing reverence, which creates a holy void, a sort of white hole, at the center of the film. Meanwhile, they hope that background bustle will distract audiences from noticing that the protagonist seems to be on permanent leave of absence.

It is the singular virtue of *Gandhi* that its title figure is also a character in the usual dramatic sense of the term. As portrayed by Ben Kingsley, 37, an actor from the Royal Shakespeare Company making his film debut, Gandhi must age some 50 years. In the process he must convert himself from the vigorous, somewhat arrogant, somewhat dandyish young lawyer who first caught the world's attention with his nonviolent resistance to South Africa's racial laws, to the saintly martyr who finally captured the world's conscience as he willed a nation into being. It is impossible to recall an actor who has aged more persuasively over the

course of a movie, suggesting more with subtleties of movement than with prodigies at the makeup table the gently graduated taxations of age.

Of course in playing Gandhi, an actor must be less concerned with physical verisimilitude than with spiritual presence, and here Kingsley is nothing short of astonishing. His Gandhi is no mystic, but a man with a practical political sense, an almost sly awareness of other men's motives and how they might be levered to advance his own cause, and, above all, a sense of self-irony. He seems always to be keeping a wary, testing eye on himself, conscious of his own failings, watchful that he not succumb to the vanity of power. Kingsley's performance suggests that Gandhi's ability to lead derived not from the fact that he was different from other men but from his awareness that he was so like them, with only the force of his will to set him apart. In short, he was an example self-made, not born.

Sir Richard Attenborough's film (which runs over three hours) is itself the product of an unflagging will; it took him more than 20 years to finance and mount it (cost: about \$22 million). In the circum-



Kingsley and Bergen in *Gandhi*
A refusal to be flashy.

stances it would be a pleasure to report that his directorial skill matched his producer's zeal, but Attenborough's style is traditional-stately. His imagery of the Indian landscape has a conventional hand-

someness that is more predictable than enlivening. His staging of the many and brutal confrontations between Gandhi's followers and their official oppressors is competent and craftsmanlike, but the electricity that someone like David Lean can bring to work of this kind rarely crackles from the screen. Historical personages are played by stars (John Gielgud as Lord Irwin, Candice Bergen as Photographer Margaret Bourke-White), who do their bits professionally but more often than not are forced to carry an awkward burden of exposition. They are history's telegraphers rather than emotionally involved characters in history's drama.

All of which matters less than one might think. Indeed, the refusal to be

flashy finally seems to be an earnest of the obvious idealism that Attenborough brought to his work, and of his apparent desire to both demythologize and demystify his subject, thus restoring Gandhi to human dimension. The director's stylistic self-denial serves to keep one's attention fastened where it belongs: on a persuasive, if perhaps debatable vision of Gandhi's spirit, and on the remarkable actor who has caught its light in all its seasons.

—By Richard Schickel

Top Indians hit at ban on Gandhi film

Daily News Reporter

DURBAN Indian leaders today strongly attacked the Government's ban on a documentary film on the life of Mahatma Gandhi, and urged the Government to reconsider its decision.

The Government has banned the film on the grounds that two of its main sections — relating to the birth of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa and the widespread disorders in India in 1942 — are "extremely objectionable."

The film, made in India by the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Committee to mark the centenary of the birth of the father of India's independence, was made available to the Phoenix Settlement Trust in Natal, for screening in this country to raise money for a Gandhi memorial.

CHRIST

Mr. P. R. Pather, a senior official of the Phoenix Settlement Trust, and chairman of the executive committee of the Government-nominated South African Indian Council, said today he could see no reason why the Government had banned the film.

"The Government cannot censor the life of Gandhi any more than they can censor the life of Christ.

"I would appeal to the Government to reconsider their decision and allow the film to be screened in this country," Mr. Pather said.

POLITICAL

Mr. G. H. E. Vanker, a Durban Muslim leader, and a senior official of the Islamic Propagation Centre, said: "It is incomprehensible that a film on the life of Mahatma Gandhi, whom the late General Smuts described as a 'prince among men,' could not be shown in this country, particularly to the Indian population."

Mr. Gordon Bond, president of the Convocation of Natal University, said that if the film was an accurate account of the life of Gandhi, then the Government was objecting to the presentation of a historical fact.

Indians to 22.1.50 fight Govt. ban on Gandhi film

Daily News Reporter

The Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Committee is to appeal to the Government against the banning of a documentary film on Gandhi, committee chairman Mr. Pat Poovalingam said today.

The committee was to have shown the film to raise money for a Gandhi memorial at Phoenix Settlement near Durban.

The Government has banned the film on the grounds that two of its main sections—relating to the birth of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa and the widespread disorders in India in 1942 — were "extremely objectionable."

Mr. Poovalingam said the committee would appeal on the grounds that Mahatma Gandhi stood for honesty, sincerity and non-violence.

He said that if the Government refused to consider the appeal, his committee would screen three other documentaries dealing with some aspects of Gandhi's life and works — also to raise funds for the memorial.

Attenborough for S^r A^mfrica

FRESH from his Oscar-winning triumph, the director of *Gandhi*, Sir Richard Attenborough, arrives in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

He is visiting to promote his epic tale of the legendary Indian leader which, in addition to taking eight Oscars, has also won five Golden Globe awards, including the awards for Best Foreign Film, Best Actor and Best Director.

Attenborough also got the Best Director Oscar for his film which took him decades to research and R25-m to get off the ground. Although it has opened to public and critical enthusiasm overseas, it has encountered controversy since the Oscar ceremony.

Historians assert that the three-and-a-half-hour feature has omitted significant incidents and politicians who helped forge the history of India and that it is idealistic to suggest that Gandhi liberated his country from the British yoke virtually single-handed.

This view is not only untenable, it is a myth, Durban attorney and historian Mr Hassim Seedat wrote in a review in the Indian weekly newspaper *Post*. He described the film as seriously flawed and contested that Gandhi set back independence in India by 25 years.

However, Attenborough has countered the criticism by saying his main aim was to capture the spirit of the man. 'The film is about Mahatma Gandhi, not India's independence struggle.'

Church attacks the film on Gandhi

By DIRK VAN ZYL

THE film "Gandhi" and a TV serial came under fire this week at the general assembly of the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk.

In a debate on the church and art, the Rev Naas Ferreira said Gandhi was portrayed as a "quasi-god" in the film.

A delegate also protested that he had been able to buy an erotic book at a cafe near the assembly venue in Pretoria.

About 500 dominees and church elders are attending the 60th general assembly of the NHK, the smallest, most conservative of the Afrikaans churches.

They decided to encourage white couples to have more

SIR Richard Attenborough is now not coming to South Africa to promote his film "Gandhi".

What a pity. It would have been interesting if someone had asked him if the film included an episode about a white police chief and his wife who both saved Gandhi's life on two separate occasions in Durban in January 1897. Somehow I feel the incidents might have been excluded because they show some white South Africans in a good light!

It might also be claimed that not every episode in a long and eventful life could be incorporated in the film — yet it runs for 3½ hours!

The rescuing of Gandhi in Durban surely forms two very colourful and indeed dramatic moments in his life; and both episodes are fairly well-documented so cannot be dismissed as apocryphal.

My grandfather Richard Charles Alexander, who arrived in South Africa with the Somerset Light Infantry in 1873, was chosen by his commanding officer to form the Durban Borough Police in 1876 at the request of the Governor of Natal; for the developing port had no police force.

He served as Chief Constable and Superintendent of the Durban Borough Police from 1876 to 1906, although he was a professional regular army soldier without a day's police training.

Gandhi, when he was a young lawyer in Natal and Transvaal in the 1890s and 1900s, rather stirred things up politically in championing the rights of the Indian migrants (again this is well-documented), to the point where hotheaded white colonists of Natal threatened to do him bodily harm, if not kill him.

When Gandhi returned in January 1897 from one of his periodic visits to India the authorities in Durban forbade him to come ashore, for fear that he would be harmed by angry colonists.

But one night Gandhi got someone to row him ashore from his ship in the Durban Bay anchorage; he was spotted in West Street near the Post Office by some whites, who immediately threatened him.

My grandmother, Mrs. Alex-

Good 20.4.83 stuff ADN for movies, but not for Gandhi

By DOUGLAS ALEXANDER

ander, witnessed the scene and beat the men off with her parasol; and took a shaken Gandhi to the Chief Constable's residence nearby for safety.

On the second occasion on the same visit word spread round Durban like wildfire that Gandhi was holed up near the old Bombay Bazaars building in West Street. Soon a big crowd surrounded the building, with the whites chanting "We'll hang old Gandhi on a sour apple tree," etc.

The handful of police could barely control the mob. My grandfather, who was known as the Old Super, rode up on his white horse, quickly sized up the position, and had a typically bright idea.

He took an Indian uniformed constable into the building, made him swap clothes with Gandhi, and re-emerged with a heavy-breathing and tense "Constable" Gandhi and a small posse of police right behind him.

"Fellow Citizens, you have my word for it, Gandhi is not inside the building. You have my permission to send your own delegation in to verify this," said the Old Super. Keeping "Constable" Gandhi in the police posse to make him less conspicuous, the Old Super quietly left the scene with them and kept Gandhi at the main police station till the anger of the colonists subsided.

If that isn't good movie material what the deuce is!

The Gandhi-NIC welfare myth

SIR — I have had occasion over the last few weeks to look into my notes on the history of Indian indentured labourers in Natal. I find that neither MK Gandhi nor the Natal Indian Congress, which he established, took any effective interest in the welfare of the indentured labourers or their descendants.

Gandhi was only interested in the indentured labourers as a lever to protect and advance the interests of the Indian merchant class of his time in South Africa while the NIC itself set its face resolutely against identification with the "coolies" except on the occasions when it was to its interest.

The man who first espoused the cause of the indentured labourers and their descendants on the subject of the three-pound-tax was Mr P.S. Aiyar, who founded and edited The African Chronicle.

Unfortunately, no account of his life or work exists because he has been overshadowed by the Gandhi/NIC myth. I have for some years been gathering information on his life. I recall that in 1938, he had his Africa Chronicle Printing Press in Agnes Road, off Old Dutch Road, Durban. It was just a pot-boiler. I lived a few doors away. Mr Aiyar later lived in Cator Manor and, when I made contact in the early Fifties with some members of his family, I was told that his papers and documents were destroyed during the January 1949 African uprising against Indians in

Durban.

I should like to get a study of Aiyar's life and work off the ground and shall be grateful for any information which your readers might be able to furnish.

R.S. NOWBATH, Asherville

Otherwise it was fine

SIR — While I wholeheartedly endorse what your critic, George Nisbet, wrote about Kamiel d'Hooghe's organ recital and I sympathise with him over the lack of written information (programmes were not available), the welter of incorrect information contained in his review (Tonight, February 24) is quite inexcusable.

The Bach Prelude and Fugue which Professor d'Hooghe played was in E minor not D minor. Buxtehude (sic) was a Danish-born German composer and not Flemish. (Buxtehude is the name). The Flemish composer in question was Matthias van den Gheyn and he lived in the 18th, not the 17th century. Most organists would be delighted if Cesar Franck had composed seven chorals. In fact, he wrote only three and it was the second we heard on Monday.

And finally Floor Peters should read Flor Peeters.

CYRIL R. GROVER

(Organiser, Music (SABC, Natal)

Gandhi's work among the labourers

SIR — As father of the Natal Indian Congress, Mahatma Gandhi was a leader who was attuned to the problems of the people.

It is thus a gross distortion to suggest, as R S Nowbath does (The Daily News, March 7), that Gandhi did not take any effective steps or interest in the welfare of indentured labourers.

Gandhi was alert to the problems of the people and in this specific respect he worked among them and endeavoured to find avenues for new and better ways of rearranging their social and political structures. Consequently, he became involved in the affairs of indentured labourers.

In 1894, the then Natal Government sought to impose an annual tax of £25 on ex-indentured labourers.

Gandhi was astonished by this proposal which was patently designed to discourage Indians from encroaching on white business. Gandhi himself was a victim when attempts were made to deny him the right to practise law in Natal.

In direct response to the impending law, Gandhi and Congress unanimously decided to organise the necessary opposition and the result was a fierce campaign. The tax was reduced to £3.

SABER AHMED JAZBHAY
Qualbert

Gandhi a powerful voice

SIR — From Wits came the Swan study of Gandhi some years ago and R.S. Nowbath (The Daily News, March 7) is doing no more than echoing what was said by Ginwalla in London and indirectly hinted at by Bhana of UDW. These studies are in line with those in India which say that Gandhi never took "effective interest" in the workers and peasants of India.

Gandhi is big enough to take all these criticisms and yet emerge as the most powerful voice of all Indian South Africans — including the indentured — during his 21-year stay in our country. And indeed he was the most powerful voice of the people of India.

I advise Mr Nowbath to have another look at his notes and he might find that in the 1913 strike of the sugar workers in Natal and in the march to the Transvaal in 1913, Gandhi was taking an "effective interest" in indentured Indians for their welfare.

SATYAGRAHI-TRUTH, Merebank

TOPIC TODAY

History — 7



Readers who want more educational material and articles on life skills should buy editions marked



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Important dates in life of Gandhi

- 1869 2 October — Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi born in Porbandar.
- 1883 — Marries Kasturbai Makanji.
- 1888-91 — Becomes a law student in London.
- 1893 — Arrives in South Africa.
- 1896 — Visits India and then returns to South Africa with Kasturbai and their sons.
- 1899-1900 — Helps the British in the Boer War, with the Indian Ambulance Corps.
- 1901-02 — Visits India.
- 1903 — Begins influential journal in South Africa called Indian Opinion.
- 1904 — Establishes Phoenix Farm.
- 1906 — The *satyagraha* campaign begins.
- 1908 — First prison sentence.
- 1909 — He writes first book *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*.
- 1910 — Following correspondence with Leo Tolstoy, Tolstoy Farm established.
- 1913-14 — Massive *satyagraha*

- campaign gains large measure of success.
- 1914 — He leaves South Africa and visits Britain.
- 1915 — Returns to India. Tours the country; establishes the Satyagraha Ashram near Ahmedabad.
- 1919 — The Amritsar Massacre.
- 1920 — Becomes President of the All-India Home Rule League.
- 1922-24 — He is imprisoned again.
- 1925-28 — Tours India, speaking on social reforms. Writes his autobiography called *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*.
- 1930 — The Salt March.
- 1931 — The Round Table Conference, London.
- 1932 — He is imprisoned again. He fasts against the unfair treatment of the "untouchables", the Harijan Hindus.
- 1933-9 — Tours India, speaking on welfare and social issues.
- 1939 — Start of World War 2.
- 1942-4 — Imprisoned for calling

on Britain to leave India. Death of Kasturbai, February 1944.

- 1946-7 — Widespread Hindu — Muslim troubles.
- 1947 — Indian Independence (August 15). Creation of Pakistan.
- 1948 30 January — Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

Word list

- Ashram:** A community of people in India, living their lives by religious principles.
- Buddha:** A religious teacher who founded Buddhism, a religion which states that by ending greed and hatred, perfection can be reached.
- Caste:** A term for the four inherited Hindu social classes or divisions. The "outcastes" were the "untouchable" Hindus, renamed Harijans by Gandhi.
- Diwan:** The Prime Minister of a princely state in colonial India.
- Hindu:** Someone who follows the beliefs of Hinduism, the religion now dominant in India.
- Muslim:** A follower of the religion of Islam. Now dominant in Pakistan.
- Satyagraha:** Gandhi's term for the power of truth or love, as a force to create change in the world.
- Viceroy:** The highest representative of the ruling government.

Books to read

- Gandhi* by Glenn Alan Cheney (Franklin Watts, 1984).
- Gandhi and Nehru* by Michael Gibson (Wayland, 1981).
- Gandhi* by F. W. Rawding (Cambridge University Press, 1980).
- Gandhi, Nehru and Modern India* by Elizabeth Machline Roberts (methuen, 1974).
- Gandhi* by Kathryn Spink (Hamish Hamilton, 1984).
- An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth* by M. K. Gandhi (Penguin, 1982).

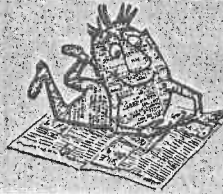


Mahatma Gandhi with his granddaughters in Delhi.

- On Monday: the first boats.
- Today in the education edition: Junior Topic — Astronauts, and some fascinating activities. Advantages of home ownership. The Law Society of the Transvaal discusses problems which could arise between an attorney and his client. Another story for the Readathon.

TOPIC TODAY

History — 1



Readers who want more educational material and articles on life skills should buy editions marked

Readers who are interested in the latest business and financial news, should buy editions carrying

All editions, aimed at all readers, are widely available.

Ghandi's early marriage

When Mohandas Gandhi was born in 1869, the British Empire was at the peak of its power. The British had ruled India for almost three centuries. Certain parts of the country, ruled by princes who were loyal to the British, were allowed to continue to separate princely states. Mohandas' father was the Diwan, or Prime Minister, of Porbandar, a small princely state on India's western coast. It was an appointment that ran in the family.

His first language was Gujarati; his family's religion was Hindu. Every day, his mother prayed in the temple. She would fast for long periods and she seemed to her youngest son to be a figure of pure saintliness.

He was a shy boy, who was frightened of the dark. He was not very good at school work, but he showed a rare honesty. When a teacher once slyly suggested that he should cheat to impress the school inspector, he refused point-blank to obey.

When he was 13 his parents arranged for him to marry. In later life, he criticised the custom of child-marriage, but at the time he readily accepted it. Mohandas' bride, Kasturbai, was also 13, and he soon became devoted to her. He was a demanding husband, and Kasturbai felt he restricted her too much. She was supposed to get his permission before seeing her friends, or visiting the temple. Firmly, she resisted, until he grew to accept her point of view. It was a valuable lesson to Mohandas: he learned that non-violent persuasion could convince people that they were wrong. Years later, non-violent resistance would prove to be a powerful weapon, in the struggle for social and political reform.

Pangs of conscience

For several months at a time, Kasturbai returned to live with her parents. This was customary during the early years of a child marriage. Meanwhile, Mohandas continued to attend school.

One of his Muslim friends at this time managed to convince him that meat eating was a patriotic duty. His friend said that if only more Indians ate meat, they could become as strong as "the mighty Englishmen" seemed to be, and then one day overturn British



Gandhi's wedding. His head is covered in traditional decorations.

rule in India. Mohandas had always thought of himself as weak and cowardly and meat seemed a possible cure for cowardice. But his parents believed in avoiding unnecessary killing and like many Hindus, they were vegetarians. He thought they would be "shocked to death" to know he was eating meat, so he experimented with his friend in great secrecy.

However, it proved too painful to his conscience to deceive his mother and father for long. After eating a total of only five or six meat dishes, he gave up meat-eating for good.

Other boyhood offences included stealing coins from the servants with which to buy cigarettes, and stealing a piece of gold from his brother. He only did this to pay off a debt owed by the same brother to someone else, but he

felt so ashamed that he wrote a note of confession to his father. His father forgave him and father and son felt a deepened affection for each other. It was the end of Mohandas' dishonest behaviour.

Some months after this incident, his father became ill, and for weeks Mohandas nursed him. Then one night, just as he had left him to be with Kasturbai, who was now pregnant, his father died. Added to his grief, Mohandas developed a sense of guilt at not having been present at his father's death. Shortly afterwards, the baby Kasturbai had been carrying died, too. Gandhi felt these two sad events were a judgement upon him for his behaviour.

From *Gandhi*, by Nigel Hunter, illustrated by Richard Hook; published by Wayland in the Great Lives series.

● Tomorrow: The second in a seven-part biography of Gandhi.

● Today in the education edition: Junior Topic — large colour chart on the history of early life including dinosaurs. Details

fool of himself, but that this is far from seen in a glance at Mr. Turner's Index. *Blues*, *Body Odour*, *Bok*, *Boswell*, *Bow*, *Clara* . . . *Breath*, *bad*, *shonest*, *pregnant* . . . *Comic Cuts*, *Com-courting*—quotation could be continued ly. The most alarming entry is probably "scarcity of." Not the least intriguing is in dark."

Mr. Turner traces from their supposed is with the cave-men to their latest tabu-Dr. Kinsey; but his omissions are rather For classical antiquity, his star witness for the Middle Ages, Abelard and the a courtly love. But he makes no mention is respectable Imperial courtships, or of rdi, or of Paolo and Francesca. Later in -perhaps advisedly—he leaves out most nment of Europe, save for a revealing "as recently as February, 1953, the orts were called on to decide whether a reen lovers in a cinema constituted an ict." Otherwise, his survey takes in most ually significant periods of British and g but uncharted field—and its neglect of al Konversation Kards which beguiled npany some forty years ago in the cities chussets.

or the hilarious questionnaire with which /II equipped his ambassadors to the Queen of Naples, the richest sources for ner's *History* lie in the eighteenth and h centuries. The former was markedly fic. In flat contradiction of the manu- of an historic soap, Mr. Turner thus veils of George III's ladies: "Making heavily made-up beauty, in those days of t cosmetics, was like making love to an tacky, puff-ball which was liable to dis- dust." It was at about this time that icis Delaval, having ensnared an heiress 140,000, referred to his honeymoon as his

harvest-moon: and Sir Richard Steele, in a similar spirit, "plugged up an issue of *The Spectator* with some love letters he had written to Prue when courting her, passing these off as having been written by a gentleman of the Restoration." But the cult of sensibility, the new Victorian refinement, and the spread of Romantic ideas, together replaced the earlier mood. "Bundling", or courting in bed, was still practised in remote districts. "Fornication," wrote the Reverend J. W. Trevor, "was not regarded as vice, scarcely as a frailty, by the common people in Wales." Elsewhere, however, the heyday of formal courtship was at hand. Hemmed in by prudery and chaperones, young men in straw hats made honourable proposals on the river; later, greatly daring, they snatched kisses in the cabins of Ferris Wheels and began to read H. G. Wells. Mr. Turner clearly regrets that era, for his comments on the one that followed, ushered in by the blues and the tango, are unexpectedly sharp. "When the box labelled 'Sex' had been sprung open, the first thing to fly out—though hardly anyone realised it at the time—had been magic." Coupled with the mention of long hair and long skirts, these sound a little like the words of a fetishist: but other comments belie them. "For the first time in history the 'fallen woman' got up again"—"Rarely had schoolmasters confiscated such engrossing literature from their pupils"—"A big office had as many undercurrents of intrigue, as many stealthy courtships, as a Renaissance palace." In spite of cars, telephones, cinemas, and television—even in spite of advertisement—"Don't let his eye see unsightly fuzz!"—the magic and the fun still seem to be there; and Mr. Turner's sparkling narrative only adds zest to its subject. It could hardly do otherwise, so long as two and two make one.

RICHARD MAYNE

THE MAHATMA 2.10.54

In the Shadow of the Mahatma. By G. D. BIRLA. *Orient Longmans*. 10s. 6d.

Mr. G. D. Birla, one of India's most successful business men, began his close friendship with Mahatma Gandhi in 1924. Gandhi had just published his autobiography *My Experiments with Truth*, and Birla wrote to him for advice in a difficult dispute within his own Community. He was converted to non-violence when he was with the Mahatma but away from him had his doubts. Was it not too much to expect his followers to receive blows from lathis without complaint, as Hindus, were they not to protect the honour of their womenfolk and was not the violence of Muslims less when they knew that the Hindus were prepared to hit back? Gandhi explained—with the strength of his success as the leader of non-violent resistance in South Africa behind him—that it was long-distance results which had to be considered. He also completed Birla's conversion to the idea of celibacy. (He suggested a vow to be taken in the presence of his wife!) He sought Birla's assistance in his campaign for cow protection, and explained to him the advantages of fasting, "not for one or two days but for ten to fifteen days." Fasting, he explained later in a letter to Rajagopalachari, is only useful if it is a spiritual act: "if it is a product of a diseased or an arrogant mind, it will merely torture the body and excite pity or contempt according to the temperament of the people who may hear of it. Do take this advice from an expert." . . . Birla was not convinced at all points by Gandhi; he maintained his own shrewd and independent mind; and up to the last days when Gandhi lived at Birla's house in Delhi, and was murdered in his garden, he treated him with all the deference due to a great man, friend and leader. But he remained at times baffled by his contradictions. Throughout these years he gave large sums of money, not so much to Congress as to particular causes which Gandhi had specially at heart. Gandhi complains that he hardly liked to ask G. D. Birla and his brothers for money because they always gave exactly what he asked. He financed

The New Statesman and Nation, October 2, 1954

Gandhi's campaigns against Untouchability, and communal violence; he played a leading part in founding *Harijan* and subsidising the Mahatma's scheme for developing cottage industry.

In politics, G. D. Birla has always been a moderate. Like Gandhi, he was an orthodox Hindu and no Socialist. But he was above all a nationalist, long hoping through personal contacts between English politicians and Gandhi, to persuade the British to abandon their illusion that Indians could be bought off with proposals which ensured that at every point the real decisions should be made by the British and that the economic interests of India should be subordinated to those of England. Birla's account of his conversations, in the summer of 1935 and on later occasions, with Conservative, Liberal and Labour leaders show him to be a man not easily gulled, though optimistic about the results of personal contacts. Why, he was perpetually asking, did these men in whose hands the real power of England lay, not realise that Gandhi was a friend of England, and the real safeguard against Communism? They seemed—Lord Lothian, Lord Halifax, Baldwin, Churchill, Lord Linlithgow, Attlee, R. A. Butler, Lord Zetland, the chief officials of the India Office and many others—genuinely men of good will, men of peace, and liberal in their attitude to India. Yet they were afraid to talk to Gandhi or to negotiate with Congress. Some of them, notably Ramsay MacDonald, were mere bags of hot air; others, like Hoare, and of course Halifax, were prepared to make efforts to understand and to listen, especially to an influential business man who knew Gandhi well and was yet prepared to argue that all this odd Eastern moral approach to a political problem ought to be taken seriously. Lunch with Winston Churchill was exhilarating; Birla found him, in his bricklayer's costume, lively and sympathetic but oddly ignorant and out of date about India. The truth is that Churchill as a young polo-playing officer had formed a picture of India that was never true. Occasionally, Mr. Birla drew a complete blank, as when he talked to the late Lord Salisbury:

Old deaf man. Not much grit or wit, but feels his responsibility. Asked me if I was attached to Gandhiji, to which I said "Yes." He replied that he had never had the privilege of meeting Mr. Gandhi. . . . He admired Mr. Gandhi's simplicity, great character and good intentions, but he added, "The great mistake that you Indians make is that you are confusing these great qualities with experience. England has got the experience of a thousand years behind her. You have none." I said, "Our background is far more ancient and creditable than that of England." He said, "I do not want to minimise your civilisation and philosophy and all that is far greater than that of any other country, but not in democracy. You have yet to learn." I said, "Did you not make mistakes?" He said, "Yes." I added, "Because we are lacking in certain things we need friendship." He is a nice man; but I don't think he could be of use.

Birla, it will be seen, has the English habit of understatement.

KINGSLEY MARTIN

THE NEW NYMPHOLEPT

The Pick of Punch. Chatto & Windus. 12s. 6d.

The rejuvenation of Mr. Punch under the editorship of Malcolm Muggeridge is quite a phenomenon. The old nympholept has become sharp, slick and satirical, very unlike his former fuddyduddy, and generally unfunny yet somehow institutional self. Is this, as some appear to think, a dire omen? Does it mean that everything is going even faster to hell in a handcart than we had supposed? The reasoning on which such apprehension is based is as follows: the old *Punch* was a product of middle-class complacency; its substitution by a new, bright, hard, more intelligent type of caper must be a symptom of profound upheaval if not despair. The old *Punch* was never satirical, or if it tried to be, the satire had so little acid in it that you could leave a copy about for weeks without it burning the tiniest hole in the carpet. The new is often satirical, but its favour-

Gandhi's dream

lished, is a canvas for political graffiti. The writing on the walls contrasts sharply with the mood with which the settlement was founded. A crude sketch of an AK47 is daubed on one of the walls, while swastikas and AWB insignia adorn one of the pillars. Grotesque human figures are painted on the facade, and praises to the IFP, ANC and SAP are scribbled on various sections.

The only functional building remaining in the settlement is a clinic. It serves about 500 patients a week and is the only building with electricity and running water.

Although a daunting and mammoth task, the restoration of the settlement is considered a must by the Phoenix Settlement Trust.

Chairman of the trust Mewa Ramgobin explained that the restoration of the little village is linked in essence to the restoration of peace and justice in South Africa. He added that "no political group, whether in power or not, can ignore the historical significance of Mahatma Gandhi, or the Phoenix Settlement".

However, the on-going violence in the area is hampering restoration efforts of the settlement. He stressed that a stable leadership will have to be established in Bambayi to make any restoration meaningful.

Ramgobin said the idea of restoring the settlement has met with favourable responses from the Durban City Council, as well as the people of India.

"The Phoenix Settlement belongs to the political heritage of the whole of South Africa. The restoration of the settlement would not only be a tribute to a great life, but is also a historical necessity," Ramgobin said.



Lindelwa Mdlangiswa, who lives in a shack near the Phoenix Settlement, stands on the porch of the International Printing Press building. The building, which once published the Indian Opinion is dilapidated and defaced with graffiti. — Picture by MIKE MATTHEWMAN

Gandhi's cause 'was racially exclusive'

IN both the articles that appeared in *The Natal Witness* it was evident that Gandhi's Passive Resistance Movement was inspired by moral individualism and that he led in this country a national struggle—a struggle on behalf of truth, God and India. However, one area seems overlooked and that is that Mahatma Gandhi's fight was exclusively on behalf of the Indians.

Ironically, Gandhi accepted white superiority but rejected black equality. Early in 1904 he encouraged the Johannesburg Town Council to "withdraw the kaffirs" and complained that the "mixing was unfair and an undue tax on the Indians' patience".

Historian Jay Naidoo (not to be confused with Cosatu's Jay Naidoo) asserted that Gandhi was critical of the whites' careless and ignorant use of the word Coolie, yet his own use of the term Kaffir was no less ignorant and no less careless.

In 1906 the coloured community complained in a petition because the franchise was not extended to them in the Transvaal and the OFS. In response to this petition Gandhi stated "we (Indians) consider that it was a wise policy on the part of the British Indians throughout South Africa to have kept themselves apart from the other coloured communities in the country".

Gandhi openly stated that there were sharp differences between British Indians and the Kaffir races and said "we may entertain no aversion to Kaffir races, but we cannot ignore that there is no common ground between them and us in the daily affairs of life".

We cannot call Gandhi racist for, despite acknowledging the racial differences, he simultaneously said being with Africans (his prison experiences), gave an opportunity of experiencing their conditions and observing their habits.

However, it would be false to uphold that Mahatma Gandhi was the champion of the underprivileged and represented non-whites — his fight was beyond doubt exclusively for Indians, but which Indians — traders or labourers?

Interestingly, in 1909 during the Passive Resistance Movement he stated "it was the businessmen who shouldered the burden of the struggle. It was their stake which was more at risk because they enjoyed a 'high status'".

He also wrote that he had no wish to see ignorant Indians who cannot be expected to understand the value of a vote being placed on a Voters' List!

Jay Jugwanth
Pietermaritzburg

Letter shortened

presence of a Presence

NEGLEY FARSON met Gandhi on several occasions. Their first meeting taken from his book *The Way of the* published in 1935 by Pan Books Ltd; London.

while they will become ashamed of themselves."

What the mahatma really had his eyes on that day in Karadi, as the grey monkeys swung through his mango tree, was not the bazaars of India, swarming with young men in Gandhi caps shouting "Gandhi Ki Jai!" Nor did he care an iota what the sailors in the Bombay Yacht Club

was encouraging Mother India to taunt the British. "Beat me, beat me, beat me. I won't hit back, and while you are doing it I am going to set up such an outcry that the whole street will know about it; even your own family will be horrified at you. And after you have stood this sort of scandal for a time you will be so ashamed of yourself

apparent simplicity. It was only as I watched him at work that I begin to see with what diabolical cunning such simplicity could be used. I saw the British driven almost frantic by it. Gandhi himself may not have started his Civil Disobedience movement with this masochistic intention; but when he failed to get full Civil Disobedience from the Indians (which would have paralysed the British Services within three days), he seems to have exploited this horribleside of it. Even a Holy Man it appeared must employ guile to tri-

says top film critic after visit ^{5 7 MD} to Gandhi museum.

THE historic Phoenix Settlement established by Mahatma Gandhi is falling into neglect and is an insult to the Indian leader's memory.

The blast came this week from visiting British film critic, Derek Malcolm, who also said that Indians here ought to be ashamed of themselves over the settlement's condition.

Mr. Malcolm, writer for the liberal Guardian newspaper, visited the settlement near Durban. The settlement includes a museum, clinic and school.

It was set up by Gandhi 80 years ago at the time he was practising as an attorney in Natal.

What Mr. Malcolm found at the settlement this week horrified him.

He said that:

- The settlement was a disgrace;
- The medical clinic which Gandhi established was still without electricity, and the museum itself was rundown;
- Valuable historic books were lying about unguarded, and
- Books which Tolstoy gave to Gandhi were housed in open bookcases.

"All South Africans, but particularly the Indian community, ought to be ashamed of themselves over the settlement's condition."

Mr. Malcolm considers the settlement to be "tremendously important as a tourist attraction as well as being useful to the local community."

A spokesman for the Phoenix Settlement Trust Committee, which manages the settlement, said Mr. Malcolm was entitled to his view on the settlement's condition.

Concerned

"The settlement may not live up to British or even South African standards for museums. Though the committee remains concerned that Phoenix Settlement should not deteriorate, we do not apologise for its condition," he said.

The settlement was not in perfect condition but Gandhi was not served by beautiful buildings and well-kept museums.

"The settlement is serving Gandhi by educating people in Gandhi's ideals and these people have, and are still applying these principles in a Gandhian way to fight injustice in South Africa."

"Does Mr. Malcolm know about the leadership programmes and workshops run by the settlement? Does he know that people like Rick Turner,

books. We keep the original copies of Indian Opinion locked up — but for a very good reason. Too frequent usage will destroy the old newspaper," he said.

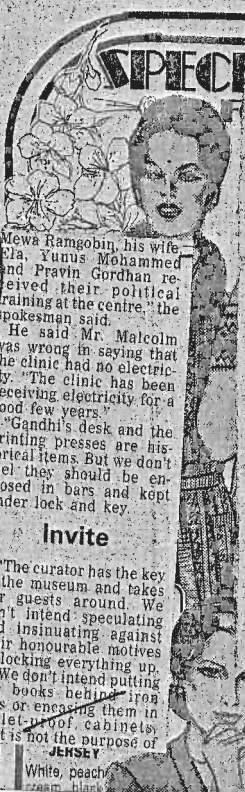
"The committee would like to invite Mr. Malcolm to come to Phoenix to help us define and resolve the problems," he said.

Meanwhile, the ill-fated Gandhi film was at the centre of another storm this week as controversial

film director, Sir Richard Attenborough, apparently ducked out of an SABC attempt to include him on a Trans-Atlantic hook-up on the radio programme, "Microphone in".

Presenter of the popular SABC programme, Nigel Murphy wanted to put Sir Richard against American author Richard Grenier — who has publicly condemned "Gandhi", calling it

• To Page 3



Mewa Ramgobin, his wife, Ma, Yunus Mohammed and Pravin Gordhan received their political training at the centre," the spokesman said.

He said Mr. Malcolm was wrong in saying that the clinic had no electricity. "The clinic has been receiving electricity for a good few years."

"Gandhi's desk and the printing presses are historical items. But we don't feel they should be enclosed in bars and kept under lock and key."

Invite

"The curator has the key to the museum and takes our guests around. We don't intend speculating and insinuating against their honourable motives by locking everything up."

"We don't intend putting our books behind iron bars or enclosing them in bullet-proof cabinets. That is not the purpose of

JHSEY
White, peach
cream, black

Gandhi: You ^{15 5 73} should have ^{5 7 MD} done more

IN an article on May 1 I criticised the Indian community for not making sure that the Phoenix Settlement was a worthy and useful memorial to Gandhi.

The response from the trustees of the settlement seemed to suggest that I was criticising them. On the contrary, I think that they have done excellent work under sometimes very difficult circumstances.

I also stated in my original interview that the South African Government, the Durban City Council and white society in general were equally to be blamed for the poor state of the settlement.

Gandhi was a man even before he was an Indian and he appealed to all races. But I also thought that the Indian community could and should have done more. I am well

aware that some radical Indians do not believe in the principles of passive resistance which Gandhi espoused. These people, of course, must make up their own minds about supporting the settlement.

But I certainly blame those who believe in Gandhi and his ideals for not making absolutely sure that the settlement and its trustees are given the maximum possible help.

As for the idea of erecting a statue to Gandhi in Durban, or possibly a fountain, I think this is completely hypocritical and totally against what Gandhi would have wanted himself.

Anything honouring him should be of the maximum possible use to the poor and exploited, whose cause he never ceased to espouse. — **DEREK MALCOLM**, Durban.

Mr. Mohamed Khan, a businessman, was elected chairman of the party.

Mr. Kahn said the party endorsed the government's reform plan and will participate in an election for the Indian chamber of Parliament if, and when the new constitutional plans are implemented.

The party did not have any official members yet but efforts will be made to recruit members from throughout the country, he said.

15-0 score

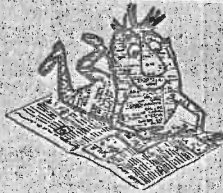
BIRDS crashed to a humiliating 15-0 defeat by Glendene United in an FPL first division league game at Cape Town's Athlone stadium on Friday night.

Trevor Manuel and Duncan Crowie scored five goals each. Andre Alexander scored two and Melvin Sauls, Boobie Solomons and George van Niekerk scored one goal each.

Birds, Transvaal's newcomers to the professional soccer ranks, take on the mighty Santos in another league game at the Vryheid Stadium in Rylands, Cape Town.

TOPIC TODAY

History — 2



Readers who want more educational material and articles on life skills should buy editions marked



Readers who are interested in the latest business and financial news, should buy editions carrying



All editions, aimed at all readers, are widely available.

Gandhi widens his horizons

Gandhi's family hoped that he might become a *Diwan*, like his father and grandfather before him. For this, it would be a great advantage for him to study law in England. Having given a solemn pledge to his mother not to touch wine, women and meat, he sailed from Bombay in September 1888. For nearly three years, he would be away from Kasturbai, who had just given birth to a son.

Gandhi was ill at ease in Britain at first. He had very little confidence but studied English manners, dressed expensively, and took dancing lessons, trying to fit into English society as a gentleman. The English diet, including meat, was difficult for him. Then he discovered that not all British people ate meat, and he became a leading member of the Vegetarian Society of England. He began to eat cheap, nourishing meals, and became interested in simplifying his lifestyle. He also started to write articles for the Vegetarian Society's journal. While living in London, Gandhi first read the *Bhagavad Gita*, the greatest holy book of Hinduism. As a boy, he had known some of the Hindu stories, but had not held any particular religious beliefs. He had developed friendships with people of many different religions. This helped him to develop a respect for different religions, but he remained uncommitted to any particular faith. Both the *Bhagavad Gita*, and then the Christian *New Testament*, had a profound effect on him.

As soon as he had qualified in law, Gandhi returned home to India. His prospects as a lawyer were uncertain because of his nervousness in public. Then a chance came to work on a business dispute in South Africa. This changed his life.

The challenge

Soon after his arrival in South Africa, while travelling to the city of Pretoria, Gandhi was forcibly ejected from a first class train compartment. This was simply because he was Indian and the South African white assumed that he had no right to enjoy first-class train travel. He spent the night on the station platform, considering the humiliations that the Indians in South



Gandhi in front of his Johannesburg office in 1905.

Africa suffered daily.

90 000 Indians lived and worked in South Africa under white British rule, often in appalling conditions, and many were treated almost as slaves. Only a few hundred Indians, who owned a large amount of land, enjoyed the right to vote in the South African government. For all the Indians, government restrictions were a way of life.

Continuing his journey to Pretoria, Gandhi faced more insults. On a stage-coach, he was again shocked by a refusal to be allowed to take a place inside the coach. He was then beaten by the driver for refusing to sit on the footboard, outside the carriage.

The journey to Pretoria spurred him into action. In the face of this racial injustice, Gandhi lost his public timidity and called a meeting to discuss the Indians' situation. From this, an organisation emerged through which Indians could voice their discontent. Within a

short time, Gandhi was acknowledged as a leader of the South African Indian community.

Meanwhile, the legal case that had originally brought Gandhi to South Africa was successfully resolved, largely through his own contribution. His method of solving the dispute was to appeal to what he called "the better side of human nature". To Gandhi, the point was not to achieve outright victory for one side over the other, but to bring both sides together in a mutually satisfactory arrangement. Before long, he was a highly successful lawyer.

It was at this time that Gandhi developed a belief that God was "absolute truth" and that the way to reach him was through the concept of non-violence.

From: *Gandhi*, by Nigel Hunter, illustrated by Richard Hook. Published by Wayland Publishers Ltd in the Great Lives series.

- On Monday: Third in the series on the life of Gandhi — non-violent resistance in South Africa.
- Today in the education edition: Junior Topic — how animals became domesticated. The first in a series on home buying, from the SA Housing Trust.

Apartheid can be changed and it must be changed, said the controversial Afrikaans author and playwright, Andre Brink, when he delivered the Gandhi Memorial lecture at Phoenix.

"Millions of people are insulted and humiliated, oppressed and denied their simplest dignity, simply because their skin is less bleached than that of the oppressor."

"Apartheid has got its deadly grip on society like a boa-constrictor on its prey."

Reported

By

Hoosen

Kolia

It might seem that Gandhi was dead, the Government and others might relish that fact, but his ideas were alive.

He said: "Gandhi revered cows, we don't even reverence people."

Domination

"In our beautiful country, a small minority are determining absolutely the lives of all, and it may seem that the Mahatma's spirit of compassion is, in fact, dead."

Mr. Brink said that after 22 years of Nationalist domination, people had resigned themselves to the system.

"Apartheid can be changed, it must be changed. This system must be smashed."

"Let us demand truth and justice from our country. I believe in rebellion as a dimension of existence — in fact, as a pre-requisite of life. Not in blind rebellion, but in rebellion in the sense of breaking down features limiting true human liberty."

He added: "The slave who rebels against his master, said Camus, does so, not merely to be free, but to affirm the necessity of freedom as a human condition."

Afrikaans Author

GRAPHIC Smashes at Apartheid

9.10.70

"LET US DEMAND TRUTH AND JUSTICE"

"Ours is a society of fear", he said, "people fear because they will be prosecuted. Fear prevents people from dissenting or even questioning the system. Truth is dangerous. That is why the authorities keep it down."

Censorship

He said that censorship and indoctrination was used to condition the writing, reading and "eventually the thinking of an entire generation."

People who believed in Gandhi's principles on racial equality were "languishing in jail or suffered various forms of banishment or exile."

"Apartheid's Utopia will be reached when we will have separate hell, separate heaven, and separate toilets."



Popular Rekha Devi, as she will appear at the A.P.S. Hall in Durban on October 24. Rekha's other shows in Durban have been successful and she has gained a large following.

PHOENIX TRUST'S 'NO' TO STUDENTS ANGERS SASO

"Leader" Reporter

THE Black student organisation S.A.S.O. has strongly attacked the Phoenix Settlement Trust Committee for turning down an application for Black students to stay at the Phoenix Settlement during S.A.S.O.'s "New Farm" project.

The project started last May, but was forced to be discontinued because of difficulties over a suitable venue.

No reasons were given for the refusal.

The attack on the Phoenix Committee is contained in an article in S.A.S.O.'s latest newsletter. The student body, the article says, can only see the refusal as another attempt by "non-Whites" to frustrate the efforts of S.A.S.O. in doing its work.

"The Phoenix Settlement Trust Committee is supposed to uphold the beliefs of Mahatma Gandhi, founder of the Settlement. Yet it finds itself in a position where it has to deny S.A.S.O. the oppor-

tunity of continuing its work at New Farm."

The New Farm project is an action programme to assist the poor community of New Farm just outside Phoenix. "We used Phoenix as our base in the past in order to reach the people of New Farm. The whole project involved the upliftment of the people. We even intended building a water tank for the community because they have no water at all," said Mr. Strini Moodley, a S.A.S.O. executive member.

Members of the student organisation have been allowed to live at the settlement in the past. "We now find it hard to understand this sudden change of attitude, especially as S.A.S.O. provided clinical year students to assist the doctor and nurses every weekend from its local branch at the University of Natal, Black section.

"This attitude merely depicts the falsity of some organisations that continue to claim 'tolerance' and 'concern' and all the other flowery statements which are uttered only

to confuse Black people at large."

"It becomes painfully obvious that these people are really there to perpetuate the existing status quo. Organisations like these must be exposed for the sake of a greater quest, because if they are not, then they become the major stumbling blocks in the Black man's search for his humanity and true identity."

Chairman of the Phoenix Trust Board of directors, Dr. Alan Paton, confirmed that S.A.S.O.'s application was turned down. "Firstly, the application arrived only two days before the project was due to start. We have always made it clear that if any organisation wants to use the settlement as a venue, proper notice must be given.

"Secondly, we don't really know the organisation, S.A.S.O. We are not aware of its aims.

"We the trustees don't have any control over what happens when an organisation uses the Settlement. We have a duty as trustees to see that all is in order."



DR. ALAN PATON

Govt. turns down Gandhi school holiday in Natal

By BRIAN RUDDEN

DURBAN, Saturday.

THE GOVERNMENT has rejected a request that October 2—the centenary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi—be declared a holiday for Natal's thousands of Indian school children, Mrs. Sushila Gandhi, the Natal-born daughter-in-law of India's most famous former leader, told me today.

The application was made to the Department of Indian Education by the local Gandhi Centenary Committee to enable Indian children to take part in world-wide festivities to honour Gandhi, who formulated his renowned policies of non-violence and passive resistance during the 21 years he lived in Natal and the Transvaal.

News of the rejection — without explanation of the application comes just a few days after it had been announced that the South African Government had refused to allow Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge and a B.B.C. television team into the country to make a film on Gandhi's early life.

Mr. R. S. Nowbath, a member of the local Gandhi Centenary Committee, said in Durban today: "About 125 countries are engaged in the centenary celebrations, and it is interesting to note that countries of all political persuasions are taking part."

"All are agreed that Gandhi was a good man."

"As part of our local plans we asked the Department of Indian Affairs to have the schools closed on October 2. The whole concept of the plan was made clear to the Department."

"Their reply was a simple: No. The Department could not see its way clear to acceding to our request."

Essay project

"Had the request been granted we would have been able to include the children in a positive way in the day's programme. Now we are restricted to holding the celebrations in the early evening."

Mr. S. S. Singh, secretary of the celebrations committee, told

me that the Department of Indian Education had also turned down a request that Natal Indian schools be officially allowed to take part in an essay competition on Gandhi's life and work. Indian school children were invited to submit essays, poems and paintings on the theme of Gandhi's life.

"We thought that if we could get the co-operation of the Department of Indian Education it would make our work easier, but they have turned down our approach," Mr. Singh said.

Commenting on the Government's ban on the B.B.C. television team, who had planned to make a film of the life and times of her famous father-in-law, Mrs. Gandhi said: "I do not understand the attitude of our Government."

Old home

"My father-in-law was a man of peace. This is a time when the world is striving to maintain peaceful relationships and cement new ties which will bring peace."

"Surely any film on Gandhi can only have promoted his message of peace."

Mrs. Gandhi lives near Gandhi's original Natal homestead at Phoenix, 12 miles north of Durban.

Nearby, about 20 students from the University of Natal were at work restoring Gandhi's wood and iron house. They are members of a recently-formed group, committed to improving race relations, by performing voluntary work in non-White communities.

The group, has no affiliations with any political body or other student organisation.

A Gandhi museum has been

established in the main living-room of the old building.

Neither Mr. P. W. Prinsloo, Director of Indian Education, who is on leave, nor his deputy, Mr. G. Krog, were available for comment today.

Boy drowns in cattle dip

SUNDAY TIMES Reporter

GERT DE ROUX, aged 9, was found dead in a cattle dip 20 yards from a farmhouse yesterday after policemen and volunteers had spent the night searching for him.

The child, who was visiting the farm Kuilenberg, at Nietverdiend, in the Rustenberg area, Johannesburg, disappeared on Friday after going for a walk.

When he had not returned to the farmhouse, owned by Mr. J. C. Schutte, by sundown, a search was started with the help of police officers and neighbouring farmers.

They searched all night. At 8 a.m. yesterday one of the volunteers found the body.

Linklater looks at distilling

Eric Linklater, the Scottish author, writes on whisky distilling in today's *Business Times* survey on Scotland. This is the second *Business Times* survey on an overseas country.

Gandhi day suggestion for Indians

SUNDAY TIMES Reporter

DURBAN, Saturday. A DEPUTATION FROM the Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Committee should interview the Director of Indian Education about making October 2 a holiday for Indian schoolchildren to mark the centenary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. P. R. Patil, chairman of the executive committee of the South African Indian Council, suggested this week.

As reported last week, the director has already turned down a formal application for the holiday or October 2, but Mr. Patil said this week, this refusal should not be regarded as the last word on the subject.

"A school holiday would be the means of kindling the burning minds of pupils to learn of the greatness of this great man of the 20th century," he said. "I can well understand the refusal of the Director of Indian Education because one day will increase the number of days necessary to complete the teaching days in one year. I do fear, however, that the difficulty could be overcome by the Indian people agreeing to a second or third term being extended by a day."

The Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Committee in Durban has not yet received a reply to its application to the director for departmental approval of a proposed essay competition on the life of Gandhi. The committee would like to take part in the competition.

Although it was told last week that this application had also been turned down, an official of the centenary committee said today that the information had been given to me as a result of a misunderstanding. In fact the department had not replied to the application which was made three or four weeks ago.

Gandhi Holiday Is On

PRINSLOO REVERSES DEPUTY'S RULING

By
NAGOOR BISSETTY

Indian Affairs Reporter

NATAL'S 130,000 Indian schoolchildren will after all be given a special holiday on October 2 to mark the centenary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi.



MR. P. W. PRINSLOO

GANDHI HOLIDAY APPROVED

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN, Friday. — THE Government has approved a request that October 2 — this year — the anniversary of the birth of Indian philosopher and politician Mahatma Gandhi — be celebrated as a public holiday for Indian schools in Natal.

But it has rejected another request to circulate copies of a pamphlet publicising an essay, painting and poetry competition on the life and works of Gandhi to all Indian schools and educational institutions.

The Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr. Frank Waring, said the request had been rejected because "other publicity media are readily available and it is contrary to the Department's policy to allow Indian schools to be used for publicising issues related to international personalities."

He added: "The use of Indian schools as distribution and publicity media is only sanctioned where national issues are involved and in which the Indian child and Indian education have a direct interest."

Mr. Waring was replying to a question in the Assembly today from Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party), "that Indian schools had been denied the chance to take part in an essay competition on the life and works of Mahatma Gandhi."

The Department of Indian Education has now agreed to allow schools to remain closed on that day in response to a special plea made by Mr. P. R. Pather, of the South African Indian Council, and Mr. Pat Poovalingam, chairman of the Gandhi Centenary Committee.

Mr. P. W. Prinsloo, the Director of Indian Education, has reversed a ruling given earlier by his deputy, Mr. G. Krog, who turned down a request for a special holiday when he was acting director. Mr. Krog gave no reasons.

After he returned from leave, Mr. Pather and Mr. Poovalingam approached Mr. Prinsloo with the explanation that Gandhi's teachings emphasised truth and high moral standards and that it was intended to impress these on schoolchildren.

BLUNDER

Mr. Poovalingam said yesterday that his committee was grateful to the Director for his understanding and co-operation. But did local Indians

blunder in their first approach? "Yes," said Dr. V. G. Patel, a representative of the Gandhi National Memorial Trust of New Delhi, who was in Durban on a brief visit last weekend.

"No," says Mr. Poovalingam, who adds that Mr. Patel had made no attempt to get in touch with the Gandhi committee in Durban to ascertain the facts. "The visitor obviously did not know what he was talking about," he said.

DIPLOMATIC

Dr. Patel told Durban journalists that there appeared to be some blunder in the method used to ask for a closure of schools. "I am sure that the authorities would have agreed if a diplomatic approach had been made," he said.

He said that 22 countries would celebrate the important Gandhi event at the request of the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and the Gandhi National Memorial Trust.

UNION APPROVES SQUATTERS' MARKET

THE Natal Indian Agricultural Union is impressed with new Squatters' Market provided by the Stanger Council.

A deputation from the union, comprising Mr. R. Venge, Mr. R. B. Bangtoo, Mr. Chetty and Mr. George T. inspected the market recently with Stanger's Market Officer, Mr. A. Renald.

The deputation urged Renald to consider recognising the union's official membership cards to enable his staff to check illegal trading in the market.

A LETTER written by Mahatma Gandhi to Adolf Hitler in 1940 has been dug out of Government Archives in Madras, South India.

The letter reads: "We have no doubt about your bravery or devotion to your Fatherland and nor do we believe that you are the monster described by your opponents."

"But your own writings and pronouncements and those of your friends and admirers leave no room for doubt that many of your acts are monstrous and unbecoming of human dignity, especially in the estimation of men like me who believe in universal friendliness."

The British rulers of India did not allow the letter to be posted. It was banned for publication and was consigned to the obscurity of the Archives in South India. The file containing the letter was marked "secret".

The letter was apparently a sequel to Hitler's appeal to Indian freedom fighters to help the Germans crush Britain in the war.

This historic document was the highlight of an exhibition organised by the Archives department this month.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote: "Dear Friend, that I address you as a friend is not formally. I own no foes. My business in life for the past 33 years has been to enlist the friendship of the whole of humanity by befriending mankind, irrespective of race, colour or creed."

"I hope you will have the time and the desire to know how a good portion of humanity, who have been living under the influence of that doctrine of universal friendship, view your actions."

Mahatma Gandhi lists in his account of Hitler's "monstrous acts" the following: "Your humiliation of Czechoslovakia, the rape of Poland and the swallowing of Denmark."

"I am aware that your view of life regards such spoiliations as virtuous acts. But we have been taught from childhood to regard them as acts degrading humanity. Hence, we cannot possibly wish success to your aims."

In a reference to Hitler's style of rule, the Mahatma wrote: "We know what the British heel means for us and the non-European races of the world. But we would never wish to end British rule with German aid."

He adds: "I appeal to



GANDHI . . . 'I own no foes'



HITLER . . . acts were 'monstrous'

GANDHI TO HITLER:

'From a sincere friend'

In an amazing wartime letter Mahatma Gandhi told Hitler: "We resist British imperialism no less than Nazism. If there is a difference it is in degree." The British rulers never posted it. Unearthed from the archives, the letter is the highlight of an exhibition in India this month.

ARUN
GANDHI
Daily News
Correspondent,
Bombay

you in the name of humanity to stop the war."

Mahatma Gandhi suggests to Hitler: "You will lose nothing by referring all the matters of dispute between you and Great Britain to an international tribunal of your joint choice. If you attain success in the war it will only prove that your power of destruction was greater, whereas an award by an impartial tribunal will show, as far as is humanly possible, which party was in the right."

"Ours is a unique position. We resist British imperialism no less than Nazism. If there is a difference it is in degree. One

fifth of the human race has been brought under the British heel by means that will not bear scrutiny."

Elaborating his non-violent technique, Mahatma Gandhi adds: "It can be used practically without money and obviously without the aid of science of destruction which you have brought to such perfection. It is a marvel to me that you do not see that it is nobody's monopoly."

"If not the British, some other power will certainly improve upon your method and beat you with your own weapon. You are leaving no legacy to your people of which they can feel proud. They cannot take pride in the recital of cruel deeds however skillfully planned."

"I am a stranger to you and your people. I have not the courage to make to you the appeal I made to every Briton. Not that it would not apply to you with the same force as to the British."

"During this season when the hearts of the people's of Europe yearn for peace, we have suspended even our own peaceful struggle. Is it too much to ask you to make an effort for peace during a time which may mean nothing to you personally but which must mean much to the millions of Europeans whose dumb cry for peace I hear, for, my ears are attuned to hearing the dumb millions."

"I had intended to address a joint appeal to you and Signor Mussolini, whom I had the privilege of meeting when I was in Rome during my visit to England as a delegate to the Round Table Conference. I hope that he will take this as addressed to him also with the necessary changes."

Mahatma Gandhi ended his letter: "I am your sincere friend."

GANDHI

The dilemma:
How to beat
oppression
PEACEABLY

IT'S THE SAME OLD PROBLEM FACING BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS TODAY

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA

IRONICALLY, and perhaps appropriately, producer Sir Richard Attenborough has been propelled into the type of moral dilemma over which Gandhi himself often had to agonise in South Africa.

It is the dilemma still faced daily by black South Africans through the humiliation of the pass laws, Group Areas evictions, being thrown out of public parks and swimming pools, discrimination at work — and being deprived of citizenship.

The question that arises, and to which Gandhi devoted his life to answering, is: How do you counter the humiliation inflicted on you by retaining your dignity, without debasing yourself and becoming just like your humiliator?

If someone uses arms to deprive you of your God-given rights, do you take up arms to assert yourself when you deplore violence and believe in the sanctity of life?

That question was answered by Gandhi in his Indian independence role; it was answered by Martin Luther King in the United States. And it was answered by the other side — both men were assassinated in a triumph for cowards who resort to brute force rather than reason.

It is even more pertinent today in the age of a possible nuclear holocaust, in the age of rule through arms and resistance through arms.

What Gandhi tried to show is that the dignified striving for morality and truth, for self-realisation, can indeed be a powerful force for change without dehumanising yourself.

Gandhi did not just stumble on to his philosophy. A reading of his autobiography, completed in 1925, shows that he was a tortured soul, searching for the truth.

In his "experiments in truth" started during his stay in South Africa, he studied Christianity, Islam and various other concepts. It was an evolving philosophy, conditioned by, reasoned and tested in, real life.

That South Africans generally are ignorant about Gandhi's role in this country is understandable. After all, you don't go around boasting about someone whose views directly challenge yours.

In fact, even in the Indian community in South Africa, there are people who dismiss Gandhi's methods and philosophy as being irrelevant. They overlook the fact that his pacifist philosophy was embraced by almost all the major black political organisations in this country before they turned to violence after being banned.

That philosophy of non-violent non-cooperation was taken up in the resistance campaign, the protests against the pass laws, the bus boycotts of the 1950s. It is still very

much in evidence today through organisations such as the SA Council on Sport. It is the basis behind the call for white South Africa's international isolation.

And his role — in conjunction with other politicians — hastened not only India's independence but that of other colonised black countries as well.

Now there are people who are trying to minimise Gandhi's role and heap scorn on his philosophy and his lifestyle. If their criticisms are based in fact, one can respect them.

Too often, unfortunately, they are based on ignorance.

Take the case of the American film critic who claims Gandhi lacked "concern for South African blacks."

Gandhi, the critic claims, "organised an Indian Brigade to put down a Zulu rising in the Kaffir wars."

What is the truth?

In 1906, after the end of the Boer War, before the formation of Union, Gandhi, then aged 36 and living in Johannesburg though regarding himself as a citizen of Natal, was still agonising over his life and his philosophy, still indulging in his "experiments in truth" when news came through of a "Zulu rebellion" in Natal.

"I bore no grudge against the Zulus, they had harmed no Indian," Gandhi wrote. "I had doubts about the 'rebellion' itself. But I then

believed that the British empire existed for the welfare of the world.

"A genuine sense of loyalty prevented me from even wishing ill to the Empire. The rightness or otherwise of the 'rebellion' was therefore not likely to affect my decision."

He wrote to the Governor of Natal offering to form an Indian ambulance corps. On reaching the scene, Gandhi said he saw nothing to justify the tag "rebellion."

Gandhi continued: "The reason why the disturbance had been magnified into a rebellion was that a Zulu chief had advised non-payment of a new tax imposed on his people and had assagated a sergeant who had gone to collect the tax."

"At any rate, my heart was with the Zulus, and I was delighted, on reaching headquarters, that that our main work was to be the nursing of the wounded Zulus."

"The medical officer in charge welcomed us. He said the white people

were not willing nurses for the wounded Zulus, that their wounds were festering, and that he was at his wit's end.

He hailed our arrival as a Godsend for those innocent people, and he equipped us with bandages, disinfectants etc, and took us to the impoverished hospital."

"The Zulus were delighted to see us," Gandhi said.

He went on to describe how his brigade, stretchers on shoulders, trekked 64 km daily with a fast-moving infantry column.

He said the "rebellion" was full of new experiences and gave him much to think about. "The Boer War had not brought home to me the horrors of war with anything like the vividness that the 'rebellion' did."

It was no war, but a manhunt, said Gandhi. "To hear every morning of the soldiers' rifles exploding like crackers in innocent hamlets, and to live in the midst of them was a trial."

"But I swallowed the bitter draught, especially as the work of my

corps consisted only in nursing the wounded Zulus. I could see that but for us the Zulus would have been uncared for. This work, therefore, eased my conscience."

It was at this time, Gandhi wrote, that he pondered deeply over the implications of the need for abstinence from pleasures of the flesh for anyone who wanted to serve humanity with his whole soul — and his convictions took root.

Thus, the critic who has accused Sir Richard Attenborough of distorting the truth of Gandhi's lifestyle, has himself succumbed to untruths to make his point. In doing so, he has merely proved that people will stoop to any level to denigrate truly outstanding individuals who have served — or tried to serve — mankind with compassion.

For Gandhi remains one of the great individuals of history — and his philosophy of compassion and peace is as valid today as it ever was.



TRAIN DERAILED BY MOSLEM BAND IN 1947



MOHANDAS GANDHI IN 1946
India's soul and conscience.

The Long Goodbye

FREEDOM AT MIDNIGHT
by LARRY COLLINS and DOMINIQUE LAPIERRE
572 pages. Illustrated. Simon & Schuster.
\$12.50.

At the stroke of midnight on Aug. 14, 1947, an age ended. After an occupation of 347 years, the British gave India back to the Indians. Like every detail of that massive transition, the moment chosen for India's deliverance was an awkward compromise. Lord Louis Mountbatten, the English viceroy, had intended to make his country's exit on Aug. 15, the second anniversary of Japan's surrender in the Pacific. Legions of India's astrologers howled; every stellar influence on that date spelled catastrophe. The ceremony was delayed twelve hours. The stars were not fooled.

In this song of India, Authors Collins and Lapierre (*Is Paris Burning?*, *O Jerusalem*) again display their celebrated flair for the epic. Religious confrontations, border wars, political sacrifices are illuminated like scenes in a pageant. The very sounds and odors of a vanished world are resurrected—often at the price of subtlety and perspective. For the birth of a nation is not the stuff of mere melodrama; the historical and human scale is too profound.

In 1947 India was an arena of contradictions. Three hundred million Hin-

dus and 100 million Moslems were learning that they hated the occupying British only slightly less than they hated each other. There were 3 million walking skeletons in Calcutta; simultaneously, some of the country's 565 maharajahs continued to test the aphrodisiacal powers of crushed diamonds. The viceroy's house in New Delhi employed nearly 5,000 servants and 418 gardeners. But back home, England reeled under postwar debts and shortages. Coal was scarce, and a bottle of liquor cost \$35. For reasons as much financial as idealistic, the Labor government of Clement Attlee was determined to drop the white man's burden. But there was a hitch: the bloodbath following England's exit threatened to be worse than the one that would occur if she stayed.

Half-Naked Fakir. The situation was unimaginably complex—and utterly hopeless. *Freedom at Midnight* focuses on the four men who plunge ahead anyway, haggling out the new terms under which one-fifth of the world's population will live. Perhaps because Mountbatten is one of their primary sources, Collins and Lapierre cast him in heroic mold. The great-grandson of Queen Victoria faces his task with a stiff upper lip and a trembling lower one; he relishes the pomp of the viceroy's office while struggling to give it away.

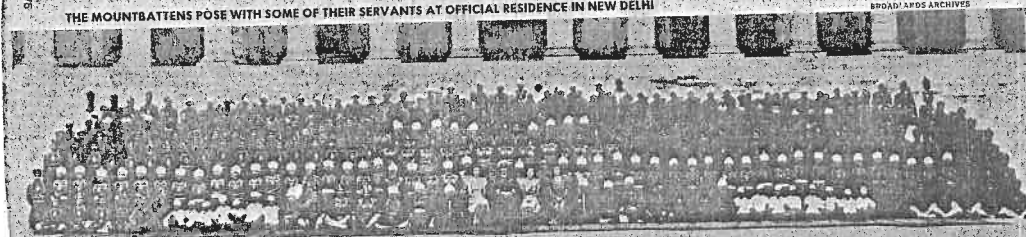
Jawaharlal Nehru, Hindu leader of India's Congress Party and the first na-

tive Prime Minister, is also warmly praised for his Brahman sensitivity. The villain of the book is Mohammed Ali Jinnah, fanatical leader of the Moslem League, who demands the separate state of Pakistan for his people. "We shall have India divided," he warns, "or we shall have India destroyed."

The book's best portrait is of the man who dwarfs the other three—Mohandas Gandhi, that tiny ascetic who for 30 years harried his British rulers with fasts and passive resistance. The mystic whom Winston Churchill once scorned as a "half-naked fakir" is a saint to his followers. "How can you say one thing last week," an associate asks him, "and something quite different this week?" Replies Gandhi: "Ah, because I have learned something since last week." The Mahatma continues to learn; he becomes at last India's soul and conscience. The most moving pages of *Freedom at Midnight* show him doing what battalions of soldiers could not: preventing by his frail presence the slaughter of Moslems and Hindus in Calcutta.

But Gandhi cannot save all lives. Even before his assassination, the hack-

THE MOUNTBATTENS POSE WITH SOME OF THEIR SERVANTS AT OFFICIAL RESIDENCE IN NEW DELHI



TIME, OCTOBER 27, 1976

BROADWAY ARCHIVES

A LESSON FROM GANDHI

Historian Hassim Seedat rejects SA's 'New Deal', argues for a 'fair deal'

BEFORE leaving South Africa in 1914 Gandhi sent a gift to General Smuts. The gift was a pair of sandals which Gandhi had made while he was in prison serving the last of the sentences that saw him behind bars for leading the passive resistance campaigns here.

The gesture of a prisoner giving a gift to his gaoler was unusual and went beyond the bounds of mere magnanimity. The incident itself would have been soon forgotten and the gift perhaps only remembered by Smuts until he had worn the sandals out.

But, Smuts did not forget the gift. Twenty-five years later the story of the pair of sandals had a remarkable sequel.

In 1939 on Gandhi's seventieth birthday, Smuts returned the worn and battered sandals to their maker with these remarks:

"I have worn these sandals for many a summer even though I may feel that I am not worthy to stand in the shoes of so great a man. It was my fate to be the antagonist of a man for whom even then I had the highest respect. He never forgot the human background of the situation, never lost his temper, or succumbed to hate, and preserved his gentle humour even in the most trying situations. His manner and spirit even then, as well as later, contrasted marked-

ly with the ruthless and brutal forcefulness which is the vogue in our day."

These words are full of irony. Smuts was not a man of peace. He was not one who was averse to ruthlessness as his brutal actions against the gold mine strikers and workers record and his rigid and uncompromising anti-black stance proclaimed.

His attitude to Indians was consistent. He regarded them as part of the black population and he maintained that if any political concessions were given to the Indians there was bound to be "agitation" by Africans for similar rights which could then be not denied them.

Therefore, he told Gandhi repeatedly and to others who followed him, that he (Smuts) was not prepared to give Indians any political rights.

But then Smuts like all colonialists (the custodians of "civilization") and later imperialists believed that they had the God-given right to rule and therefore they could not be ruthless or brutal — these characteristics were reserved for the people who opposed the established order.

FERTILE

This myth has been nurtured and perpetuated and in our times has almost become a truth. The propagation of this great lie has even found fertile soil within our midst.

Those who oppose the system and refuse to participate in a sham parliament but want to speak to our "rulers" as equals

to maintain the dignity of their manhood, which Gandhi taught us is the very essence of all humans are being branded as agitators wanting change "not through the ballot but the barrel" as one uninspiring political opportunist had it.

Gandhi, as I said taught us that the dignity of man was of paramount importance. He devoted his whole life to this concept.

But, should we be told that? Gandhi after all, learnt this in South Africa where he witnessed the humiliation that our forebears suffered.

Gandhi, however, had a broader concept of dignity as has been pointed out by students of his philosophy. The dignity of man demanded, for Gandhi, a fair deal for all human beings, the minimum of well-being in terms of education, health, food, clothing, housing and all the other essentials of material well-being.

This could be achieved obviously only in a society in which every man has equal status, opportunity and freedom to develop.

This is the kind of society we should demand for now. Let us not take the soft options offered to us in anticipation of meaningful change later.

We will only build up a reservoir of hostility against us and the path to reconciliation will be thorny and difficult.

Let us not lose our dignity and betray the teachings of the gentle soul in whose shoes Smuts said he was not worthy to stand.



M.K. Gandhi in S.A.

EXPLOITATION OF GANDHISM

by R.K. Murthi

Self-seeking devotees and pseudo-intellectuals have found in Gandhism green pastures to tread on according to their whims and fancies. It is time we realized that Gandhi stood for eternal truth and not for interchangeable values. 1/4/77

IF THERE is one name which is bandied around by everyone to add weight to his arguments, or to sustain his pleas, or to drive home his view-points, that is of Mahatma Gandhi. The reason for this trend is not far to seek. Mahatma Gandhi was a rare phenomenon, a man of God who tread the earth, applied the balm of love and understanding and resurrected hopes where despondency prevailed. He was a champion of freedom who refused to trail the path of violence and stuck firmly to his concept of *satyagrah* or soul force. His name is held in great respect and reverence by the masses. It is not surprising, therefore, that everyone who wants to impress the people or to win over the public leans on Gandhiji's name to gain muscles and sinews for the stand he takes.

For everyone

Leaders, from left, right and centre find in Gandhiji's pronouncements, statements, and writings adequate material to strengthen the causes they advocate.

An intellectual marshals certain facts, peps up his arguments with some quotations extracted from the collected works of Gandhiji. None bothers whether the extracts are lent meanings which the Mahatma never had in mind when he spelt them out. His opponent, with equal felicity, drills through the mass of Gandhian literature and emerges with edicts and epigrams which demolish the thesis built by the first intellectual.

At the end of this exercise, the two parties succeed not in clarifying their stands, but in muddling up Gandhiji's thoughts, in making Gandhiji look like a thinker who did not know his mind, who was not clear about the means and ends he

wanted to pursue, and who tied himself up hopelessly in contradictions.

We all know that this impression is not true. Gandhiji had a clear vision of his aims, his objectives and the road through which the goal could be reached.

Yet the realisation of this unquestionable truth does not stop the exploitation of Gandhiji's name. An industrial worker asserts his right to strike for his privileges, arming himself with some statement of the Mahatma. Usually, the statement is torn out of context. The industrialist has enough Gandhian quotations to define his role as a trustee in whom the worker should place absolute trust.

The habitat movement, says its champion, is just what Gandhiji had propounded decades back.

A writer finds in the Mahatma a father figure whose image can be anatomised at will to fetch him some publicity and also a fat cheque. Thus, he has no hesitation in coming out with an article entitled, *Gandhiji, a true Marxist* for a famous journal.

Then, he makes a double turn, spins out for another equally famous journal, an article with the title, *Gandhiji and Marx: Poles apart* for its special issue of October which coincides with Gandhiji's birth anniversary.

So it goes on. Everyone finds in the Gandhian literature exactly what he wants, none getting a comprehensive view of Gandhism. It is a repetition of the same old story of seven blind men who had a date with an elephant.

No wonder Gandhism is losing its viability and strength. It is chipped and chopped by an army of self-seeking devotees or pseudo-intellectuals. The interpolator chooses the Gandhian aspect which serves his purpose and runs around it. He is



An ideal is one thing; living upto it is quite another.

like Hazlitt's "man with one idea" whose state of mind is described thus: "It (the one idea) follows him into the country; it stays with him at home. It sits with him at breakfast and goes out with him to dinner. It is like a part of his dress, of the costume of his person. Why does he make so much fuss? It is not that he has got this one idea, but that he has got no other."

A way of life

If Gandhism is to survive, not in letter but in spirit, the Mahatma's name should be kept away from such brazen exploitation.

Gandhism does not need vocal interpreters. It is not there to pit one side against another but to indicate the eternal truth, to lead men through the path of justice and fair-play, to inspire men with love and truth. It is a way of life which, if accepted in toto, radiates like a precious gem. But, the ideology, when broken into bits, looks lifeless and insipid.

It is time we evaluated the damage done to Gandhism by trying to find what we seek in it rather than to discover the universal truth which Gandhiji wants us to realise. The former approach is negative because self-aggrandisement is the anti-thesis of the eternal truth. The latter outlook is positive because it brings out in clear terms what Gandhiji wanted us to know and to practise.

The future of Gandhism (and, because of that, the nature and content of our future, too), will depend on whether we opt for the right approach to Gandhism, or limit it to suit our personal aims. ●●

The film the world has waited for succeeds only superficially

ATTENBOROUGH has received extravagant compliments for his film, the making of which had obsessed him for 20 years.

It has won critics awards and nearly a dozen Oscar nominations have been made for it.

Some of the scenes had to be organised like military manoeuvres — Attenborough said they were of Napoleonic dimensions. It cost about R30-million and had a cast of tens of thousands.

A major campaign was essential to recoup the enormous costs without which the film would founder, Attenborough said. And Columbia Pictures made the biggest payment in history to secure the world-wide distribution rights.

There has been a flood of pre-release publicity. Very impressive.

Now let us look at the film.

When Attenborough was charged with omitting from the film some

major political figures involved in the struggle for India's independence, he said emphatically that the film was the story of Mahatma Gandhi and not India's independence struggle.

If it is, then it is seriously flawed. Superficially it tells us of Gandhi's life. The "set-piece" episodes are selective but they fail to tell Gandhi's story.

Superficially Attenborough has succeeded, spectacularly so, by using every cinematic device in the "epic" fashion.

True, the film relates the paradoxes of Gandhi's character and his idiosyncracies well and succeeds in generating great emotion in some of the spectacular scenes — notably the colossal funeral cortege and the brutal Amritsar massacre.

But the presentation of Gandhi as an effective revolutionary leader who led India, virtually single-handed, to independence is not only untenable, but it is a myth.

Gandhi's impractical politics in India and his failure to manage the forces he unleashed by awakening the masses from centuries of sleep, his vacillations (this to avoid the struggle falling into the hands of the left) set back independence by 25 years during which the British continued to bleed India white. When the British withdrew it was not a result of the Gandhian Satyagraha struggle but their inability to suppress and control any longer the "Gem of the Empire" which was beginning to become increasingly violent and chaotic.

This was largely due to their own imperialist policy of divide and rule by shamelessly encouraging communalism which was now rearing its vicious head.

The greatest tragedy of Gandhi's life was his death in the princely mansion of Birla, the most ruthless arch-pro-

Serious flaws in Gandhi

liteer of the new-moned Indian ruling class.

Gandhi died in despair. The Congress that he had nurtured had become the plaything of the ruthless power-seeking and communalist.

He is reported to have said: "It seems that while we are building the Congress, at the same time it is decaying, and today it has decayed."

And finally, after nearly 40 years of struggle in India, he cried: "Everything looks dark to me, very dark, and I see very little hope. Some people say after the dark night comes the bright dawn. But I only see the darkness of the night. I do not know when the dawn will come."

This could be his epitaph. He had failed. As CN Patel — deputy-director of Navajvan Press — said: "In a sense he had — whether it was in his struggle of the untouchables or in his own efforts — failed to introduce true economic and social democracy."

The South African scenes depicting some of Gandhi's experiences here are of particular in-

terest to us. A fresh clean-cut English barrister of 24 arrived here in 1893 and a penniless cotton-clad sandal-footed apostle of a new political philosophy of Satyagraha, which he had evolved and tested here, left in 1914.

On his arrival in South Africa he was hailed as a Mahatma. Were his campaigns here politically successful or did he only gain moral victories for the Indians? Were his "experiments with truth" here and the path of non-violent protest and truth force (Satyagraha) leading to his own need as a Hindu — the need for individual salvation and deliverance — or were they for universal application? No one else could use the weapon of Satyagraha but Gandhi.

Taken individually the South African scenes in the film are historically inaccurate. For example take the scene on the grounds of the Hamidia Mosque in Johannesburg on August 16, 1908, where the Indian "passes" were burnt and Gandhi was beaten. A large sign in this scene proclaims the

Ben Kingsley as Gandhi — his acting was one of the better features of the film shown in Durban this week



"Indian Congress of South Africa". There was no such body at that time. The meeting was under the auspices of the British Indian Association and the registration certificates were set ablaze in a large iron pot (commonly known as the "kaffirpot" at that time) by the President of the Association, Yusuf Mian. Gandhi was an onlooker. Nevertheless, in their totality the South African

scenes encapsulate in their dramatic setting part of Gandhi's experiences here.

The film is likely to have a deep resonance among the Indian public. Some of our parents and many of our grandparents were the material with which the "great soul" worked and perfected his theories that shook the British Empire and led to its demise.

Attorney and historian HASSIM SEEDAT reviews Richard Attenborough's much-acclaimed film, *Gandhi*.



Gandhi — eastern Chaplin

Mahatma Gandhi, libran and trend-setter, was a small man of many parts. And, like most small people, he liked having his picture taken. If anything, the Mahatma overdid it: the archives are knee-deep in miles of grainy footage and reams of photographic paper that capture his Chaplinesque figure in a breath-takingly varied array of vaudeville poses.

Now, his humble name — Gandhi means grocer — is to be emblazoned in neon throughout the cultural capitals of the western world as Sir Richard Attenborough's epic film hits the superstar circuit.

In 1983 even the simplest peasant in Bahia or Burundi will know the legend. Mr G will, at last, have succumbed to the allure of the big screen. Those Cole Porter lyrics will live again: 'You're the tops, you're Mahatma Gandhi'.

Yet he left behind him not merely a legend. An entire industry was to be founded on his memory and on the mistaken belief that universal wisdom is alive and well and living in India. A vast assortment of gurus and meditating pranksters flourished as prosperous Westerners scoured the subcontinent in search of Nirvana.

Gandhi was no crooner, but nor was he any stranger to showbiz. An eccentric born into an age of eccentricity, he played to the gallery hard. In the end that crowd pushed a war-weary Britain into letting go of the jewel in its imperial crown. And, as the leading actor in the saga of India's liberation, Gandhi won rave reviews.

His legacy is today the burden of millions. The country he left behind — he was downed by an assassin's bullets months after India gained independence in 1947 — is now an economy in tatters, where slums are spreading at four times the rate of an uncontrolled population growth. Black money buys all. Desperate mothers, deserted by their husbands, sell their favours for a couple of rupees a time.

Despite all this, Mr G has become a cult in a land of 1,000 cults. The Indian flag boasts the spinning-wheel of the Gandhian independence movement. Politicians of every persuasion pay lip-service to his ideal of non-violent revolution, pausing only to condone a score-settling murder or two, enforce a new vasectomy programme or attend a home-grown nuclear weapons test. And, in Ahmadabad, the cotton capital of India, the ashram founded in 1915 has

The name of Mahatma Gandhi is to be emblazoned in neon throughout the cultural capitals of the Western world as Sir Richard Attenborough's epic film on him hits the superstar circuit. BBC producer JAMES BELLINI takes a far more critical look at the man in this article.

become a shrine to rival Lourdes.

Yet the pulling power of Gandhi was merely a facet of his times. He was no more sane than Mussolini or Hitler, no less funny than Chaplin himself. All were of diminutive stature; all found their audiences. Freud, H G Wells, Isadora Duncan, Marinetti and the Futurists sprang from the same fount of idiosyncrasy.

Not surprisingly, their age — an age of world wars, genocide and the Depression — was an orgy of mayhem and murder. True to the form of that awful epoch Gandhi's India witnessed its own holocaust as Muslim and Hindu clashed in bloody religious conflict.

Yet the Gandhi magic survived. Even though his dream of a single nation collapsed in ruins, he kept his niche in history. Reputation is the most fragile of commodities. As Shakespeare puts it in *Othello*, "oft got without merit and lost without deserving it."

With Mahatma Gandhi now to be a celluloid superstar, no doubt his colourful career will attract renewed scrutiny. Alas,

ple eat with the fingers of one hand, the Gandhi table was festooned with knives and forks. But these were merely hints of eccentric things to come.

Gandhi's early years in London, in the 1880s, had already exposed the teenage law student to a cohort of Victorian cranks.

An interlude in South Africa did nothing to stem his tide of bizarre political ideas. Gandhi's thinking became influenced more by bowels than brains. An intestinal fixation had long enslaved him to the wonders of Eno's Fruit Salts. The fixation was given philosophical form as Gandhi's writings preached inner cleanliness as the starting point for political purity.

Gandhi's bowels became the most potent in the history of politics; fasting acted as a force de frappe in his arsenal of civil disobedience against British rule.

He first achieved fame in 1918, with a fast aimed at settling the Ahmadabad textile strike. In the tradition of true comedy, the biggest laugh came from the unexpected. The mill bosses, delighted at gaining a wage deal well within their profit margins, offered gifts of

'Across India, sky-clad god-men — naked priests — form a new elite with Rolls-Royce and Lear Jet tastes.'

the critics will shrink away from proper judgment. Three hundred million followers, they'll say, couldn't have been wrong.

He abandoned marital sex early in life and harangued his disciples into emulating him. He offered his wife Kasturba perhaps the least interesting sexual partnership in the history of heroes.

Gandhi subscribed to the Hindu doctrine of the husband's dictatorship. Tyranny spread throughout the household; his eldest sons were dressed, even in mid-summer, in thick Parsee coats, trousers, shoes and socks to give the family a civilised air. Despite their roots in Gujarat, where even the best peo-

sweets to the returning workers. Bowel-fixation matured into a mounting preoccupation with dirt. His increasing obsession with ablutions earned Gandhi the nickname "Mahabhangli," the Great Scavenger. Fifteen minutes were spent cleaning his teeth, scouring the gums with a freshly picked thorny twig. The Gandhi grin turned toothless, as incisors and canines fled in terror from this daily torture.

But his star turn featured the magic wheel, not of the juggernaut, but of the weaver's hut. The mills of Lancashire had monopolised India's textile trade with cheaply made calicoes and muslins, even though India had pioneered the art 3,000 years before Christ.



THE MAGIC WHEEL — Gandhi — as played by Ben Kingsley in the Attenborough film, with the ancient spinning wheel he hoped would revolutionise India.

Gandhi believed that the British could be beaten if India's 700,000 villages turned to the mass production of cloth on primitive wheels and looms.

The charkha, the ancient spinning wheel, became Gandhi's secret weapon against the cotton barons of Rochdale and Oldham, and the symbol of the fight for independence.

But the magic wheel performed no miracles. Though today tens of millions toil in the countryside producing hand-made cotton, they cannot compete with India's own textile barons, with their massive electric mills in Ahmadabad and Bombay — the very barons rescued by Gandhi from a fleetingly militant workforce. Today's handloom weavers, heirs to Gandhi's magic wheel politics, languish in rural poverty.

Ironically, handwoven fabrics are much favoured by India's nouveaux riches. Only they can afford the servants to keep their handwoven clothing in well-pressed elegance.

Meanwhile, Gandhi's do-it-yourself economics threatened destruction for the dhobi washer communities who traditionally launder for India's rich. After reading 'How to Launder' in his Durban days, Gandhi took to daily sermons to his wife on the subject of soapbuds and rinses.

Luckily for the dhobis, the

rich eschewed his call to wash their own underwear.

And, luckily for officials in the Durban courts, Gandhi practised his preachings. His appearances before the Bench, with his home-laundered collars so overstarched that the excess ran down the sides in viscous columns, were welcome relief.

Gandhi's true vocation, after all, was not politics but slapstick. His friends christened him

'Gandhi's bowels became the most potent in the history of politics.'

Mickey Mouse in recognition of his prominent ears. His enemies dismissed him as a Charlie Chaplin stooge among professionals. Significantly, his meeting with Chaplin, in London East End in 1931, was a landmark in screen history. "Modern Times", reflecting Gandhi's hatred of machines followed shortly afterwards.

But political rivals treated the slapstick sage with deep caution. The Pope refused to see him. Churchill dismissed him as a "nauseating and seditious Middle Temple lawyer, posing as a fakir."

By the time liberation came to India in 1947, even local politicians had lost faith. Nehru, the first Prime Minister after independence, could find no

place for Gandhi in the government. Mahatma's William Morris economic themes were dismissed by Nehru as "unreal."

VS Naipaul puts his finger on the worm in the Gandhi legend in "A Wounded Civilisation". The slapstick sage had lived too long, he offered to India a carpet-bag concoction of sexual obsessions and Disneyland dreams.

He taunted Churchill with remarks that true virtue lay in sleeping with beautiful naked women without displaying excitement. Worse, he believed his own publicity. At the Segaon ashram his masseuses were young and noble; he slept with the female inmates.

Scandal struck just months before India gained freedom. With the widower Gandhi now showing increasing affection for the 19-year-old body of his cousin's granddaughter, Manu, his followers grew uneasy. A near-riot occurred when the couple turned up in Haimchar and shared the same bed.

But then, sex, politics and religion make uneasy partners. In India they joust gingerly.

In Gandhi's Ahmadabad last year a Krishna-look-alike holy man, adored by female congregants, was jailed after tax officials discovered a secret chamber beneath the temple, stacked high with jewels and delicacies from admirers.

A bevy of concubines vied nightly for his affections, settling the matter with a pack of Kama Sutra playing cards. The victor would dance before the priest in musical foreplay, resplendent in a pearl-studded brassiere.

Such stories abound in a country where esoteric make-believe reigns unchallenged. Lennon discovered that his guru bedded his transcendental

groupies with unholy zeal. Across India, sky-clad god-men — naked priests — form a new elite with Rolls-Royce and Lear Jet tastes.

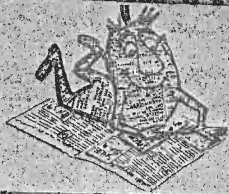
Mahatma Gandhi, sexual obsessive and bowel fetishist, was both progenitor and product of this India, where idols consistently rip off their devotees.

Gandhi's grandson, Arun, dismisses this Technicolor venture as a fraud; a one-sided, officially sanctioned accolade to prop up the Mahatma namesake who now runs the juggernauts of Second India.

Thus, deprived by history of the privilege of today's assassinated leaders — that of dying on television — the Great Scavenger has come again — as "Mahatma the Movie."

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Here is the third in the series on the life of Mohandas Gandhi.

Gandhi's non-violent struggle

Over the next 20 years, Gandhi was to lead the Indians of South Africa in their struggle for justice and equality. He developed a form of political struggle based on truth and non-violence.

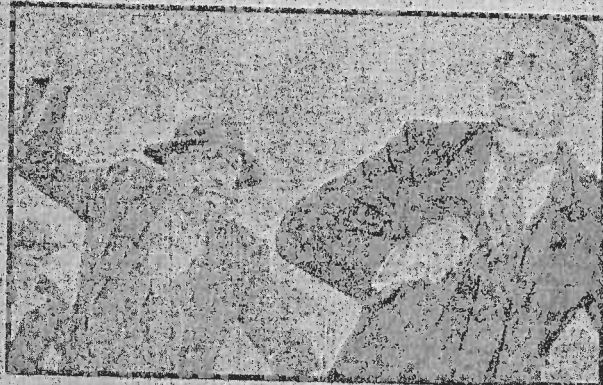
In 1894, Gandhi organised a successful petition and newspaper publicity against new anti-Indian laws. He helped to set up the Natal Indian Congress, which aimed to improve life for the Indian community through educational, social and political work. Gandhi returned to his family in India, and there he publicised the injustices in South Africa and sought support to tackle the problems. When he returned to South Africa he was brutally attacked for being a trouble-maker by a white mob. As he recovered at a friend's house, a crowd gathered menacingly outside and sang "We'll hang old Gandhi on the sour apple tree".

Forgave his attackers

He managed to escape under the cover of night, disguised as a policeman, and said that he forgave his attackers.

During the Boer War (1899-1902) between Britain and the South African Boers, Gandhi formed and led the Indian Ambulance Corps, which worked for the British Army. Since he was demanding rights as a citizen, he felt he owed loyalty to the British Empire, and Britain awarded him a medal. After the war he visited India again, and renewed his contacts with the leaders of the country's growing nationalist movement.

On his return to South Africa in 1903 Gandhi started a magazine for Indians in South Africa called *Indian Opinion* which became crucial to the campaign for equality. His lifestyle underwent important changes. He decided to give up all his possessions and establish a community. Here, he detached himself from his normal family



Gandhi is attacked by a mob in South Africa.

ties. Gandhi believed that to serve others he must not distract himself with the burden of possessions and involvement with and the pleasures of family life.

A new law in South Africa required all Indians over eight years old to register with the authorities, and carry a pass at all times. Failing this, they could be imprisoned, fined, or deported. Under Gandhi's leadership, the Indians resisted this new law. He called their action *satyagraha*, which means "the force of truth". They would not co-operate with the authorities and their resistance was to be non-violent.

In 1908, Gandhi visited London to muster support. On his return to South Africa, he was imprisoned. Still wearing prison uniform, he was taken to meet General Smuts, the South African leader. Smuts promised that if the Indians registered, he would repeal the registration law. Trusting him, Gandhi called on all Indians to register. But Smuts broke his word. In protest, Gandhi led a public burning of the registration certificates. The campaign continued, with thou-

sands of Indians inviting arrest by refusing to register.

Gandhi spent much of this time in prison reading and writing. He discovered the works of the famous Russian writer Leo Tolstoy, and, inspired by each other's ideas, they began exchanging letters. With the help of a friend, Gandhi founded a new community called *Tolstoy Farm*. The community members grew their own food, made their own clothes and built their own homes. Gandhi himself baked bread and made marmalade, and helped to teach the children.

More new laws, including one that said only Christian marriages were legal, prompted Gandhi to step up his campaigning. Again and again he was jailed, along with thousands of other men and women. Finally, on the main issues, Smuts gave way. With this vital experience behind him, Gandhi was ready to return to India.

From: Gandhi, by Nigel Hunter, illustrated by Richard Hook. Published by Wayland Publishers Ltd in the Great Lives series.

● Tomorrow: Fourth in the series on the life of Gandhi — he returns to India.

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Here is the fourth article in the biography of Gandhi.

Gandhi returns to India

In Bombay in 1915, Gandhi was welcomed as a hero. He no longer wore western clothing, and he chose to speak Gujarati rather than English, as English was the language of the oppressor.

For a year, he toured the country, speaking on religious and social matters. He visited the community which had been established by the poet Tagore. Tagore shared many of Gandhi's ideals. He compared Gandhi to Buddha because, like Gandhi, he had also taught the importance of kindness to all living creatures. Outside the city of Ahmedabad, Gandhi founded the Satyagraha Ashram, a community committed to non-violence and service to others.

Gandhi was determined to break down the Hindu "caste" system, which prevented the caste of Hindus who traditionally did the dirtiest work, from ever entering temples. They were called the "untouchables" because their mere touch horrified higher class Hindus. Despite opposition from Kasturba and others who found it hard to accept, he brought an "untouchable" family into the Ashram and renamed

them *Harijans*, meaning "Children of God".

Gandhi successfully led the workers of the province of Bihar in a non-violent campaign against the unjust demands of British landowners. He carried out a fast, threatening to starve himself to death unless his demands were met. His action resulted in better wages and conditions for mill workers. He also inspired farm workers who were suffering the effects of famine not to pay Government tax demands, and eventually the demands were withdrawn. He always appealed to his opponents' sense of right and wrong.

Harsh new laws

Briefly, during the First World War (1914-18), he helped to recruit Indian soldiers for the British Army. This seemed at odds with his belief in non-violence, but he hoped that service to save the Empire would earn India self-rule after the War. Britain passed harsh new laws preventing India from becoming a self-governing country within the Empire.

When Gandhi heard about the new British laws, preventing Indian Home Rule, he called on all Indians to suspend business for a day of national, non-violent protest, including fasting, prayer and public meetings. But troops in Delhi killed nine people, and when Gandhi tried to reach the city, he was arrested and turned back. News of this provoked rioting and violence in several places. It seemed to Gandhi that he had made a grave mistake. People still did not understand that *satyagraha* persuasion should be non-violent. He punished himself by fasting for three days.

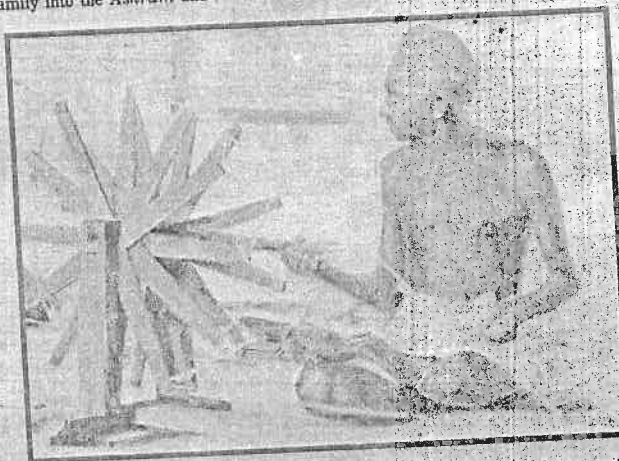
Then came the terrible massacre at Amritsar. On 13 April 1919, about 15 000 people had gathered together, to demonstrate peacefully on the day of the Sikh New Year. Suddenly, soldiers of the British Army appeared, under the command of General Dyer. He gave the order to fire, and for ten minutes the soldiers shot into the crowd, who were trapped in a square.

Horrified by brutality

Nearly 400 men, women and children were killed, and 11 000 wounded. Gandhi was horrified by the brutality of the British Army, directed at unarmed subjects of the Empire. His loyalty to the British was completely shattered. He felt they had clearly lost all right to govern.

In 1920, Gandhi became president of the All-India Home Rule League which sought independence from the Empire. Following this, he became the leader of the Indian National Congress. He launched a massive programme of non-co-operation against the British. Cotton cloth made in Britain was boycotted and clothes made of foreign material were burned on great bonfires. To symbolize getting rid of foreign influences, hand-spinning and weaving were revived throughout the country. To Gandhi, spinning represented economic progress, national unity and independence from the Empire. He himself spun daily.

From: *Gandhi*, by Nigel Hunter, illustrated by Richard Hook. Published by Wayland Publishers Ltd in the Great Lives series.



Gandhi enjoyed spinning daily. To him, spinning represented economic progress, national unity and independence from the Empire.

- Tomorrow: Fifth in the series on the life of Gandhi — sent to prison.
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GANDHI AND THE TAMILS

Notes from Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi

(Volume 4 of Collected Works seem to be missing in my collection, see pp. 23, 414-15).

Writing in Indian Opinion on February 6, 1909, on the progress of the Satyagraha, Gandhiji said:

"The Tamils have surpassed all expectations. All their leaders are now in Gaol. Now-a-days, imprisonment is not merely for a week, but for three months, and it is not simple, but rigorous. Unbounded is the courage of those Indians who have gone to Gaol, undeterred by such sentences."

(From Gujarati)

- Collected Works, Volume 9, page 185.

On February 25, 1909, before going to jail for the third time, Gandhiji addressed the following message to the Tamils in South Africa:

TO MY TAMIL BRETHREN

BEFORE GOING TO GAOL FOR THE THIRD TIME IN OUR STRUGGLE

I have addressed a letter in Gujarati to our countrymen, but, as I do not know the beautiful tamil language sufficiently, I write to you in English, hoping that I may reach some of you. The struggle has now reached the most critical stage. Whilst the majority of the other sections of the community have fallen, being too weak, the majority of the Tamils and the Parsis have stood firm. The brunt of the battle must therefore, fall upon their shoulders. I pray to God that He may give you sufficient strenght to bear it. You have discharged yourselves brilliantly hitherto. Remember that we are descendants of Prahlad and Sudhanva, both passive resistors of the purest type. They disregarded the dictates even of their parents, when they were asked to deny God. They suffered extreme torture rather than inflict on their persecutors. We in the Transvaal are being called upon to deny God, in that we are required to deny our manhood, go upon our oath, and accept an insult to our nation. Shall we in the present crisis do less than our forefathers?

M.K. GANDHI

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Indian Opinion, March 6, 1909, Collected Works, Volume 9, pp.199

(Note: The message was translated into Tamil and circulated by the Transvaal British Indian Association).

After release from jail, in an article in Indian Opinion (June 5, 1909), on "My Third Experience in Gaol", Gandhiji wrote:

"No other Indians can equal the performance of the Tamils in this fight. It therefore occurred to me that I should read Tamil with close attention, if for no other reason than to tender sincere thanks to them at least mentally. Accordingly, the last one month was devoted mostly to the study of Tamil. The more I learn it the better I appreciate the beauties of this language. It is a very fine and sweet language, and from its structure and from what I have read in it, I find that the Tamils have produced, and still produce, a large number of intelligent, thoughtful and wise men. Moreover, since India is going to be one country, some Indians outside Madras should also learn Tamil."

- Collected Works, Volume 9, pp. 242.

Gandhiji wrote in Indian Opinion (April 16, 1910), after the arrest of Mr. V.A. Chettiar, under the title "Tamil Sacrifice":

"The arrest of Mr. Chettiar, the fifty-five-year-old Chairman of the Tamil Society, puts the finishing touch to the glorious work that is being done by the Tamil community in the Transvaal on behalf not of themselves but of the whole Indian population throughout South Africa. Nearly one hundred Tamils now under custody, either undergoing imprisonment at Diepkloof or awaiting deportation, which, for many reasons is much worse than imprisonment. There is hardly a Tamil left in the Transvaal who has not suffered imprisonment in the course of the passive resistance struggle. Mr. Chettiar himself has been now arrested for the third time, his son, as we have already remarked, for the seventh time. These brave men have reduced themselves to poverty and have sacrificed literally their all for the sake of the national honour and their sacred oath. It has become such a common occurrence for Tamils to be arrested that it excites no curiosity and attention. Mr. Chettiar, who was at one time in flourishing circumstances, has now become a pauper. We have seen some of the receipts for the jewellery which had been sold in order to provide for the household. In view of such sacrifices as these, he must be a godless person who would for one moment doubt that a community that can boast such heroes can ever fail to attain its goal."

- Collected Works, Volume 10. pp. 220.

Mr. Chettiar was arrested and then ordered to be deported from India. Gandhiji wrote in Indian Opinion April 16, 1910: "Every hair on his body thrills with the determination to die for the sake of honour, for the sake of the Motherland and the pledge, rather than surrender. He is installed in Marshall Square, a smile on his face. We hope every Indian, old or young, big or small, will be infected by Mr. Chettiars spirit and be proud of his name.

(From Gujarati)

Collected Works, Volume 10, pp. 222.

Mr. Chettiar was sentenced in Volksrust on April 15, 1910, to three months. He had a constitutional disease and Gandhiji was concerned about his health. (ibid, pp. 224)

(Perhaps prepare biography of Mr. Chettiar).

Gandhiji wrote in Indian Opinion, April 5, 1913:

"The Tamils were the greatest sufferers during the late struggle. They are now in the forefront." (Collected Works, Volume 12, pp.4)

Gandhiji wrote in Indian Opinion on December 31, 1913:

"The Satyagraha campaign, as carried on this time and still continuing, has hardly a parallel in history. The real credit for this goes to the Hindi and Tamil speaking brothers and sisters living in this country. Their sacrifice has been the highest of all. Some of them even lost their lives, killed by the bullets of the white soldiers."

- Collected Works, Volume 12, pp.311.

On July 15, 1914, Gandhiji spoke at a meeting of the Tamil community in Johannesburg. Thambi Naidoo presided. The following is from a report of his speech in Indian Opinion, August 5, 1914:

"Mr Gandhi said that he felt, in coming to meet the Tamil brothers and sisters, as if he came to meet blood relations. That was a sentiment which he had cherished now for many years, and the reason was quite simple. Of all the different sections of the Indian community, he thought that the Tamils had borne the brunt of the struggle. The largest number of deaths that passive resistance had taken had been from the Tamil community. They had that morning gone to the cemetery to perform the unveiling ceremony in connection with the two memorials to a dear sister and brother. Both of these had been Tamils. There was Narayansamy whose bones lay at Delagoa Bay. He had been a Tamil. The deportees had been Tamils. The last to fight and come out of gaol had been Tamils. Those who were ruined hawkers were all Tamils. The majority of the passive resisters at Tolstoy Farm had been Tamils. On every side, Tamils had shown themselves to be the most typical of the best traditions of India, and by saying that he was not exaggerating in the slightest degree.

4.

The faith, the abundant faith in God, in Truth, that the Tamils had shown had been one of the most sustaining forces throughout those long drawn years. The majority of women to go to gaol were Tamils. The sisters who defied the authorities to arrest them had gone from door to door, from barracks to barracks at Newcastle, to ask the men to lay down their tools and strike work - who were they? Again, Tamil sisters. Who marched among the women? Tamils of course. Who lived on a pound loaf of bread and an ounce of sugar? The majority were Tamils; though there he must their due also to those of their countrymen who were called Culcutta men. In that last struggle they also responded nobly, but he was not able to say quite so nobly as the Tamils; but they had certainly come out almost as well as the Tamils had, but the Tamils had sustained the struggle for the last eight years and had shown of what stuff they were made from the very beginning. Here in Johannesburg they were a handful, and yet, even numerically, they would show he thought the largest number who had gone to gaol again and again; also it came from the Tamils. So that he felt when he came to a Tamil meeting that he came to blood-relations. The Tamils had shown so much pluck, so much faith, so much devotion to duty and such noble simplicity, and yet had been so self-effacing. he did not even speak their language, much as he should like to be able to do so, and yet they had simply fought on. It had been a glorious, a rich experience, which he would treasure to the end of life. How should he explain the settlement to them? They did not even want it. But if he must he could only tell them all that they and theirs had fought for had been obtained largely through the force of character that they had shown; and yet they did not want, they had not wanted to reap the reward that their own consciences would offer them. They had fought for the Cape entry right for Colonial-borns. That they had got. They had fought for the just administration of the laws. That they had got. They had fought for the removal of the racial taint in the law with reference to the Free State. That they had got. The £ 3 tax was now a matter of the past. And, with reference to the marriage question, all those dear sisters who had gone to gaol could now be called wives of their husbands, whilst but yesterday they might have been called so out of courtesy by a friend, but were not so in the eye of the law. That was one of the things they had fought for and had got. Truth was what they had been fighting for, and Truth had conquered- not he or they. They might tomorrow for an unrighteous thing, and as sure as fate they would be beaten and well-beaten. Truth was unconquerable, and whenever the call to duty came, he hoped they would respond. There was one thing more. They had sometimes, as every other section of the community had, jealousies amongst themselves. They had petty jealousies not in connection with the struggle, but in matters which had nothing to do with the struggle. All those petty jealousies and differences he hoped would go, and they would rise higher still in the estimation of themselves and of those who at all grew to know them and the depth of character which they had.

They had also, as all sections of the Indian community had, not only those jealousies but sometimes many bickerings also, and petty quarrels. He felt these also should be removed especially from their midst, because they had shown themselves so fit to give themselves to the Motherland. And here, of course, it was a Tamil who had given his four sons to be trained as servants of India..."

- Indian Opinion, August 5, 1914; Collected Works, Volume 12, pp. 493-495.

Speaking at a meeting of Gujaratis in Johannesburg on July 16, 1914, Gandhiji said:

"My Gujarati brethren have done a great deal for me and Mrs. Gandhi but they did not, I must say, render as much service in the cause of the struggle as the Tamil community did. I wish the Gujaratis to learn a lesson from the tamils. Though I do not know their language, they had given me the greatest help in the fight. On the other hand, though I can explain my aims best to Gujaratis because I know Gujarati, they have failed in their duty. They cared (more) for money." He then continued that he was unhappy to hear that some members of the community had fallen prey to drink and that some were engaged in smuggling gold.

(From Gujarati)

Indian Opinion, August 5, 1914; Collected Works, Volume 12, pp. 497.

Gandhiji gave an interview, during a visit to Rangoon on March 22, 1915, to a Tamil correspondent.

"He started by saying he could quote chapter and verse for the good work performed by them in South Africa. They were of the greatest help to him during the passive resistance struggle. All the Indian communities were of very great help to him, but especially the Tamil community. It was considered a shame among them for one man not to have gone to jail at least once for the common cause. That was not true of any other community, but that entirely true of the Tamil. When he first met them, he learnt to admire them. Even afterwards he had found them better and better. He said: I consider I have more in common with the Tamil community than with any other".

- The Hindu, March 30, 1915; Collected Works, Volume 13, pp. 42.

Speaking at a public reception in Madras on April 21, 1915, Gandhiji said:

"It was the Madrassesees who of all Indians were singled out by the great Divinity that rules over us for this great work (on behalf of Indians in South Africa).

Do you know that in the great city of Johannesburg, it is found among the Madrassees that any Madrassee is considered dishonoured if he has not passed through the jails once or twice during this terrible crisis that your countrymen in South Africa went through during these eight long years? You have said that I inspired these great men and women, but I cannot accept that proposition. It was they, the simple-minded folk, who worked away in faith, never expecting the slightest reward, who inspired me, who kept me to the proper level, and who compelled me by their great sacrifice, by their great faith, by their great trust in the great God to do the work that I was able to do".

- The Hindu, April 21, 1915; Collected Works, Volume 13, pp. 52-53.

(Volume 17 seems to be missing in my collection; see pp. 302.)

Writing in his autobiography about the establishment of the "Satyagraha Ashram" in Ahmedabad on May 25, 1915, Gandhiji wrote:

"There were at this time about thirteen Tamilians in our party. Five youngsters had accompanied me from South Africa, and the rest came from different parts of the country. We were in all about twenty-five men and women.

"This is how the Ashram was started."

- The story of My Experiments with Truth, Part V, Chapter IX.

About the middle of 1896, Gandhiji sailed from South Africa to Calcutta by ss. Pongola, and it was on the boat that he began to study Tamil. He wrote in his autobiography:

"The ship's doctor gave me a Tamil Self-teacher which I began to study. My experience in Natal had shown me that I could acquire a knowledge of Urdu to get into closer contact with the Mussulmans, and of Tamil to get into closer touch with the Madras Indians...

"With the Tamil I made fair progress. There was no help available, but the Tamil Self-teacher was a well-written book, and I did not feel in need of much outside help.

"I had hoped to continue these studies even after reaching India, but it was impossible. Most of my reading since 1893 has been done in jail. I did make some progress in Tamil and Urdu, in jails - Tamil in South African jails, and Urdu in Yeravda Jail. But I never learnt to speak Tamil, and the little I could do by way of reading is now rusting away for want of practice.

"I still feel what a handicap this ignorance of Tamil or Telegu has been. The affection that the Dravidians in South Africa showered on me has remained a cherished memory. Whenever I see a Tamil or Telegu friend, I cannot but recall the faith, perseverance and selfless sacrifice of many of his compatriots in South Africa. And they were mostly illiterate, the men no less than the women. The fight in South Africa was for such, and it was fought by illiterate soldiers; it was for the poor, and the poor took their full share in it... But I wanted to requite their affection by learning Tamil and Telegu. In Tamil, as I have said, I made some little progress, but in Telegu, which I tried to learn in India, I did not get beyond the alphabet. I fear now I can never learn these languages..."

- The Story of my Experiments with Truth, Part II, Chapter XXIV.
(Volume 65 seems to be missing in my collections; see pp 21 and 282).

In his last prayer meeting on January 29, 1915, a day before his assassination, Gandhi recalled the resourcefulness of the Madrassees. He said:

"I know the people of Madras quite well. I had with me in South Africa people drawn from all linguistic areas of the Province. During the satyagraha march they were given a pound and a half of bread and an ounce of sugar each day. But they surprised me when on our striking camp they would pick out some edible greens or other thing and cook it singing away in great delight."

- Collected Works, Volume 90, pp. 526.

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GANDHI IN SOUTH AFRICA: Recent Studies

James D. Hunt

To Harrison Searlet —
with many thanks for his
help with this project

Jim Hunt

Doke's - link

Serious biographical research on Mohandas K. Gandhi remains in a fairly primitive condition. Louis Fischer's The Life of Mahatma Gandhi (1950) was as thoroughly documented as a first biography can be. when written by a fine reporter and political journalist. Since then there have been only a handful of biographical studies which make extensive critical use of primary source documents. None of them have been whole-life biographies, for very good reasons.

Among the best of the partial studies are Chandran Devanesen's 1961 Harvard dissertation, The Making of the Mahatma (Madras, 1969), Pyarelal's Mahatma Gandhi: The Early Phase (Ahmedabad, 1965) and The Discovery of Satyagraha (Bombay, 1980), and Judith Brown's Gandhi's Rise to Power (Cambridge, 1972) and Gandhi and Civil Disobedience (Cambridge, 1976). In view of the total number of Gandhi biographies -- said to be over 400 -- it is apparent that this list of critical studies is brief indeed. I am happy to say that I will be making some additions in the course of this paper.

If we look for detailed monographic studies of well-defined aspects of Gandhi's life and career, we find a similarly depressing prospect, for these are likewise few, especially for the early period. Full-length biographies have been the favored genre; there seems to be a compulsion to tell the

Counterpoint - race prejudice with Gandhi's helpers & well-wishers.

sacred drama in its entirety, as in Richard Attenborough's film (1982). None of these biographies having a proper foundation in critical monographic studies, they are condemned to repeat the same ritualized and mythologized versions of familiar incidents, with perhaps a new detail here and there and a sprightly bit of debunking to indicate that the author has originality. The film does them all one better by inflating the old myths into powerful new images that are in some instances not only mistaken but perverse.

All that may be said about the poor quality of biographical studies of Gandhi applies with greater force to his early history, by which I mean not merely his childhood but his first 44 years, more than half of his life span. The first 22 years are the subject of a study being developed by Stephen N. Hay,¹ and I will give no attention to these. I am interested entirely in his second 22 years, the period of his young manhood in South Africa from 1893 to 1914.

The principal elements in Gandhi's South African story come from the two autobiographies, The Story of My Experiments with Truth (Ahmedabad, 1927, 1929) and Satyagraha in South Africa (Ahmedabad, 1928). The scenes are familiar: the unsuccessful young lawyer is called to South Africa to help settle a lawsuit; there he immediately encounters racism and has a moment of decision during a chilly night in the Maritzburg station. In Pretoria he encounters kindly Christians and also discrimination, and settles the lawsuit with a compromise. As he is about to return home he discovers a threat to Indian rights in Natal and is persuaded to remain and fight it. He establishes a community defense organization and settles down as an attorney and advocate for Indian rights. On bringing his family to Durban in 1897 whites attempt to murder him, but he refuses to press charges. During the Boer War he organizes an Indian ambulance corps and takes it to the front lines. After the war he

*Family
story*

Overview → returns to India but at the end of 1902 is called back because of new threats to the rights of Indians, this time in the Transvaal. He settles in Johannesburg. has many English friends, chiefly vegetarians, does life-saving work in a plague epidemic, and establishes a newspaper. Later he reads Ruskin and moves his paper to a farm at Phoenix. In 1906 he provides an ambulance corps in the Zulu rebellion, and decides on the vow of celibacy (Brahmacharya). At the Empire Theater on Sept. 11, 1906, the Indians vow to go to jail rather than submit to the new registration law. When the arrests begin, Gandhi is soon released in connection with a compromise settlement, and Indians attempt to murder him. The struggle renews as Indians burn their passes, and Gandhi is again jailed. He establishes a second rural retreat, Tolstoy Farm, where he carries on experiments in diet and education. In 1913 he launches a large-scale civil disobedience, with over 2 thousand Indians crossing the border in a great march toward Johannesburg. The Viceroy of India and others are moved to intervene, and General Smuts agrees to the Indians Relief Bill, enabling Gandhi to go home and seek his country's freedom through satyagraha.

These events form the core of the Gandhi saga and are repeated in every biography. A few other stories are added, sometimes totally new ones. In the film, for example, one of the most memorable scenes shows the young Gandhi beaten by the police as he attempts to burn passes. Not only was he never, in his whole life, beaten by the police; indeed his relations with them were most respectful, but the scene suggests that Gandhi foolishly rushed into defiant challenge of the law before doing his careful legal work. It therefore distorts his character. Later he is shown frightening horses in a scene which has no basis in history or nature. The printed media are generally more modest in their additions to historical truth, but they are rarely any more helpful in penetrating the myths.

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The first two accounts of Gandhi's life appeared in 1909, when he was 40. Both were by intimate friends in Johannesburg. The Rev. Joseph Doke, a Baptist pastor with an unusual interest in the social questions of his city, sought out the Indian leader when the first arrests were taking place to find out the other side of the story. He decided to interview Gandhi and write a character sketch, so as to introduce his personality to the English public. From these interviews came the first biography, which ² Gandhi himself saw through the press. A second sketch was prepared the same year by his aide Henry S. Polak, to be published in India. ³ Three years later, another friend, Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, published a sequel to these, bringing the story of the South African struggle up to date and including observations from his visit to Tolstoy Farm. ⁴ From these beginnings grew the Gandhi story and, we might add, the Gandhi myth, which was greatly enriched by Romain Rolland in his Mahatma Gandhi: The Man Who Became One With The Universal Being (1924). ⁵ At about this time Gandhi himself, having shaken India in the Civil Disobedience campaign of 1920-1922, was enjoying his rest in His Majesty's Hotel and employed it to begin the chapters of Satyagraha in South Africa. ⁶ followed by The Story of My Experiments with Truth. In the years when he dominated the political landscape of India, little else was published on his South African years. The sole significant exception was a small volume of memoirs by an English woman who had lived in his household, ⁸ Millie Polak's Mr. Gandhi—The Man. ⁸ still one of the most intimate glimpses of his personal life during this period, by a loving friend who kept her independence of judgment.

Though little may have been written about Gandhi, the history of South Africa was being written and rewritten. Much of this historiography was of a very high quality, and some dealt with the Indian community, which was surveyed by G. H. Calpin in 1949 ⁹ and by Mabel Palmer in 1957. ¹⁰ But in

this history, as in South African history generally, there has been a missing factor which has recently been pointed out by Shula Marks, who notes "the absence of any major thrust into this historiography from below, from the Africans themselves". She goes on to observe that "although liberal historians were concerned with the position of the black man in South African history, it was still largely as the object of policies and practices of white South Africans..."¹¹ The same may be truly said of the Asiatic community.

A major limitation of almost all studies on Gandhi and his work in South Africa is the near-total absence of the Indian community as a significant actor in the drama. All which have reached furthest into this subject have concentrated primarily on the actions of Government in relation to Gandhi and the Indians. Some of the reasons for this are not hard to find. The special position of the Indians in South Africa was determined largely by government action, and attempts to modify this position necessarily meant altering the policy of governments. All this generated a vast quantity of records: correspondence, reports, Parliamentary papers, news stories, magazine articles, and afterwards memoirs of the participants. Furthermore, this trove of material has another especially attractive feature: much of it is available outside of South Africa. Many of the documents can be examined in London and New Delhi.

An example of this genre, and a superior one, is Balla Pillay's British Indians in the Transvaal.¹² In this volume we learn very little about the British Indians other than that they form the basis of a problem or "question", despite the fact that Puballan Doraswami Pillay was born and educated in South Africa. The title of his original University of London thesis is more precise: "The Imperial Government and the British Indians in the Transvaal".

It is in fact an excellent book and provides the best narrative of the Indian "question" in the Transvaal between 1885 and 1906. and its thorough documentation has been a blessing to scholars. opening up many avenues in the Public Record Office at Kew and the Pretoria archives. for instance.

Another and less satisfactory example is Robert Huttenback's Gandhi in South Africa,¹³ which revealed some of the riches of the South African archives and has been fruitful in that respect, but which is better described by its subtitle, "British Imperialism and the Indian Question, 1860-1914." I will say that in following up on documents cited or briefly quoted in this study, much important light has been shed on Gandhi's political action, but I found more useful than the book the microfilm rolls of the documents on which it was based, and I found more insight in the author's various articles on South Africa in the context of British Imperial history.

A third example, this time based on the documentary resources of the National Archives of India, is Iqbal Narain's The Politics of Racialism.¹⁴ which shows how much a diligent worker can learn of South African government policy by reading the Viceroy's files in Delhi.

The same limitation may be seen in the work of Pyarelal Nayar, who pioneered in the exploration of the early Gandhi and carried his story up to 1906 before his death in October 1982. Utilizing Gandhi's correspondence files, press clippings, communications with surviving companions, and increasingly public documents as he moved into the politically active phase, Pyarelal created a portrait full of detail on the public life of Gandhi. and on the background of persons and events. Much of this seemed far removed from Gandhi as a person. His first volume contained an 81-page

chapter on Tolstoy, while his last, and still unpublished, volume has four chapters on the struggles between Lord Milner in Africa and Lord Curzon in India over the supply of Indian labor; in this Gandhi hardly appears, though there is some striking evidence here of how seriously his writings were being taken at high levels even in 1904. Pyarelal was a Victorian in his theory of history. Like Rev. Doke, Gandhi's first biographer, he sought the key to history in character, and in his studies of South Africa was more interested in the personal qualities of Gandhi's antagonists, as revealed through their actions, than in other forms of analysis. Indeed, it may be said that Pyarelal was hardly interested in analyzing Gandhi at all. He identified with him and wanted to discover with whom and with what Gandhi had to contend. His work is still the fundamental secondary source for the study of the early Gandhi, though contemporary researchers will be asking quite different questions.

The reliance on official records and the emphasis on "the Asiatic question" in South Africa has had several unfortunate effects which need to be recognized if we are to have an adequate biography of the young Gandhi. The steady focus on governmental action has resulted not merely in the neglect of the Indian community but also in the distortion of its history by looking only at Gandhi as the chief actor. It is certainly true that he was the most prominent figure on the scene from 1894 until 1914, but he was not the only one. In addition to distorting the history of the community by observing only one actor, we have a reduced portrait of Gandhi, since we have no way of knowing the stature of the people among whom he moved and who were the chief participants in the struggle of which he was often the leader. It can be adequate to dismiss other Indian leaders simply as opponents of Gandhi who failed to recognize his wisdom, or as obstructionists who tried to thwart his high purposes out of selfish or ignoble aims. They should be allowed to tell

A second consequence of the emphasis on government is the neglect of non-governmental interest in Gandhi and the Indian situation among whites in South Africa and elsewhere. Gandhi was rare in having a large circle of white friends and allies, but the nature of these persons and groups, and of his relation to them, has barely been mentioned. The role of the church, the press, theosophists and vegetarians,¹⁵ social reformers of all sorts, need to be examined, and also the social location of his British allies.

A third neglected area is the social milieu of the South African communities among which Gandhi and the Indians found themselves, in which enormous changes were occurring, including the transformation from an agricultural frontier society to industrialism, social class formation, and most critically for the Indians the transformation of race relations from those appropriate to a rural society to those required by capitalist development, the patterns of which were being defined in the years of Gandhi's residence there. Policies toward Indians have too often been studied in isolation from what was called "the Native question", which was of far greater consequence to the society as a whole. It profoundly affected the way the Indians were treated, and defined the options which were open to Gandhi and the Indians.

I realize that the program suggested here for improving the quality of biographical studies in the South African period of Gandhi's life may be disappointing to some, as it seems to concentrate on external relations, and does not enter into the inner spirit of the man, or begin with his philosophy. To the extent that philosophy arises out of the material conditions of life I hold that this program will greatly increase our ability to understand the development of his philosophy and to judge the effectiveness of satyagraha in

its first trials. His philosophy must of course be studied primarily as an expression of the Indian tradition, but his program for the revivification of that tradition cannot be understood except through a thorough examination of his experience in the West, of which the most important part was in South Africa.

With respect to this agenda, a principal purpose of this paper is to report on a most hopeful new development in the study of Gandhi's life and role in South Africa, namely, the emergence of Indian South African scholars. Through them this community has become more articulate in telling its own story, and is reflecting a new valuation of its own heritage. These scholars, it will be apparent to all, are not only in a position to utilize local resources to an extent never before realized, but also to interpret these findings with a far greater recognition of the nature of the Indian community and the relationships and struggles within it.

Amongst this group, perhaps the pioneer was Pranshankar S. Joshi, not an academic but an activist who played a prominent role in Indian affairs since his arrival on South Africa in 1920; his books include The Tyranny of Colour (1942), The Struggle for Equality (1951), and most recently Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa (1980).¹⁶ His are the works of a dedicated advocate who is a talented journalist.

Among the academic scholars, the dean of them all must be Dr. Fatima Meer of the University of Natal, who has not only produced a number of important sociological studies of the Indian community, but has suffered imprisonment and a banning order for her work with the Institute for Black Research and other forms of political activism.¹⁷ Her volume A Portrait of Indian South Africans contained not only description, economic and sociological analysis, and cultural information, but important historical sections as well. A member of

a prominent Muslim family. Dr. Meer has criticized the neglect of those Indians who found Gandhi's program incorrect in some regards. In an interview in 1977, she told me that other Indian leaders had been neglected by scholars, for example the labor leader Albert Christopher, who was responsible for the important strike of Durban municipal workers in 1913, which helped create the crisis leading to the Indians Relief Act of 1914. She was of the view that Gandhi took only an incidental interest in working class Indians. Though he would help individuals in distress he did not raise issues that accentuated their economic interests. Dr. Meer sees Gandhi as essentially conservative, in the sense that he avoided revolutionary confrontation, preferring the method of satyagraha in which one stays close to persons in power in order to effect a change of heart. Its purpose she understood to be to awaken a sense of responsibility among the powerful, who would act as trustees for the poor. In the end, Gandhi accomplished nothing for South African Indians either politically or economically, which is not, she emphasized, to deny that he had a massive effect. In the face of injustice, he insisted that something should be done, offering a model not of acceptance but of action in the face of oppression, thus generating a new sense of power and dignity. Her own respect and admiration for Gandhi is evident in a short biography for young people, Apprenticeship of a Mahatma, published in 1970 by the Phoenix Settlement Trust.

18

Of the academic historians, the most prominent is Dr. Bridglal Pachai, now of Dalhousie University. His master's thesis, "The History of 'Indian Opinion', 1903-1914",¹⁹ was one of the first carefully documented monographic studies of any aspect of the early career of Gandhi. Then he published The International Aspects of the South African Indian Question, 1860-1971,²⁰ before moving to Malawi and devoting his efforts to the history of that country. Returning to South African questions as he moved to Canada, he

edited an excellent survey volume, South Africa's Indians: The Evolution of a Minority,²¹ examining contemporary political, economic and cultural issues with the help of 14 South African scholars, both Indian and white.

The work of Dr. Bala Pillay, who is also now in Canada, has already been cited. Mention should also be made of Essop Pahad's Sussex dissertation on the post-Gandhi era, "The Development of Indian Political Movements in South Africa, 1924-1946."²²

In 1974, Frene Ginwala, a South African Indian with training in the law and a career in journalism, completed a D. Phil. thesis at Oxford. "Class, Consciousness and Control -- Indian South Africans. 1860-1946". A member of the African National Congress and an exile, she was not able to return to the country for research and therefore worked in London and in the National Archives of India, aided to some extent by friends in South Africa. The subject of her thesis was not Gandhi but the Indian population. Using Marxist categories of analysis she raised important new questions concerning Gandhi's role, and his relation to economic classes. By this means she is able to shed new light on familiar incidents, such as the Durban demonstration against Indian immigration in 1897, in which Gandhi was nearly killed. The usual presentation of the event as white opposition to Indian traders and to the return of Gandhi confuses the occasion with the cause, she maintained, pointing out that most of the demonstrators were clearly of the white working class who were being threatened by the recent practice of substituting cheap Indian indentured labor in semi-skilled jobs hitherto performed by whites.

Dr. Ginwala distinguished several interest groups in the Indian

population: the indentured laborers, the large traders who were established before the beginning of discriminatory legislation, whom she called the "bourgeoisie", and the mainly non-trading free Indians, mostly former indentureds, the "petty-bourgeois". Gandhi was largely associated with the bourgeoisie. The Natal Indian Congress which he created required the huge membership fee of at least £3 and conducted its proceedings in Gujarati, the language of the merchants and of Gandhi. However in her analysis of the first passive resistance campaign of 1906-1908, Ginwala shows that there occurred significant withdrawal by the bourgeois and an increasing participation by hawkers of the petty-bourgeois class. In later phases, new issues of substance to the merchants, such as the restrictions of trade under the Gold Law, were not taken up by Gandhi. In Natal, the petty-bourgeois began to develop new organizations to represent their interests, including the Colonial-Born Indian Association, the Natal Patriotic Union, and a rival newspaper, "The African Chronicle".

Divergent class interests were evident in the final satyagraha effort in 1913. The decision to resume passive resistance was taken in the Transvaal, and it was to be on the question of immigration rights, a matter of concern to both sections of the bourgeoisie. The Natal £3 tax was not an issue. When Gandhi later decided to involve indentured laborers in his struggle, the leadership of the Natal Indian Congress opposed the plan. Gandhi and his friends then bolted and formed the Natal Indian Association, with many petty-bourgeois members who shared with the indentured laborers the burden of the annual tax. Gandhi, she then avers, was caught by surprise by the mass response of the workers to the tax issue, which had symbolized perpetual indenture for them.

Dr. Ginwala felt that what needed explanation was not the extent of

Gandhi's manifestation of his position with the bourgeois class. but his transition from it. Since her subject was the class struggle within the community she did not attempt an answer to this question, but her thesis broke new ground for the analysis of Gandhi's role by putting the focus for the first time on the Indian community itself, and by identifying those segments which were allied to Gandhi. those which left him. those who were later in his camp, and those which were largely untouched. For the first time a political analysis of his work became possible.

23

Much of the thrust of this line of study which takes seriously the South African Indian community. has been drawn together and powerfully synthesized by Maureen J. Tayal in her D. Phil. thesis, "Gandhi: the South African Experience", submitted to St. Antony's College, Oxford in 1980, a study which will, I believe, form the foundation not only of future political analysis of this period of Gandhi's life, but also analysis of the development of his ethical philosophy.

Working with South African archives, Dr. Tayal made good use of several previously unused or poorly used primary sources. including the files of the Protector of Immigrants for Natal. the Colonial Secretary of Natal. the logs of ships calling at Durban. the files of the Union Departments of Justice and Defense. and the "African Chronicle", among others. She used these to explore and to understand the divisions within the Indian community and to identify groups left outside of Indian politics. Centering on Gandhi, she examined the roles he played in this context and gave critical attention to the passive resistance campaign -- its various phases and transformations. the participants. the extent of its success or failure and the reasons for these.

Like Ginwala, Tayal sought to identify the Indian political community in Natal and the Transvaal. ²⁴ which she divided into the "Old Elite" and the "New Elite". She provided names and descriptions of representative members of both elites, their institutions, and their political interests in both colonies. She has some particularly interesting material on the political activity of the elites before the advent of Gandhi. In Natal much of the leadership was given by Gandhi's employer, Dada Abdulla, who was hampered by the lack of time a businessman could give to community defense work, as well as by the need for legal counsel. What better agent could there be for carrying on this work than a young Indian lawyer eager to establish himself in practice, and who was fluent both in English and Gujarati? Tayal found Gandhi's account of his entry into Natal politics "highly romanticized", and holds that he was retained not to lead the merchants but to be their representative to continue political activity which they had already begun, and she shows how the Natal Indian Congress and later "Indian Opinion" served their ends, and provides an interesting analysis of the organization and methods of the Congress.

In 1901 Gandhi left South Africa and returned home. Little information exists on the reasons for this decision. Tayal suggests that after some initial activity, Natal Indian politics stagnated, and Gandhi went in search of a new political arena which would offer him opportunities that were lacking in Africa. However, he failed to turn his South African experience into a vehicle for entering Indian political life, and therefore welcomed the call to return, at which time he established himself in Johannesburg. There he built a new political vehicle, the British Indian Association, to serve the commercial elite, and conducted a successful practice the chief activity of which centered on the permits and licenses required for trade. Tayal considers his political activity for the first three or four years

ineffective, and his analysis of the reasons for this incorrect. He believed, she says, that the cause of political weakness was moral inability to work for the welfare of the wider community. It was for this reason that he welcomed the vow of non-registration taken at the Empire Theater.

As passive resistance began, Gandhi was "a politician of the elite groping inexpertly for the means to become the leader of a mass movement." (p. 1) she said, and observed how in the learning process involved in overcoming the weaknesses in the movement one can find the dynamics which changed him from a hired representative to a leader with a constituency, and at the same time clarified his moral doctrines. As he did so, his constituency shrank, and he became increasingly inactive in public affairs, but after 1912 he developed a new strategy for a successful culmination of the passive resistance struggle, which was necessary if he was to realize his personal goal of entry into Indian political life at home. He devised new goals which appealed to the Old Elite, the New Elite and the "masses", but which stopped short of demanding what the Government had long refused to concede. By so doing, Tayal says, he "finally made both the moral and political adjustments which were necessary to assure the success of passive resistance." (p. 5)

Among her findings, Tayal relates that "Gandhi's contribution to South African Indian politics has been highly over-rated," (p. 6). re phrase that the title of "leader" is inappropriate for him before 1906, and must be highly qualified for the period following, and that his primary commitment was to moral autonomy rather than to community goals. One need not agree with all of Dr. Tayal's observations or conclusions to recognize that here is a strong new voice in Gandhian studies, full of new

insights and provocative conclusions. It is beautifully researched and well argued, and raises a host of questions that are long overdue. It should presage a new era in the study of Gandhi in South Africa. I hope it will find its publisher soon. Meanwhile the author is proceeding with a study of South African Indian politics after the Gandhi era.

The interest of Indian South Africans in exploring and defining their own history shows no signs of abating. At the University of Durban-Westville, despite the exclusion of Indian history from the curriculum, two Indian lecturers in History have taken an active role. Dr. Surendra Bhana, who was trained in the United States, with a thesis on another colonial subject, Puerto Rico, has recently given attention to Indian subjects, including the history of Tolstoy Farm, the origins of "Indian Opinion", and together with a colleague has recently published a survey of the historiography of passive resistance among Indian South Africans, to which this paper is greatly indebted.²⁵ The colleague, Miss Uma Duphelia, a descendent of Gandhi, is writing a thesis on the representatives of the government of India in South Africa in the post-Gandhi era. An attorney in Durban, Mr. Hassim Seedat as an amateur historian published a long series in the local Indian newspaper on community history, and has recently turned to more academic history. In a thesis in progress for Rhodes University, he is examining an idea broached by Drs. Meer and Tayal, among others, that Gandhi, after initiating passive resistance /^{with} the merchant community, increasingly turned away from such politics and withdrew into a private spiritual search.

Researchers such as these have begun to explore previously neglected archives to which they have comparatively easy access and unique capabilities for their interpretation. The Natal records in Pietermaritzburg and the

local records in Durban have hardly been touched. Recently they have uncovered court records which show Gandhi appearing in case after case on behalf of Indian clients, offering the possibility of a whole new picture of his legal work. Old Natal police records, including informers' reports on the meetings of the Natal Indian Congress and other bodies can, when used with due respect for the conditions of their creation, provide a world of new information on the workings of these organizations. This would help to fill a gap created in part by the seizure of organizational records by the state security agencies of the Republic. Another archival source which can help ^{us} understand the composition of the Indian community is the elaborate shipping records, which in the case of the indentured laborers contains demographic information which can be subject to computer study.

The University of Durban-Westville, in spite of conditions created by segregation, has initiated its own contribution to community history by estab^blishing a Documentation Centre for South African Indian history, with Dr. C. G. Henning as Director and Mr. B. Naidoo as Deputy Director. The Centre, in addition to collecting materials for social and cultural history, is microfilming all the early Indian newspapers which, as I discovered to my horror in 1977, seem to exist only in unique copies at the Natal Archives. The "Colonial Indian News" (1901-1903) and "Indian Views" (1914-1944) have already been microfilmed, and "African Chronicle" (beginning 1908) will follow. Another project for which I had long hoped is the translation into English of the Gujarati articles in "Indian Opinion", which is now complete for the first three years of publication.

We may hope that one result of all this will be a richer portrait of the indentured laborers and their descendents, who form the vast majority of the population. Although the subject of Gandhi's concern and his efforts in individual cases, he did not take up their economic interests until the final phase. The studies of Tayal and Ginwala show that it was the emergence of a new elite of the children of previously indentured parents which was essential for effecting this new alliance. Despite the beginnings which have been made by Hugh Tinker in exploring the system of indenture (and Gandhi's role in bringing it to an end).²⁷ and Tayal's study of the causes of their political inertia.²⁸ much needs to be done in understanding this community and exploring Gandhi's relations with it.²⁹ Incidentally, one benefit which may perhaps come as members of the community explore their own history is the restoration of their true names. Many significant participants are now known to the world only by the simplified or anglicized names used in Gandhi's autobiographies.

The satyagraha struggle created and orchestrated by Gandhi was a wonderfully complex event which generated effects not only on the local scene but in the capital cities of Pretoria, London, and Calcutta, with occasional peaks of mass action and long sustained periods of low-level activity in which he concentrated on the development of his communal centers: Phoenix and Tolstoy Farm. It is through the study of this complex event that I believe we have our best route into the construction of a full critical biography of the young Gandhi. A mere psychological study would be completely inadequate, to say nothing of its impossibility without a study of his environment and his political action. With the increasing fullness and subtlety in studies of the Indian community we are in the midst of what may be compared to a paradigm shift in our understanding of the origins of satyagraha. At the same time, despite the existing studies of Gandhi's struggle with the government, and

indeed as a consequence of the concentration on such relations, priority should be given to certain other aspects of the South African scene, specifically Gandhi's white friends and supporters, and the relationship between the Indian struggle and the black struggle. To these two topics I will devote the remainder of this paper.

It has been long recognized that Christians were very important in Gandhi's religious formation, but hardly any attention has been given to the fact that Christianity has many variants, and Gandhi came into close relations with certain kinds of Christians and not with others.³⁰ In South Africa he had the closest personal relations with certain Protestant evangelicals, and these were of two different sorts. Best known of these encounters is his friendship with members of the South Africa General Mission, a faith group strongly influenced by the Keswick movement in England. He met them in his first days in Pretoria, and maintained close relationships with missionaries of this group for more than a decade. A recent dissertation by James Kallam has for the first time examined the history of this Mission and the personalities of some of its leading figures.³¹ Dr. Margaret Chatterjee in her recent book, Gandhi's Religious Thought, has recognized the influence of Nonconformist formulations in Gandhi's religious^o expressions, including the concept of guidance by the holy spirit, in which is a call for action, a vehicle of insight, and a source of strength, as well as the lingering influence of such evangelical terminology as the God/Satan dichotomy, and his love of certain hymns.³² This deserves further study, but there is another experience with evangelical Christianity which has been overlooked, and it occurred at the crucial moment of his first ventures in civil disobedience. A group of reform-minded, politically active, Nonconformist clergy in Johannesburg openly sided with Gandhi and the Indian cause over a period of years. They included the Baptist pastor Joseph Doke, who made his home a hospital for the injured

Gandhi, and wrote his first biography. and there were others. They brought to Gandhi a model of the religious leader as a social reformer and a certain amount of experience not only in civic reform but in passive resistance also. They brought their knowledge of the English passive resistance movement against the 1902 Education Act conducted by the evangelical churches. chiefly Baptist. Congregational and Primitive Methodist. This campaign, which reached the height of its effort in 1905, saw / ^{several thousand} clergy, lay leaders, and municipal officials suffering distraint of goods or imprisonment for tax refusal. Evangelical Christianity contributed not only to Gandhi's personal piety but also to his vision of a socially transforming religion. ³³ *Balanced view*

With respect to the sources of contemporary experience in passive resistance, attention should also be given to Gandhi's study of the campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union, commonly called the "suffragettes". which originally was nonviolent and saw prison as a badge of honor. Gandhi was in London to observe their actions, and interviewed Mrs Pankhurst and other leaders. ³⁴

Another topic in the origins of satyagraha which deserves exploration is the membership and program of Gandhi's rural communities, Phoenix and Tolstoy Farm. R. M. Thompson, an Australian, has completed for Bombay University a thesis on Gandhi's ashrams, working largely from Indian sources, but little else of a serious nature has been done. ³⁵ Dr. Surendra Bhana has published a paper on

Tolstoy Farm, incorporating interviews with aged former students of Gandhi's school, and the rebuilt farm house is now being preserved by an Indian trust. ³⁶ Phoenix is still a living settlement, and now finds itself in the midst of a vast new Phoenix Indian Township being constructed by the Durban corporation. Much needs to be done in plotting out the evolution of Gandhi's ideas of an ashram, and the changing purposes and economic structure of these pioneer communities, including the examination of other communities which may have played a role as models for them, including the Tolstoyan colonies and "simple life"

movement in England, to which Gandhi and the Phoenixites paid much attention in the early years of the experiment. The letters and memoirs of those who took part in these experiments have not yet been seriously examined for the insight they can give us into the nature of life in these communities. Albert West, the printer, wrote a short memoir, and Millie Polak's book has already been mentioned in another connection. Prabhudas Gandhi, a nephew who was a child at Phoenix, has written a most valuable memoir in Gujarati which is available in English only in abridged form.³⁷ A large number of letters from Gandhi to Herman Kallenbach, who was for some years Gandhi's housemate and closest companion were sold at auction in December 1972 to an unknown buyer, and why has nobody done a study of the career of Henry Polak, who stayed active in Indian affairs longer than any of the original companions (though not always in complete harmony with Gandhi)? I mention these only to suggest that if Gandhi studies in some areas have not developed, it is by no means because of the lack of available material.

Another promising subject should be Gandhi's career as a lawyer, from which he withdrew in 1911 and later abandoned. T. K. Mahadevan has recently shed light on the first law case, the one which drew Gandhi to South Africa. Though his research needs to be put in context and read cautiously due to his dubious use of what he calls "processed" quotations, he shows that the fire of ambition was burning in the young Gandhi from the moment of his arrival in Africa, and that he carefully prepared not to return home but to establish himself there.³⁸ The autobiography is less than candid on this point. Mahadevan did not have available the perspective of Tayal, which would show that as Gandhi strove to remain the merchants strove to keep him, not as their leader but as the most effective agent for continuing the political protests they had already begun. The rich Natal court records of Gandhi's cases, together with others which could without doubt be found in the Transvaal, should provide the basis for a

new account of his legal career.

I have become increasingly aware of the power and effectiveness of his legal work in the period immediately before the publication of the registration bill of 1906, which he called the "Black Ordinance" and made the occasion of his first mass civil disobedience. In a series of appeals to the higher courts, some in deliberately initiated test cases, Gandhi had been able to secure the overturning of important sections of the anti-Indian ordinances. and to expose the weakness of race and class legislation when brought to the light of British justice. As late as the spring of 1906, he announced his intention to initiate test cases on five more points of law. I have often wondered what it was about the registration act which made it the "black act", when on its face it appears to be similar to many other anti-Indian actions. There are, I found, some important differences, but in addition one factor which led Gandhi to civil disobedience at this point must have been the consistent manner in which the integrity of the courts, which he could use so well, was subverted by government subterfuge or new actions of a blatantly racist nature so as to void the hard-won victory. The exploration of Gandhi's legal success and its nullification will yield a new understanding of his turn to extra-legal protest.

It is the larger matter of the relation of "the Indian question" to formation of modern South African society which is my final subject. The economic and social history of the early twentieth century is ^afield whose contemporary vigor promises significant impetus for the study of South African Indian history and for comprehending the milieu in which Gandhi operated. For instance, Charles van Onselen's two volumes of Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914 provide a richly textured account of the working class sections of Johannesburg among which the Indians dwelt. ³⁹ Though he pays no attention to the Asiatics in these

volumes, he suggests the need for a study of what he calls the inter-racial "slum yards" of the western side of the city, which I hope will be forthcoming. Meanwhile he has provided glimpses of the social engineering of the Milner administration which, on principles not unlike those of the Fabian socialists, transformed the town from a rough mining camp to a modern industrial city.⁴⁰ The plan called for breaking up the old center-city working class districts, among which was the Indian location. Gandhi reports its destruction in 1904 as a result of the outbreak of plague. For him and the Indians the disease seemed only the excuse to implement a consistent anti-Indian policy, which is no doubt true, but van Onselen makes it possible to see the move as an aspect of a different plan also, and it will be possible to show, I believe, that Gandhi did not object to this plan in principle; only that it was being worked consistently and unnecessarily to place the Indians at the maximum disadvantage. Such studies as this and others that may follow under the leadership of van Onselen and Brenda Bozzonelli of the University of Witwatersrand, may in addition provide a more complete picture of the social location of the anti-Indian groups in Transvaal society which continually forced the government into taking more extreme discriminatory measures.⁴¹

The major social transformation in South Africa in Gandhi's time was the creation of the modern system of racial segregation which, as John Cell has recently shown, was fundamentally different from the racial patterns in the agricultural society of the old Transvaal.⁴² Its creation was, not by chance, simultaneous with the passage of "Jim Crow" legislation in the American south. As this process is examined, attention should be given to the question of the relation of evolving Indian policy to evolving Native policy. The Indians, Gandhi included, tried continually to get themselves excluded from classification with the blacks in such matters as housing, trade rights, transportation, prison accommodations and the carrying of passes, among other matters. while at

the same time disclaiming any demand for full white privileges. In this way Gandhi, along with many liberal-minded social reformers of his day, accepted and promoted aspects of the segregation doctrine, in so far as he called for a social status for Indians that was different from that of the whites and the blacks. Not surprisingly he has been termed racist in this respect, and criticized for his failure to take up a common cause with other non-white elements against racism. Maureen Tayal's thesis makes this point strongly. She also suggests that Gandhi's Phoenix settlement owed an unacknowledged debt to the inspiration of John L. Dube, the founder of the African National Congress, whose school and newspaper press were located only a few miles from the settlement. No one has seriously examined Gandhi's relations with urbanized and educated Blacks, and with the leaders of the Coloured community. To see if an effective alliance among such groups were possible, and for what purposes, we would need to know more about the history of the times as seen from the black perspective. Gandhi himself argued, of course, that satyagraha would provide a means by which any group might free itself, and there were many blacks and whites who, some with hope and some with fear, thought this might be true. Of all the questions concerning Gandhi, the relation between Blacks and Indians has the greatest importance for the future of Indian South Africans.

What may emerge from these new studies will be a new portrait of Gandhi and a new assessment of his role. He will be shown not always to have led, but often to have responded to the initiatives of others, and other Indian leaders and other views of the development of the Indian community will be seen as contending with his, and not always wrongly. He will be shown as failing to effect an alleviation of the chronic disabilities of nonwhites in the South African situation, despite certain successes. None of this, I believe, can possibly diminish Gandhi. His place in the story is assured, though our

understanding of it may have to be modified. In this connection I am reminded of I. Bernard Cohen's remarks on Galileo's place in the history of science. Cohen wrote that Galileo's originality was in fact different from what Galileo had proclaimed. No longer need we believe that there had been no progress in understanding motion since Aristotle. Recent investigations have uncovered a tradition of criticism of Aristotle which paved the way for him, and Cohen concluded, "By making precise exactly what Galileo owed to his predecessors, we may delineate more accurately his own heroic proportions. In this way, furthermore, we may make the life story of Galileo more real, because we are aware that in the advance of the sciences each man builds on the work of his predecessors."

Shaw University
Raleigh, North Carolina 27611

February 15, 1984

Prepared for presentation to the Colloquium on "Mahatma Gandhi and His Significance for Today", The Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, California; March 1-2, 1984

GANDHI IN SOUTH AFRICA

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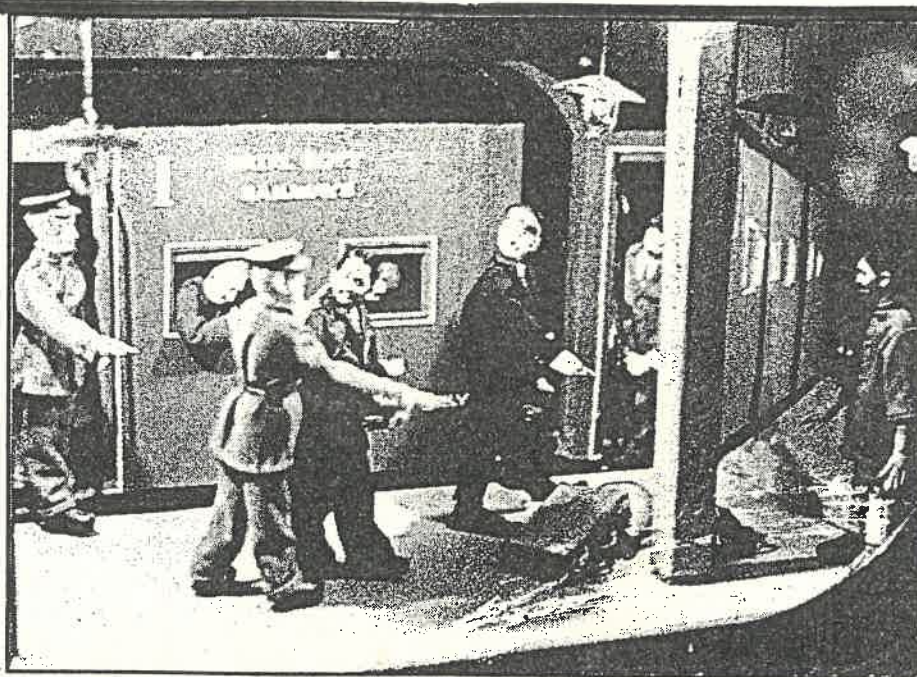
1893 -

1914

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI,

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.



A recreation of Mahatma Gandhi being evicted from the train at the Pietermaritzburg station on June 7, 1893. This model is in the Gandhi museum in Bombay

UKZN Special Collections Gandhi-Luthuli
Documentation Centre
Accession No. Doc 138/60
BRN
Class No

Natal Indian Congress

1894 -

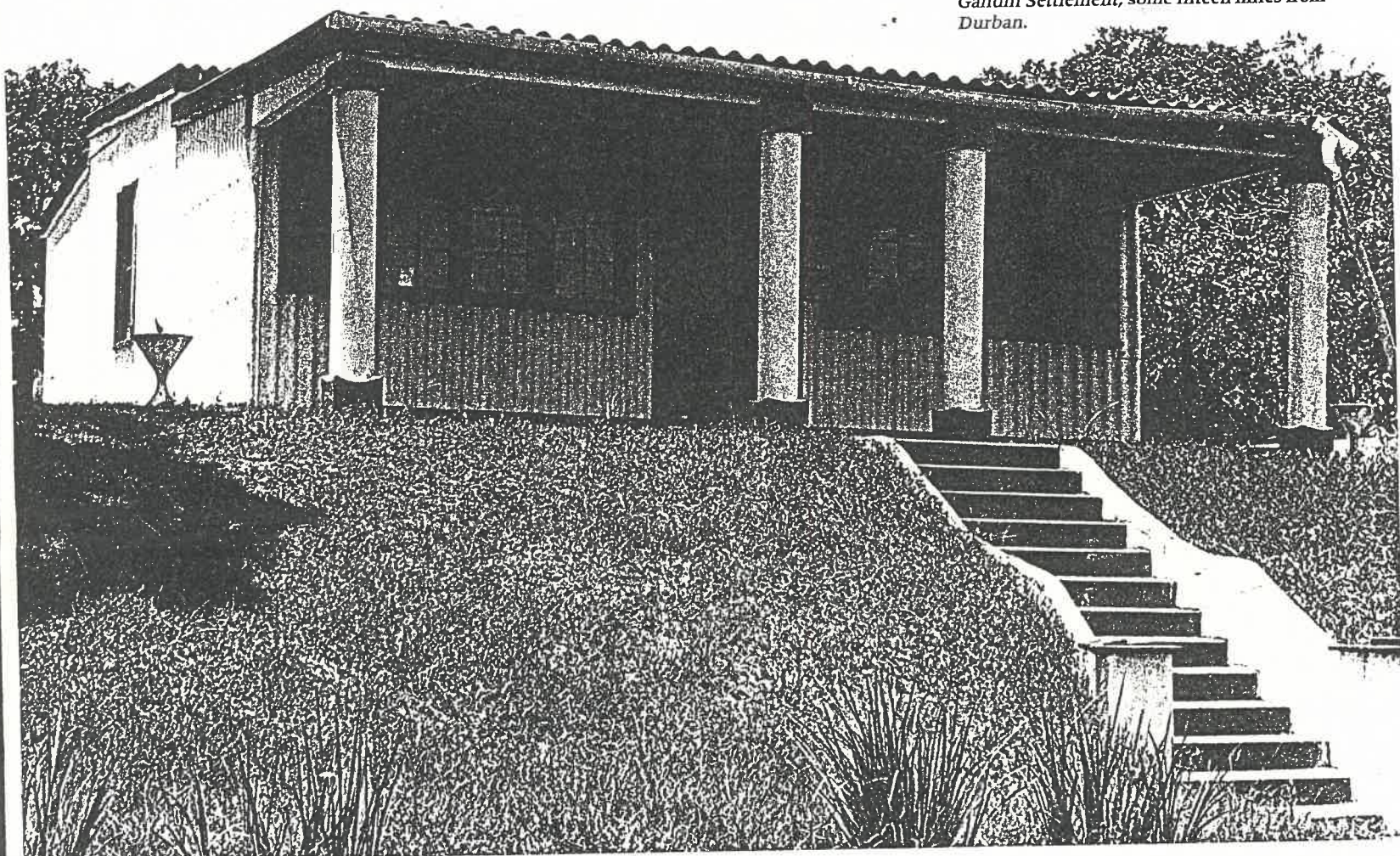
A BILL introduced in 1894 sought to DISENFRANCHISE Indians in NATAL. GANDHI organised a protest meeting whereby a PETITION of 1000 signatures was obtained & forwarded to the COLONIAL SECRETARY. The Ad Hoc Committee formed at the meeting was constituted into the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS.
- Its aim, to strive for DEMOCRACY and EQUALITY for local INDIANS.

Founders of the Natal Indian Congress.



PHOENIX SETTLEMENT

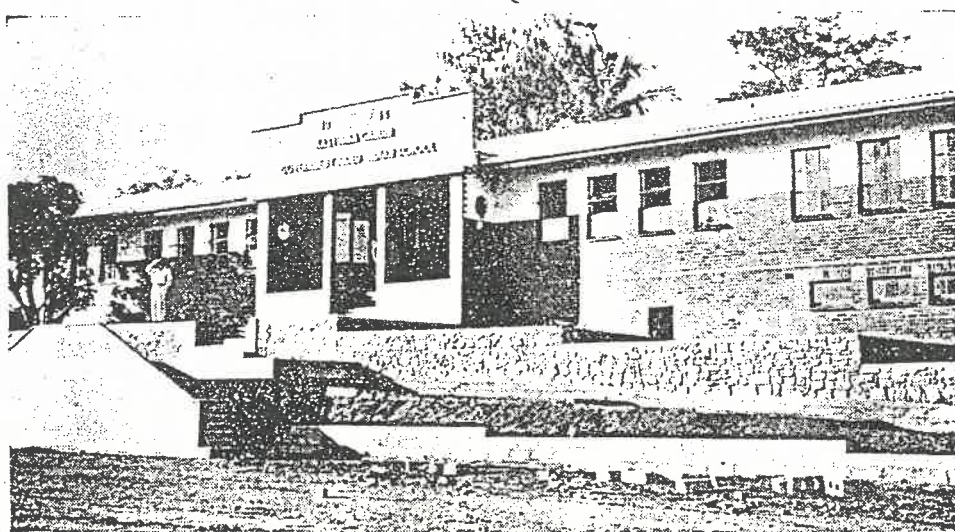
The original home of Mahatma Gandhi is still maintained as a memorial at the Phoenix Gandhi Settlement, some fifteen miles from Durban.



The PHOENIX Settlement was founded in 1903, when the INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESS which printed the OPINION was moved to Phoenix. The farm was founded on the ideal of all workers receiving equal wage. The needs of the PRESS were attended to during spare time. GANDHI spent much of his time here.

Kasturba Gandhi Government-Aided Indian School

Built from generous donations given by the Transvaal Indians and a grant kindly given by the Natal Provincial Government.



INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
- IN 1903 -

THE
INDIAN OPINION.

ENGLISH. GUJARATI. PUBLISHED IN. TAMIL. HINDI.
(12 Pages with Supplement). Durban, June 8th, 1903. No. 1.

જાન્યારી ૨૦૧૦
જાન્યારી ૨૦૧૦
જાન્યારી ૨૦૧૦

LOOK OUT

FOR

NEXT WEEK'S

INDIAN - - -
OPINION

WANTED.
GOOD MACHINE BOY.
GOOD WAGES
for suitable person.
Apply to
PROPRIETOR "INDIAN
Opinion."

WANTED.
VERY COMPETENT
MAN.
WHO CAN READ AND WRITE
HINDI THOROUGHLY.
MUST HAVE A GOOD KNOWLEDGE
OF ENGLISH.

જાન્યારી ૨૦૧૦

Founder and First Editor of
'Indian Opinion.'



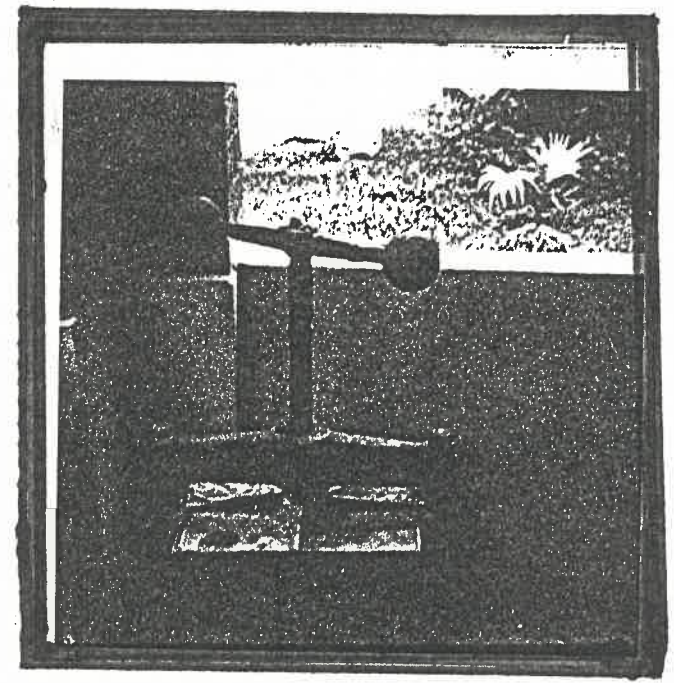
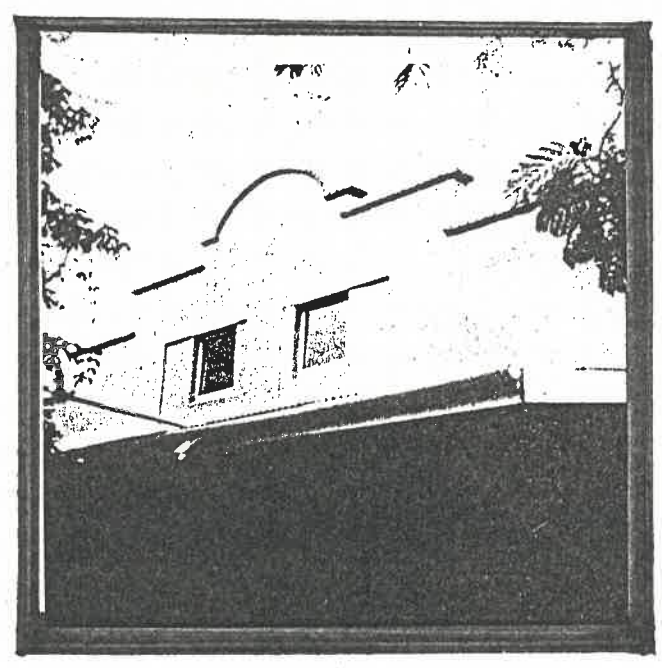
The Late Mr. V. Madanjit
Founder of the International Printing
Press and 'INDIAN OPINION' in
Durban in 1903



The Late Mr. M. H. Nazar
The first editor of 'INDIAN
OPINION' in 1903 who continued
editing till his death in 1906.



Mr. H. S. L. Polak
Editor of Indian Opinion, the organ of Passive Resistance. Went as
delegate to India in 1909 and 1911, and England on public work in 1911
and 1913. Served a term of imprisonment as a Passive Resister.



TOLSTOY FARM

Gandhi - Tolstoy - Lawley Farm near Lenasia, Jhb. - Tvl.

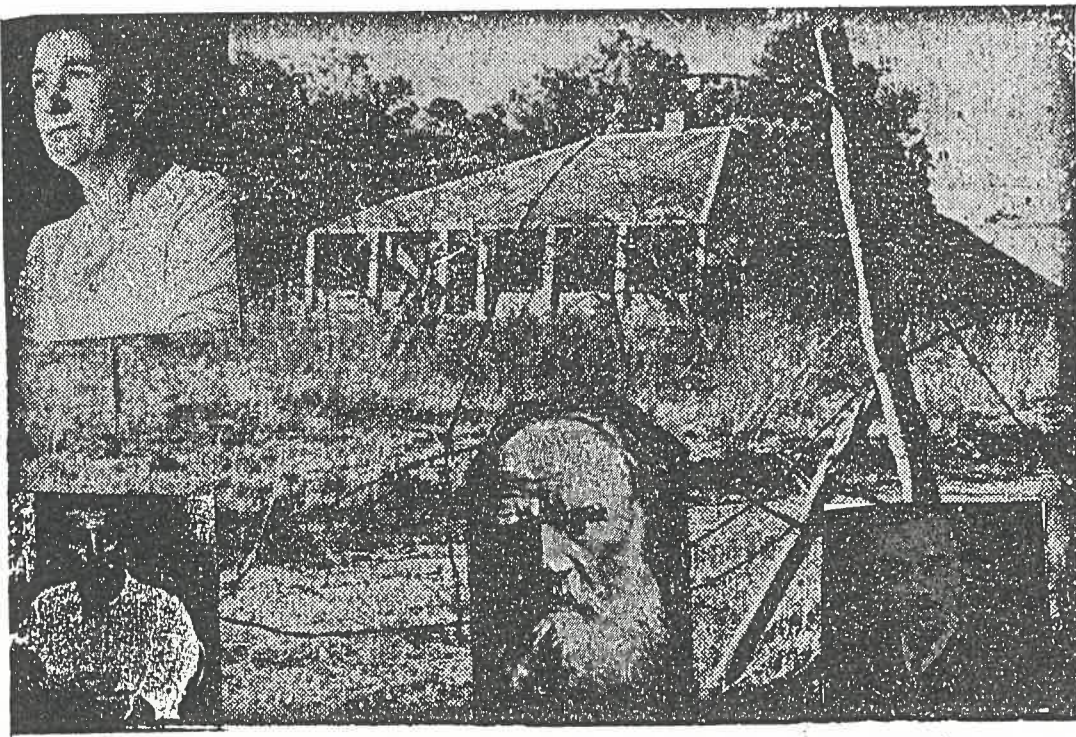
In one of the cottages in photo, is now (1969) occupied by Mrs. Ella de Bruyn (top inset) with 9 children.

"Every noble hearted person will welcome the idea of building a shrine to perpetuate the memory of the devoted people who sacrificed their lives for the righteous cause"

Mrs. Ella de Bruyn

Inset bottom from left

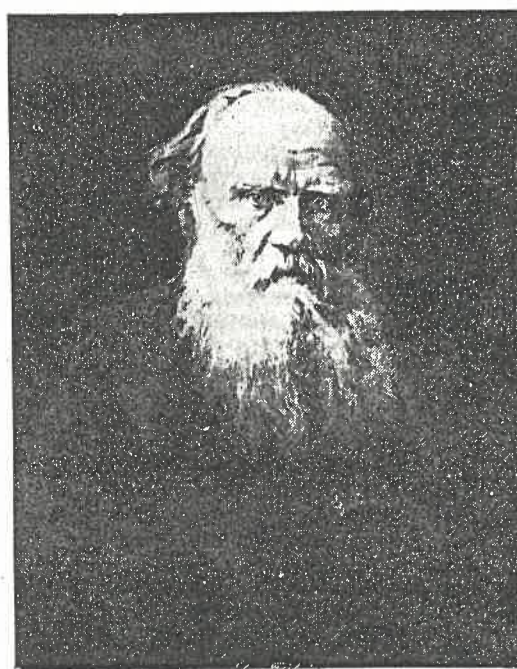
1. Mr. Kallenbach who who donated the farm
2. Count Tolstoy the great Russian Passive resister.
3. Mahatma Gandhi right the leader of the Sathya-graha Movement in S.A.



Gandhiji with the pioneer settlers in Tolstoy



Mr. H. Kallenbach
the owner of Tolstoy Farm, helper of Indians in distress, joint organiser of the Strikers' Camp at Charlestown, who suffered imprisonment as a Passive Resister for conscience' sake



The late Count L. N. Tolstoy, the great Russian Passive Resister who was one of the foremost sources of inspiration of the struggle and who addressed a letter thereon to Mr. Gandhi.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

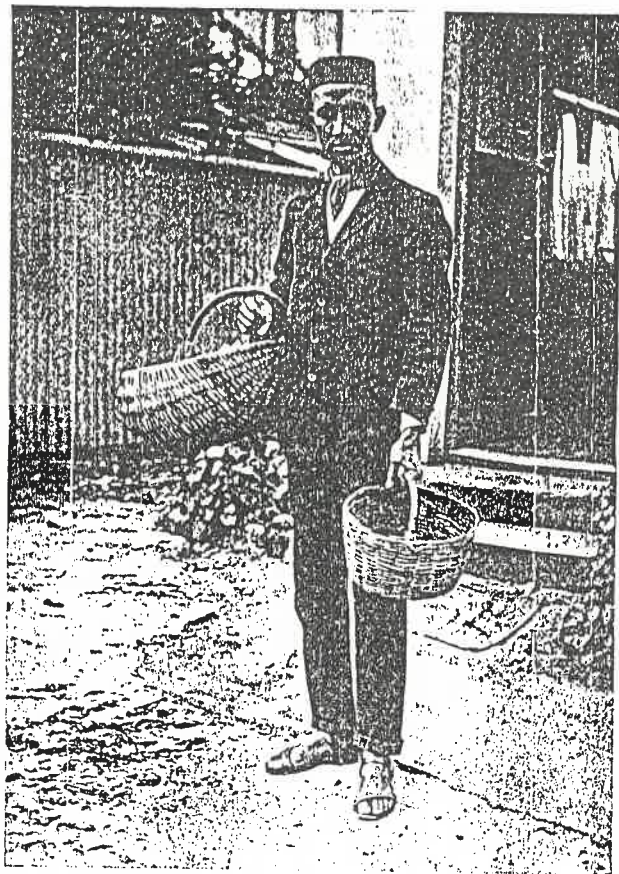
Many resisters were hawkers and traders. They courted imprisonment, others were deported or fined.

16 AUGUST 1908
INFURIATED INDIANS DESTROY ABOUT 1800
CERTIFICATES IN A LARGE THREE LEGGED POT IN
JOHANNESBURG.

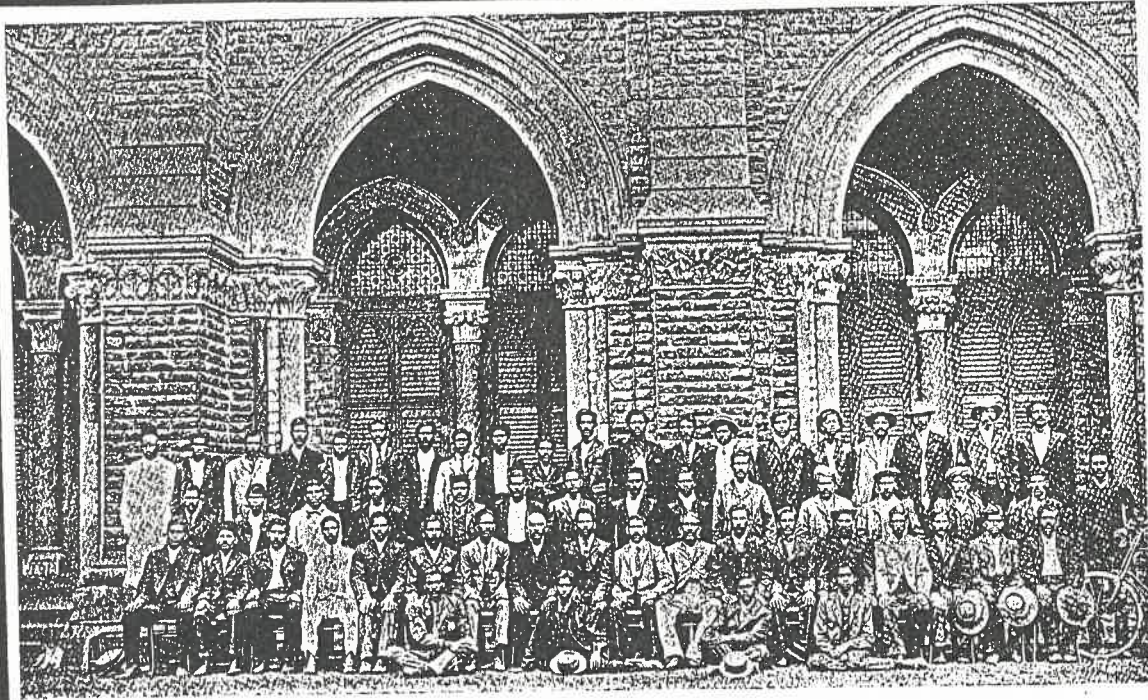


OBJECTION TO :
ASIATIC VOLUNTARY REGISTRATION VALIDATION BILL (ACT 36/1908)

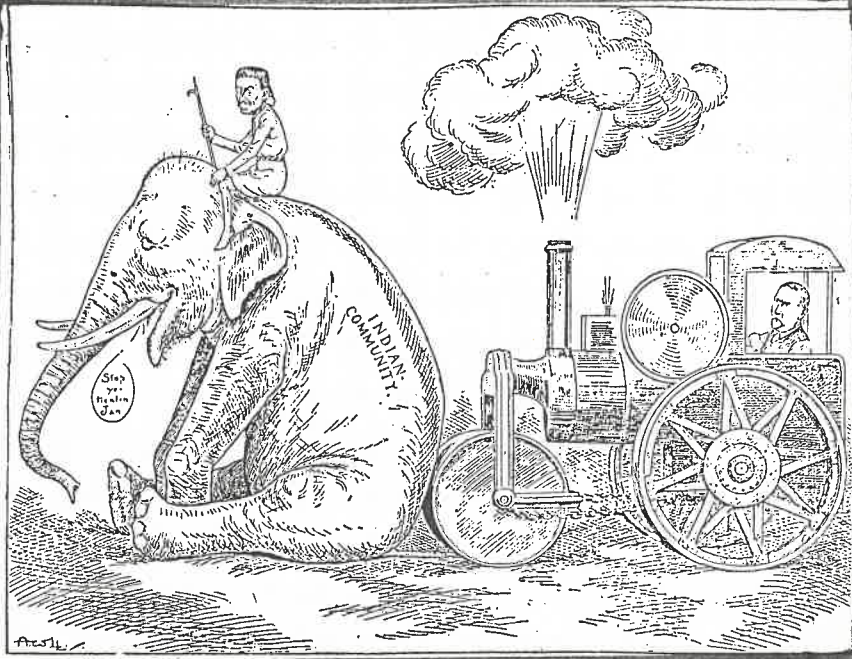
A BARRISTER-HAWKER



Mr. Joseph Royeppen as he appeared when arrested
under the Asiatic Act.



The 60 Indians deported to India by the Transvaal Government



TOUGH NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN
SMUTS & GANDHI

PASSIVE RESISTERS



Widow and Sons of Selvan, a free labourer, shot dead during the strike. The eldest son, Antonimuthu, received three bullet wounds.



The late Naryasamy who was deported to India as a Passive Resister and who died at Delagoa Bay after being hunted from Port to Port in South Africa by the Union Government



The late Miss Valiamina Moodaly who died after serving a term of imprisonment as a Passive Resister

DIED FOR A CAUSE. . .



The late S. Nagappen who died after release from the Johannesburg Prison Road-Camp as a Passive Resister.



The late Soorai, with his wife and child. Soorai was one of the Strike victims.



Widow and Orphan of Pachappan, an Indian Striker on the Coast, shot dead during the strike



The late Harbatsingh a Hindustani stalwart who died in Durban goal

SOME BRAVE WOMEN PASSIVE RESISTERS



ACHIEVEMENTS :

- 3 POUND TAX Abolished
- INDIAN MARRIAGES Legalised
- RESISTERS Pardoned

DEPARTURE

9



Photo by]

Mr. Gandhi addressing farewell mass meeting at Durban.

B Gabriel



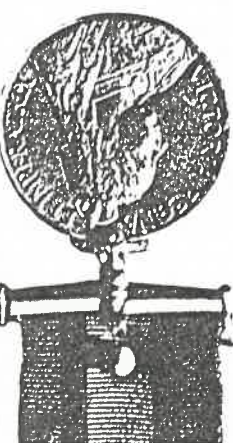
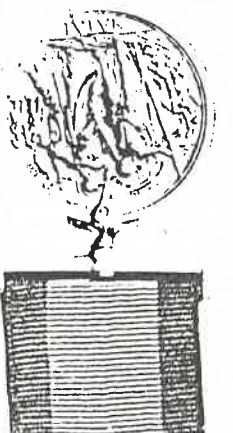
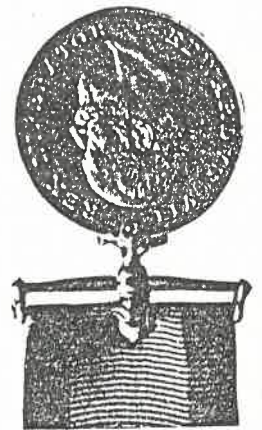
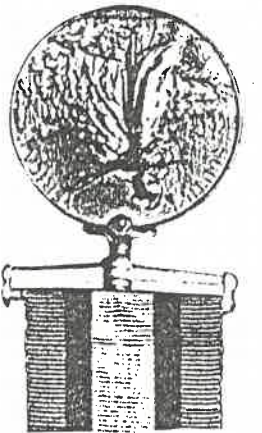
During the Boer War and the Zulu Rebellion

(Above) With the Indian Ambulance Corps during the Boer War, 1899

(Below) With the Indian Stretcher-bearer Corps during the Zulu Rebellion, 1906

(Left) In the uniform of a group-leader of the Stretcher-bearer Corps

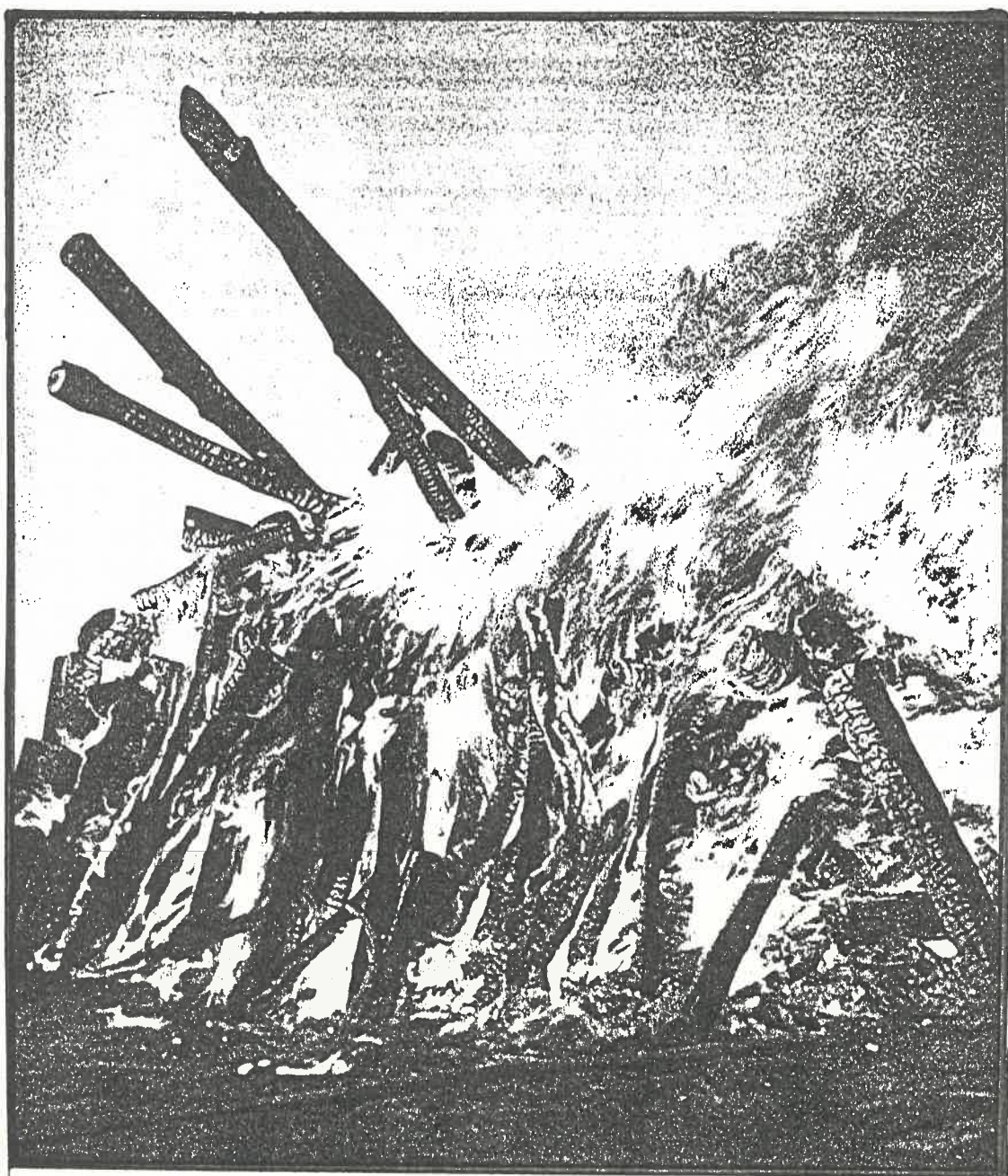
(Right) Medals awarded to Gandhiji for his services during the two campaigns



GANDHI IN TIME

10

Gandhiji at the age of seven



The funeral pyre at Rajghat; 4-55 p.m., January 31, 1948

CLASS : _____



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WHEN Gandhi entered the Durban Magistrate's Courts in May 1893, three days after his arrival in this country, he got into trouble for not removing his turban. Later on, he removed a great deal, and spent most of the rest of his life in his underpants.

One of the Mahatma's nether garments occupies a position of importance the man himself was never given in South Africa.

In a glass case, in the very building, now a museum, where he suffered his first public humiliation, a piece of cloth, hand-spun and beautifully laundered, sits labelled: "Gandhi's dhoti".

One presumes he had others. Beside the dhoti are a towel and two handkerchiefs which Gandhi made himself. They are small; he was a busy man.

Once saw Napoleon's gloves in a Paris Museum. Dainty as a girl's and made of kid, they gave an immediate nod to the theory of history known as Didactical Materialism, which allows that

material objects dictate the course of historical events.

This approach was seen with startling clarity and good binoculars in the Anglo-Boer War, when British soldiers were game enough not only to wear red coats to make it easy to spot them in the bush, but sported white bands across their hearts to show where the bullet should be placed.

Supporting the Didactical Materialism theory in more recent times we have Eugene de Kock's bottle-thick glasses (which turned him into a psychopath)

and Craig Williamson's interminable belt.

Looking at Gandhi's beautifully lit and mounted piece of cloth shaped like an XXL nappy, it might occur to one that, no matter how one wrapped and folded, pulled and tucked the thing, one would always end up with rather too much stuff between the thighs.

This probably explains why so many dhoti devotees have bandy legs. And why they spend a lot of time sitting. Cross-legged. Without moving.

Despite what Gandhi said —

"The truest test of civilisation, culture and dignity is character, not clothing" — how we dress does have a bearing on how we behave.

It's easier to toy-toy in monkey tails than in a monkey suit. Which raises a point: if Shaka had worn a dhoti how different might our history have been.

It was no doubt because of the dhoti that Gandhi was not particularly partial to protest marches. Even remaining erect in a dhoti can lead to a man's undoing. The Mahatma didn't stand for peace, he sat for it.



MERLE COLBORNE LEFT FIELD

SUNDAY ANALYSIS

Wearing a dhoti could have changed history

Hence the name SATyagraha for his philosophy of passive resistance. It was SATyagraha which inspired the sit-ins of the '60s, when various movements tried to change the world without moving at all.

SATyagraha (firmness in truth) is far easier to adopt and maintain securely seated on the ground. It was the dhoti then that inspired Gandhi's philosophy rather cunningly aimed at redressing wrongs. Mandela's shirts have a similar objective.

It was probably because of the dhoti, too, that Gandhi eventually renounced sex. A dhoti doesn't somehow have the same turn-on appeal as a pair of Calvin

Kleins. Though how men were ever persuaded into wearing a name that stood for (a) the most repressive of the Protestant leaders and (b) smallness on the waistband of their Y-fronts, is deeply puzzling.

It is encouraging to see how well Durban has looked after some of the Mahatma's most personal effects. The city has also preserved many of its Gandhi sites. Mainly as parking lots.

In his brave little book *Gandhi Sites in Durban*, author Paul Tichmann details the various acts of homage the city has paid to this much-cherished part of its heritage and to the great man who lived in its midst (sort of)

for 21 years: "The building has since been demolished and the site presently serves as a parking area . . ."

Some sites have been looked after with even greater care. Reinforced concrete, elaborate alarm systems and around-the-clock armed guard services ensure that no one will break in and desecrate them.

An example of this approach is Beach Grove, where the rambling cottages, in one of which Gandhi lived, have been replaced by a bank.

The Durban Station, built on the spot from which Gandhi set off on his historic trip to Pretoria has been gutted and

turned into posh offices with thick carpets and people. Most of the building is occupied by the tourist industry, like Tourism Durban, where foreign visitors can gather to be taken on tours of parking lots and other interesting places.

What happened to Gandhi on that famous train trip when a "white passenger entering the compartment was surprised to see it occupied by 'a person of colour' and returned with two officials who ordered Gandhi to move to the van compartment" would never happen today. Whites don't catch trains.

After the turban incident Gandhi defended himself by explaining that in his culture "to appear uncovered before a gentleman is not to respect him". There are many photographs of Gandhi in later life standing largely uncovered among international statesmen, gentlemen all, dressed in overcoats and little furry hats. The man had a marvellous sense of humour.

hard.
This phenomenon has created a new breed of Ugandans.

Identity was at the heart of the debate. As was the issue of language, not by race. Afrikaanses — those who speak out any resonance among the dispossessed Afrikaners in the Western Cape, but without them. And now, having lost access to political power, many in addition to these die-hard self-determinationists, rich and poor.

ADRI

rikaners can feel assured that their language will not

Tracing the Gandhi spirit

Alex Dodd

It's a white-grey Monday and the mirrored facade of Diagonal Street cuts into the sky with all the geometry and logic of the capitalist pursuits it was built to house. Its endangered slickness is offset by the broken bricks and shattered windows of Turbine Hall, giant makeshift home to the homeless. Nearby the words "Music Academy" are fading from a corrugated roof along with a neighbouring advert for Visa, no longer the main currency of trade in these parts.

Human traffic is slim here: men pass wearing balaclavas or berets to protect their heads from winter and women carry big bags or babies on their backs. A huge Castle Lager truck whizzes past an old woman pushing an ice cream trolley.

This is the view from Museum Africa downtown on Bree Street, where an exhibition honouring Mahatma Gandhi is currently on show. What would the great man have thought of this Johannesburg? How would he have defined his struggle here in post-apartheid South Africa where freedom is entrenched, but the poor are still poor?

This is the city, described in the show's pamphlet, as "the birthplace of Satyagraha" — the city in which the notion of passive resistance came into being at the dawn of this century and spread across the planet.

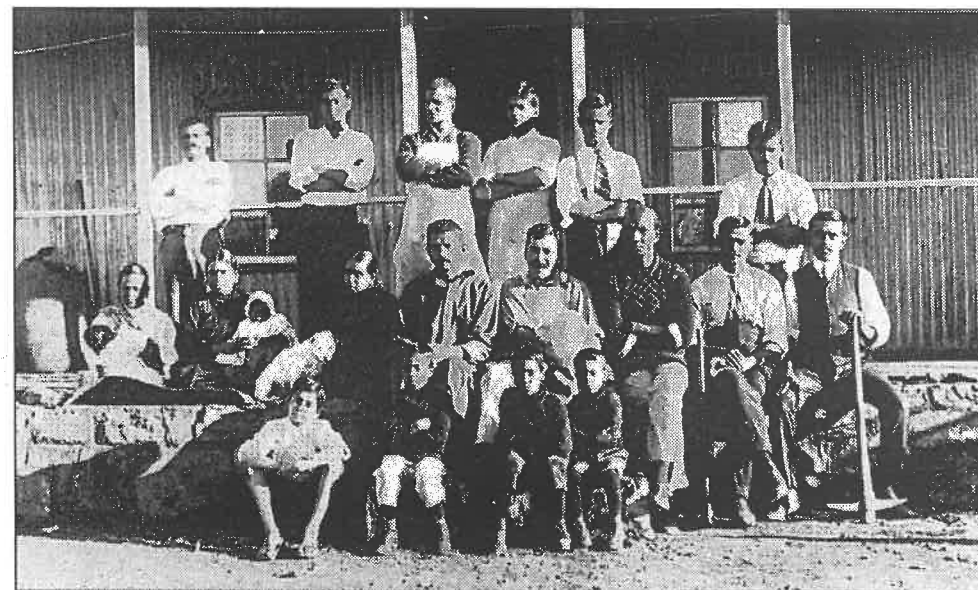
Strange to imagine that this philosophy of passivity, humility and non-violence was born in a city that at the end of the same century is

one of the murder capitals of the modern world.

The opening of *Gandhi's Johannesburg* was fittingly graced with the noble spirit of former president Nelson Mandela, who sat smiling like a child in an old man's body alongside Nobel prize-winning author Nadine Gordimer and Harsh Basin, High Commissioner of India, among other important beings. You could tell by the hats that this was a non-partisan, multi-denominational affair. Yarmulkes, berets, turbans and furry Russian numbers bobbed atop the throng of Indian cogniscenti, intellectuals, eccentrics and Johannesburg stalwarts that attended Sunday's event.

Gandhi lived in and around Johannesburg for 10 years from 1903 to 1913 and this exhibition coincides with India's independence celebrations on August 15 as well as the 85th anniversary of Gandhi's departure from South Africa. At his farewell banquet, held at Jeppe Street's Masonic Hall in 1914, he made a speech in which he declared: "I learnt to love Johannesburg, even though it was a mining camp.

"Johannesburg," he said, "had the holiest of all associations" which he would carry back to India with him. For it was in the midst of the gold-digging frenzy that shaped Johannesburg that Gandhi laid the foundations of the Indian passive resistance struggle. Spurred on by instances of gross discrimination that underscored the hurly burly of glitter and greed, the young lawyer's campaign against racial prejudice was galvanised. A stormy mass meeting at Johannesburg's Empire Theatre launched the movement on September 11 1906. Three thousand people from across the Transvaal protest-



Tolstoy Farm: One of the images from the *Gandhi's Johannesburg* exhibition

ed against an ordinance requiring Asians eight years and elder to carry passes and register for them by giving fingerprints. Gandhi denounced the ordinance as "an insult to the entire Indian community in South Africa".

In his speech Mandela emphasised that the importance of Gandhi's role stretched way beyond the Indian community and that South Africa's Defiance Campaign was directly influenced by the Indian passive resistance movement. But he began on a lighter note, with the touching humour for which he is globally renowned: "Had I known there would be so many distinguished visitors here today, I would have been frightened and remained home," he said with the great humility he shares with the spirit of Gandhi.

The kinship between the two great leaders was celebrated in a short play called *Mahatma Madiba*, written specially for the occasion by actor/playwright Rajesh Gopie. Although amusing and performed with great enthusiasm, the production lacked some gravity. This was more tangible in Gopie's own performance of an ex-

tract from his play *Out of Bounds* in which the police evict him and his family from a "whites-only" beach. Echoes of Gandhi's experience at Heath's Hotel, where the proprietors agreed to take him as a guest only if he agreed not to take his meals in the dining room, or when he was refused access to the lift in Permanent Buildings (now Victory House), 34 Harrison Street.

Tracing Gandhi's footsteps, the exhibition, curated by Eric Itzkin, explores over 30 Johannesburg buildings and places associated with the Indian leader. It is a fascinating journey, and includes some affecting artefacts like one of Gandhi's dhotis, the sandals he made while in prison and a thank you letter to one Reverend Duke typed on an old typewriter, the c's replaced with v's (no delete button or Tippex back then). But as Itzkin so poignantly stated: "This exhibition is not so much about artefacts as it is about ideals — the ideals of non-violent struggle and resistance that were developed in Johannesburg by one of the giants of the 20th century." Johannesburg could do with a rekindling of some of those ideals.

03 JULY 1998

THE LEADER

Society poorer without Gandhi

By Sashni Pather

THE funeral service of dedicated community worker and benevolent businessman Shamaldas Anandlal Gandhi was held on Saturday June 27 at the Clare Estate Crematorium.

S.A. Gandhi, 85, succumbed after suffering a massive heart failure.

Gandhi, the great grand nephew of Mahatma Gandhi, was the proprietor of SA Gandhi Fireworks, a leading distributor of fireworks established in 1948.

A devoted community leader, Gandhi was also a director of a company involved in township development.

He was the treasurer of the Isipingo Beach Hindi Society for nine years and a member of the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj.

S.A. Gandhi was a life member of Iskcon, the Kathiawad Hindi Sewa Samaj and the Centenary Bursary Fund.

During a fulfilling life, he had met with several dignitaries both nationally and internationally.

Since meeting with the late Gandhiji shortly before his death in 1948, S.A. Gandhi was so inspired that he decided to donate books in

memory of his late uncle and spread the message of non-violence.

After his retirement in 1996 he made numerous donations to the Aryan Benevolent Home, Durban Central Library, University of Durban-Westville, Ramakrishna Centre and the Mahatma Gandhi Museum and library in Mauritius and other institutes.

He felt that the books would be more beneficial than any monetary contribution as books can live forever. He made several trips to India where he bought the books.

Gandhi who was saddened by the number of road deaths in the Phoenix area and the delayed response by medical attendants, donated an ambulance to the Phoenix Settlement in 1972.

Gandhi was an avid stamp and coin collector. He became the first member of colour to the South African Philatelic Society.

He was also invited by the South African Mint to help mint the first 700 coins to commemorate the first 100 years of the late Mahatma Gandhi.

Gandhi is survived by his sons Hemendra, Prakash and Dipak and daughters Neelam and Tarla.



23 MARCH 1999
DAILY NEWS

RELUCTANT LEADER: ONLY RECENTLY ENTERED THE FRAY

DAILY NEWS
23/3/99



Sonia Gandhi's surge to power

AFTER one year of faltering Hindu nationalist rule in India, opposition leader Sonia Gandhi has found herself elevated from political novice to prime minister-in-waiting.

The Italian-born Mrs Gandhi, who married into the Nehru-Gandhi political dynasty in 1968, became an Indian citizen in 1986 and entered active politics only a year ago.

But some savvy political footwork and widespread dissatisfaction with the incumbent coalition has suddenly lent her the mantle of national saviour.

Once dismissed as a "foreigner", the widow of one-time premier Rajiv Gandhi now seems at ease at the helm of the 114-year-old Congress party, of which she was elected president in April last year.

Questions about her leadership qualities have died down since Congress drubbed the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which dominates the coalition, in key state elections in November.

In India, Sonia Gandhi is riding high on Hindu Nationalist failings, writes Sapa correspondent M R NARAYAN SWAMY.

"She has proved her leadership," Congress spokesman Ajit Jogi told AFP, while admitting that some credit was due to Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's multi-party coalition.

The Congress looked down and out when Mr Vajpayee took power on March 19 at the head of the BJP-led coalition and swiftly consolidated his position with a series of nuclear tests in May that unleashed a tide of nationalistic euphoria.

Mrs Gandhi became Congress president when party morale was at a particularly low ebb.

Untested politically, the mother of two also had to struggle with the tag of being a Roman Catholic in an overwhelmingly Hindu country.

However, she showed political maturity in resisting calls from the Congress old guard to topple the tottering BJP coalition and concen-

trated instead on re-building her party.

She effected changes in the Congress leadership, addressed huge rallies across the country and took swipes at the squabbling coalition.

A key BJP ally admitted that Mrs Gandhi had benefited from the government's failures.

"Unwittingly the Congress has been strengthened," said C Ramachandriah, general secretary of the Telugu Desam party. "People have again started looking to the Congress. Naturally, as a member of the (Nehru-Gandhi) family, she commands the respect of people."

Members of the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty have led Congress and India for much of the post-independence era.

Mrs Gandhi was unhappy when her husband took to politics in 1980 after his brother Sanjay's death.

She resisted repeated appeals from Congress leaders to take over when Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated in 1991.

She finally jumped into the electoral fray in January last year when the Congress appeared on the verge of collapse. Her campaigning for the general election drew millions and while Congress came second to the BJP, her efforts were credited with keeping 140 Congress members in parliament.

Aides say Mrs Gandhi wants Congress to return to power with a clear majority rather than being forced to rely on tiny and undependable allies.

The more the ruling coalition appears unstable, the more the appeal of the Congress grows.

But not everyone is enamoured with Mrs Gandhi's style.

"There is a lot of political inconsistency in Sonia Gandhi's stand," said communist leader Atul Anjaan, who also questioned her aversion to press conferences.

"India has a vibrant and transparent democracy where people expect the leaders to talk with peo-

The riddle of 'The Sphinx'

She never wanted power, but Sonia Gandhi seems destined for greatness, writes Jason Burke

Perhaps a more hippy-dippy Seventies guru might, while adjusting his kaffan as he stepped from his Rolls-Royce, have found a way to explain it. For those of us of a slightly more empirical mind, it is a little harder. For even in India, where 900-million people all have their own tales to tell, few can match the story of Sonia Gandhi's strange journey.

Her story is as bizarre and fantastic as any one of her adopted country's myriad myths and legends. It is a tale, we are supposed to believe, of serendipity and love, of chance and opportunity, of unsought greatness reluctantly accepted by a woman who, though she would rather stay at home and restore oil paintings, seems destined to lead the world's biggest democracy into the next millennium.

Gandhi — the 52-year-old daughter of Paolo Maino, a building contractor from the small Italian town of Orbassano, near Turin — spent last weekend trying to make enough deals with enough politicians to secure enough support for the return to power of the Indian Congress Party, of which she is president, following the collapse last month of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party's coalition government.

But Gandhi failed to convince Indian President KR Narayanan that she has sufficient support to form an alternative government. And so India heads for its third election in three years.

Should Gandhi win the election, the Indian Congress Party and the Gandhi dynasty will be restored to its historically habitual place. For all but a few years since India gained independence in 1947, the party, and the family, have been in power. If she does end up meeting the president in the next weeks, Gandhi will become the fourth member of her family to be prime minister.

But according to the Sonia Gandhi myth, it will all be most unpleasant for her. After all, this is a woman who for years refused desperate requests to enter the political bearpit.

She is the woman who says she battled to stop her husband, Rajiv Gandhi, becoming prime minister, and when he did, fought to keep her family out of public life. She is the woman who, until recently, had communicated only twice with journalists. She was for years



Fulfilling a destiny: Sonia Gandhi seems set to follow in the footsteps of her renowned political family. PHOTOGRAPH: AP/SAURABH DAS

usually referred to, with a mix of deference and irritation, as "The Sphinx".

Reasons for her reserve are not hard to find. In 1984 Gandhi found her mother-in-law, Indira Gandhi, then prime minister, bleeding to death on the lawns of her house, peppered with the bullets of her own bodyguards. Shortly before, her husband's brother, Sanjay Gandhi, had died in a flying accident. Then Rajiv Gandhi himself — elected prime minister on a wave of sympathy — was killed by a female suicide bomber in Sriperumbudur in 1991.

And so, we are led to believe, this is a very much a case of greatness being thrust upon her. It certainly has not been sought, it seems. But is it just too cynical, too irreverent, too unfair to a woman who has lost so much to wonder, if, just perhaps, even fortune at its most outrageous cannot make an Indian prime minister out of a beautiful but unremarkable girl from a bourgeois Italian town unless she really rather wanted it?

Most of what we know of Gandhi's journey from Orbassano to New Delhi has to be gleaned from a picture book she wrote. It seems to confirm her aversion to politics.

She met Rajiv Gandhi in a restaurant in Cambridge in 1965. She was 18 and studying English.

It was love at first sight, apparently. And when she learned about his family — Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, was a grandfather; his mother was a government minister — it meant little. "India existed somewhere in the world with its snakes, elephants and jungles, but exactly where it was I was not sure."

The couple married three years later and she arrived in India for the first time a month before the wedding. Though they obviously lived in a political environment, they were not, we are told, political creatures. Rajiv Gandhi was happy as an Air India pilot and with his hobbies of photography and hi-fi. His wife occasionally acted as a chaperone for visiting foreign dignitaries and helped her mother-in-law select her sumptuous saris. But that was, we are told, as close to the levers of power as she got.

But when Sanjay Gandhi died, Indira Gandhi had no one else to turn to. The domestic idyll was over. Rajiv Gandhi was pushed forward as heir apparent and groomed for power.

Sonia Gandhi hated it. "For the first time in 15 years there was tension between [us]," she wrote. "I fought like a tigress — for him, for us and our

children, for the life we had made together ... I was angry and resentful towards a system which ... demanded him as a sacrificial lamb."

She was right. In 1989 Rajiv Gandhi lost a general election largely because of the charge that he and Sonia Gandhi had received kickbacks worth millions of dollars on a deal to buy artillery for the Indian army. The affair is still murky. In 1991, back on the campaign trail, he was killed.

Within days the Indian Congress Party had asked Sonia Gandhi to be its leader. She refused, repeatedly, and retreated behind the high walls of 10 Janpath — her Delhi home. And the myth of her aloofness began to grow. She gave almost no interviews, refused public commitments and turned away the pleas of senior party officials who, trying to halt the accelerating decline of their once-great party, asked her to enter the political fray. She became "The Sphinx".

But she did not return to Italy and remained, despite her public indifference, in close touch with all the major political operators. She received them with glorious *froider*, but listened nonetheless. Behind the facades of Janpath there was some serious politicking going on.

Towards the end of 1997, Gandhi seemed to have judged the moment was right. Elections had been called for February 1998. After a protracted "will she, won't she", she finally accepted the leadership of the Indian Congress Party. Seasoned Indian journalists have described her timing as "clinically accurate". The party might have been in a bad way — riven by factional splits and seen as complacent and corrupt — but now it was led by a Gandhi.

Her entrance electrified the campaigning. Her first speech may have been wooden but she got better. It was almost as if she had been in training in private and merely needed to get into her stride. Speeches got punchier, crowds larger, media coverage wider. The brickbats hurled at her foreignness, an alleged sympathy for Christians, her supposed corruption — merely left opponents looking shrill and bitter. The slur that she was an "Italian whore" with no relevance to India and its traditions looked cheap, and vicious.

Though she failed to win at last year's election, the initiative has remained hers. Now, with the collapse of the unstable Bharatiya Janata Party government, it looks like her time has come. Her Gandhi destiny is to be fulfilled.

Watching Gandhi and the route she has taken since she left the small town near Turin 34 years ago, you cannot help feeling that she has understood all that for a long time. Gandhi may have been the plaything of the Fates, but she is not entirely their victim.

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SOWETAN 24/12/98

Honour for Gandhi's grandson

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 South Africa, 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.

The other recipients include writer and educationalist Professor Njabulo Ndebele. — Sapa.

Drawing 'a sad mistake'

Slur on
Gandhi
was not
meant,
says Ela



Ela Ramgobin

By Janette Bennett

AMID the storm created by the Heart Foundation's widely-criticised "denigration" of Mahatma Gandhi, his granddaughter, Ela Ramgobin, has forgiven the foundation for what she described as "a sad mistake".

In true Gandhian spirit, Mrs Ramgobin said she was certain the Heart Foundation had not been aware they might be seen to be insulting the Mahatma. However, she pointed out that if one took Gandhi's lifestyle and temperament as a lesson, one would certainly be protected from heart disease.

The booklet, entitled *Who cares if you have a heart attack?*, contains drawings which resemble Gandhi as a devil with horns and a tail, and as a saint with a halo. It has evoked condemnation here and overseas.

Mrs Ramgobin said she would be "quite happy" if the Foundation changed the picture or removed the offensive page. "It is not really necessary to withdraw the whole booklet, which was obviously produced at great cost. On the whole, there is nothing else wrong with the booklet.

"Perhaps the artist thought this was a nice picture depicting the Indian dress, and did not realise who it was. I feel sorry for people who make mistakes," she added.

Meanwhile the National Hindu Development Trust has urged State President PW Botha to stop the distribution of the booklet until the "insensitive and offensive" portrayal of Gandhi is removed.

However, the Foundation's national director, Rika de Ruiter, said the withdrawal of the booklet was not being considered: "If we do that, we will be criticised by another section of the population for wasting money.

"We have printed 5 000 copies at great expense.

"All I can say is that we are extremely sorry we have disturbed people we were trying to help. People are upset, and with good reason, but I sincerely hope they still read the booklet for the information it contains," she said.

Trust chairman Ram Maharaj has sent urgent letters to President Botha, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Health Minister Dr Willie van Niekerk and the Publications Control Board.

He said the "unfortunate choice" of illustration for information about low and high density cholesterol could have international repercussions and project a negative image of South Africa "during a phase when our country is endeavouring to become a proud component of the wider international community".

Mr Maharaj pointed out that in India Gandhi was regarded as the father of the nation. His depiction as the devil "may be construed as a patent insult to and unbridled denigration of the entire Indian nation".

He said the last Indian viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten, declared that Gandhi would go down in history on a par with Buddha and Jesus Christ. Physicist Albert Einstein had said future generations would "scarcely believe that one such as this, in flesh and blood, ever walked upon the earth". And American General C Marshall described him as the "spokesman for the conscience of all mankind".

Father of the nation who failed as father

MAHATMA Gandhi commands the world stage as one of the great figures in history. And, as Father of the Nation who led India out of thralldom under the British Raj he became a tragic hero at the hand of an assassin.

Now, 50 years after his death, he takes centre stage in a play that turns the spotlight on his role as a family man.

The play by Ajit Dalvi, is at the Playhouse and comes to our shores from India where it has raised some controversy, but no overt objections.

In parts it is certainly not complimentary but neither is it overly critical.

Its evocative title, *Mahatma vs Gandhi* is suggestive of conflict that occurs between father, already on his determined first steps to greatness, and son, eager to make his mark but denied of opportunity to do so.

CHALLENGES

The clash of wills is the crux of Dalvi's work which makes for an absorbing delineation of an extraordinary personality; a non-violent revolutionary who brought an empire to its knees, yet failed to meet the challenges posed by his eager and increasingly rebellious, if errant son, Harilal.

Trapped within their struggle is the dutiful and caring wife Kasturba, whose cajoling and admonishing in an attempt to heal the breach, cuts a pitiful figure as the gap between father and son widens with increasing animosity that even the evident underlying love between both fails to allay.

Director Feroz Khan, noted for his cinematic efforts, has a meaty role as Harilal and he sinks his teeth into it with passion.

His rhetoric and emo-



Boman Irani as the Mahatma and Jayati Bhatla in a scene from *Mahatma vs Gandhi*.

tional outbursts offer a telling counter to the measured reasoning advanced by the elder Gandhi, played with firmness by Boman Irani.

Jayati Bhatla does well in a plaintive role that calls for quiet control against the verbal exchanges in which she is caught up, and yet makes her own impact.

NARRATIVE

The acting of the principal characters account to a great extent for the impact of the play which, perhaps of necessity for providing background or a traditional theatrical style, has aspects of being narrative in nature.

This together with its length, tends to detract from the drama of the confrontation between the protagonists.

The bare, one stage setting is adequate for the limited demands of the production, but there were instances where lighting and backs to the audience situations could have been improved.

All in all, however,

the play makes a valuable contribution to the understanding of the Mahatma's life and role in history.

The facts of his personal life and views are well documented, but little known.

EXPOSURE

With some of his public standpoints, which have been regarded with disdain or even quirky, there needed to be greater exposure of them, which the play does admirably.

Among the disconcerting aspects that it poses is whether Gandhi sacrificed his family at the expense of the greater struggle he was involved with.

He looked beyond his family with dire consequences, but in standing firm, he is personally vindicated while, in the end, his son for his lack of determination ends up on the scrapheap of humanity.

But would it have been so had the Great Soul found it within himself to exercise as much as an ounce of charity?

- SB

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Reasons Gandhi missed Peace Prize

By Juggie
Naran

THE announcement that Indian academic, Amartya Sen, has been awarded the 1998 Nobel Peace Prize for economics reignited the long-standing controversy over why Mahatma Gandhi was never so honoured.

Dasrath Bundhoo of the Pietermaritzburg-based Gandhi Memorial Committee recalled how he had in October 1991 nominated Gandhi's name for a posthumous Nobel Peace Prize.

In reply, Gier Lundestad of the Norwegian Nobel Institute said, "Unfortunately you are right indeed that Gandhi's name does not appear on the list of Nobel peace laureates."

"The statutes do not permit a posthumous prize, so there would be no purpose in nominating Gandhi for the 1992 or 1993 prize."

"As you know several laureates have been inspired by Gandhi's ideas examples being Martin Luther King, the Dalai Lama, Aung San Suu Kyi."

And according to reports one of South Africa's and India's most revered figures is said to have had three nominations for the Peace Prize, but each time the award went to people and organisations of European stock.

PRO-ANGLO

Newly-unearthed documents obtained from the Nobel Institute in Oslo, Norway show that Gandhiji was nominated for the Peace Prize in 1937, 1947 and 1948.

But, say historians, the five-judge Nobel panel "was pro-

(To page 2)



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27 November 1998

THE LEADER

27 NOVEMBER 1998
THE LEADER

• Gandhi denied Nobel

British and had a patronising attitude to candidates from the developing world.

"Violence between India and Pakistan in the wake of partition may also have played a part in dissuading the jury from awarding the prize to Gandhiji.

According to Lundestad, "If I were to guess, one factor which made it difficult to give the prize to Gandhi was the very strong British orientation in Norway's foreign policy.

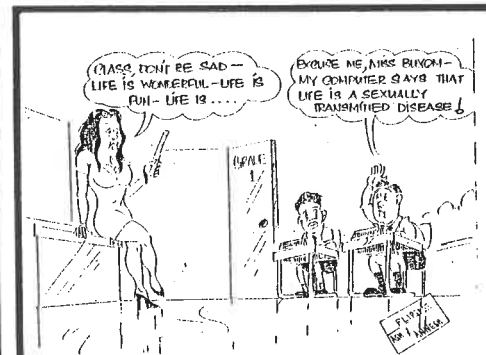
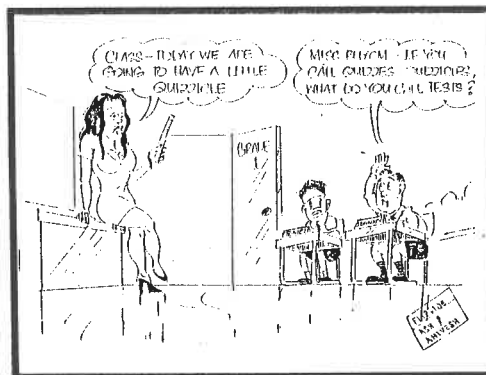
Helge Pharo, Oslo University history professor concurred. "The view of Britain as protector of Norway was very strong. Running through the Norwegian political elite was a very patronising attitude to people from the Third World.

"Even if you couldn't call them attitudes of racial superiority, they were still living in a white man's world."

Speaking to *The Leader* this week, Bundhoo said, "It has been a long-held dream of mine to have Gandhiji's name added to the Nobel laureates.

"All my attempts have been in vain thus far, but now at least I have some respite that the nomination was made and that because of politics he was denied an honour which he epitomised."

Flipside



Gandhi' shown as a devil with horns'

TRIBUNE HERALD 23 JULY 1989

By YOGIN DEVAN

THE portrayal of Mahatma Gandhi — revered by millions the world over as an "Apostle of Peace" — as a "devil" in a new booklet has brought cries of horror from many who follow his teachings.

A drawing in an educational booklet produced by the Heart Foundation of South Africa closely resembles a famous portrait of Gandhi — but with horns and the tail of the devil.

When people who revere Gandhi were shown the drawing, they immediately said they recognised it as a likeness of Gandhi and were offended that the image of the Indian leader — world renowned for his doctrine of passive resistance — had been "desecrated".

"This is scandalous. For whatever reason the Heart Foundation may have done that, it is in very bad taste," said Mr Mewa Ramgobin, grandson-in-law of Gandhi and trustee of the Phoenix Settlement near Durban which was founded by Gandhi.

Durban sociologist Professor Fatima Meer said she accepted that the intention of the heart foundation was to inform people about better health.

"But the manner in which they have exploited Gandhi is indefensible," she said.

However, the heart foundation has distanced itself from any claims that the drawings were copied from a portrait of Gandhi.

Mrs Rika de Ruiter, national director of the foundation said: "That drawing is not one of Gandhi."

"People are deducing there is a similarity because we are looking at a garment similar to that worn by hundreds of thousands of people in India."

"Why would we ever want to use a drawing of Gandhi in a medical booklet?"

"In any case, I don't believe Gandhi had high cholesterol or a heart attack, because he starved most of the time," said Mrs De Ruiter.

The offending drawing appears in a booklet just published by the heart foundation as part of its nationwide programme to promote public awareness of the danger of high cholesterol levels.

The drawing considered to be like Gandhi posing as a devil accompanies text dealing with low-density lipoproteins which, it is stated, are "bad cholesterol because they contain a high level of cholesterol".

Another drawing which has been likened to one of Gandhi as a saint, complete with halo, is used to illustrate the benefits of high-density lipoproteins "which help the body get rid of excess cholesterol".

Mr Ramgobin said that while he was satisfied that no malice was intended, the drawings were, nonetheless, in "extremely poor taste".

Durban city councillor, Mrs Margaret Ambler, who is also a director of the heart foundation, said she was "absolutely certain the authors meant no harm when they chose to use the drawings".



"Devil" drawing warns about high cholesterol; "Good Gandhi" is the healthy one.

GANDHI ON THE TAMILS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Extracts from collected works of Mahatma Gandhi
Compiled by Mr E.S. Reddy - Senior Fellow of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research

WRITING IN INDIAN OPINION ON FEBRUARY 6, 1909, ON THE PROGRESS OF THE SATYAGRAHA, GANDHIJI SAID:

"The Tamils have surpassed all expectations. All their leaders are now in Gaol. Now-a-days, imprisonment is not merely for a week, but for three months, and it is not simple but rigorous. Unbounded is the courage of those Indians who have gone to Gaol, undeterred by such sentences". (From Gujarati) Collected Works, Volume 9k, Page 185.

After release from jail, in an article in Indian Opinion (June 5, 1909) on "My Third Experience in Gaol", Gandhiji wrote:

"No other Indians can equal the performance of the Tamils in this fight. It therefore occurred to me that I should read Tamil with close attention, if for no other reason than to render sincere thanks to them at least mentally. Accordingly, the last few months were devoted mostly to the study of Tamil. The more I learn it the more I appreciate the beauty of the language. It is a very fine and sweet language, and from its structure and from what I have read in it, I find that Tamils have a mind and still produce a large number of intelligent, thoughtful and wise men. Moreover, since India is going to be one country, some Indian will have to learn Tamil. I also learn Tamil" Collected Works, Volume 9, pp. 2-3.

On July 15, 1914, Gandhiji spoke at a meeting of the Tamil Community in Johannesburg. Thambi Naicker presided. The following is from a report of his speech in Indian Opinion, August 5, 1914.

"Mr Gandhi said that he felt, in coming to meet the Tamil brothers and sisters, as if he came to meet blood relations. That was a sentiment which he had cherished now for many years, and the reason was quite simple. Of all the different selections of the Indian Community, he thought that the Tamils had borne the burnt of the struggle. The largest number of deaths that passive resistance had taken had been from the Tamil community. They had that morning gone to the cemetery to perform the unweaving ceremony in connection with the two memorials to a dear sister and brother. Both of these had been Tamils. There was Narayansamy whose bones lay at Delagoa Bay. He had

been a Tamil. The deportees had been Tamils. The last to fight and come out of gaol had been Tamils. Those who were ruined hawkers were all Tamils. The majority of the passive resisters at Tolstoy Farm had been Tamils. On every side, Tamils had shown themselves to be the most typical of the best traditions of India, and by saying that he was not exaggerating in the slightest degree".

Their faith, the abundant faith in God, in Truth, that the Tamils had shown had been one of the most sustaining forces throughout those long drawn years. The majority of women to go to gaol were Tamils. The sisters who defied the authorities to arrest them had gone from door to door, from barracks at Newcastle, to ask the men to lay down their tools and strike work - who were they?

"Again, Tamil sisters. Who marched among the women? Tamils of course. Who lived on a pound loaf of bread and an ounce of sugar? The majority were Tamils; though there he must give their due also to those of their countrymen who were called Calcutta men. In that last struggle they also responded nobly, but he was not able to say quite so nobly as the Tamils; but they had certainly come out almost as well as the Tamils had, but the Tamils had sustained the struggle for the last eight years and had shown of what stuff they were made from the very beginning. Here in Johannesburg they were a handful and yet, even numerically, they would show he thought the largest number who had gone to gaol again and again; also if they had wanted imprisonment wholesale, it came from the Tamils. So that he felt when he came to a Tamil meeting that he came to blood-relations.

"Gandhiji gave an interview, during a visit to Rangoon on March 22, 1915, to a Tamil correspondent. "He started by saying he could quote chapter and verse for the good work performed by them in South Africa. They were of the greatest help to him during the passive resistance struggle. All the Indian communities were of very great help to him, but especially the Tamil Community. It was considered a shame among them for one man not to have gone to jail at least once for the common cause. That was not true of any other community, but that entirely true of the Tamil. When he first met them, he learned to admire

them. Even afterwards he found them better and better. He said: 'I consider I have more in common with the Tamil community than with any other'. The Hindu, March 30, 1915; Collected Works, Volume 13, pp. 42-43.

Speaking at a public reception in Madras on April 21, 1915, Gandhiji said:

"It was the Madrassees who of all Indians were singled out by the great Divinity that rules over us for this great work (on behalf of Indians in South Africa). "Do you know that in the great city of Johannesburg is found among the Madrassees that any Madrassee is considered dishonoured if he has not passed through the jail once or twice during this terrible struggle that your countrymen in South Africa went through during these eight long years? "You have said that I inspired these great men and women, but I cannot accept that proposition. It was they, the simpleminded folk, who worked away in faith, never expecting the slightest reward, who inspired me, who kept me to the proper level and who compelled me, by their great sacrifice, by their great faith, by their great courage and good to do the work that I was able to do". The Hindu, April 21, 1915; Collected Works, Volume 13, pp. 52-53.

Writing in his autobiography about the establishment of the "Satyagraha Ashram" in Ahmedabad on May 1, 1918, Gandhiji wrote:

"There were at this time about 150 Tamil men in our party. Five Tamil youngsters had accompanied me from South Africa, and the rest came from different parts of the country. We were in all about twenty five men and women. This is how the Ashram was started".

The story of My Experiments with Truth, Part V, Chapter IX.

"I still feel what a handicap this ignorance of Tamil or Telugu has been. The affection that the Dravidians in South Africa showered on me has remained a cherished memory. Whenever I see a Tamil or Telugu friend, I cannot but recall the faith, perseverance and selfless sacrifice of many of his compatriots in South Africa".

Inserted by the South African Tamil Federation
Box 54, Dbn.

Gandhi's Fast Begins To-day

DOCTORS FEAR FATAL ENDING

Prison Doors Closed to Visitors

EVEN SON NOT ADMITTED

POONA, Sunday.

GANDHI is still inflexibly resolved to begin his 21 days' fast at noon to-morrow and is employing his weekly day of silence, which began at noon to-day in making final preparations for working off correspondence.

At the Mahatma's request the doors of Yeravda gaol, where he is imprisoned, are rigidly closed to visitors, and



MAHATMA GANDHI.

even Gandhi's son, Devadas, is no longer with his father.

Gandhi is expected to be released within 24 hours, but it has not yet been decided where he will live during his fast. His will to live is said to be strong, but the doctors fear that the fast may prove fatal.—Reuter.

Gandhi recently announced from Yeravda gaol that he would begin on May 8 a "21 days' unconditional and irrevocable fast" in connection with the campaign for the removal of untouchability.

Competent observers interpret Gandhi's decision to fast as an expression of dissatisfaction with the progress of the efforts of high caste Hindus to remove untouchability. He is not yet confident that high caste Hindus are keeping faith.

Gandhi said to a Reuter representative: "I do not desire to die. I want to live for the cause, though I am equally prepared to die for it. I want workers of unassailable purity. Shocking cases of impurity have come to my notice. I would like the fast to be an urgent appeal to such people to leave the cause alone. My fast is a process of self-purification, and not a deep political game."

Those who witnessed his fast last September fear that the three weeks' fast which Gandhi is now contemplating will mean certain death, while certain of his campaigners express disheartenment, as they have only been allowed six months' work since the last fast and have been without it

STRAIGHT TALK TO HINDUS

12/10/27 N.W.
MR. SASTRI SPRINGS A
• SURPRISE

STRIKING ADDRESS ON MAHATMA GHANDI

From Our Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG, Thursday.

A remarkably straight talk to the Hindu section of the Indian community was given by Mr. Sastri at the celebration of the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. Sastri sprung a surprise on the audience when he declared in effect that Hindus should emulate rather than preach the example of Mahatma, of whose life he gave an interesting account.

"I should be failing in my duty," said Mr. Sastri, "if I did not avail myself of this occasion to impress upon you the lesson of Mahatma's life. You may think I am taking undue advantage of my presence here among you, that I am travelling beyond the bounds of hospitality, but I will say this, that everyone of you who hangs his head low, who closes his eyes, in apparent devotion and speaks loudly of Mahatma must at the same time say 'I will strive to be like him.'"

"If you merely came this afternoon to shout long life to Mahatma and go home to live your lives in the same old way you need not come here at all.

GIVEN UP EVERYTHING.

"While he has given up everything in this world you are trying to grasp; while he lives solely for others and reck not of his own you are living entirely for yourselves and your families, while he examines carefully and as often as he finds even a small flaw in his character lacerates his flesh, retires, fasts and performs penance, you are doing wrong things knowingly and are resolved to do them again tomorrow provided only you will not be caught.

"Mahatma, he has striped himself bare, reduced his wants to nothing, lives solely for you, and yet when we do wrong we want him to help us out. In doing wrong we appeal to him and his name and say, 'Oh Mahatma did it,' knowing full well that he would not sanction what we seek to gather by the reputation of his name.

NOT DECEIVED.

"Now, members of the Patidar community, you cannot deceive me, whomsoever you may deceive by the loudness of your laudations of Mahatma. Having got you here to-day let me tell you that there is a great deal in the way in which you live here that requires serious amending before it can be made to please him, and, therefore, while you may proclaim your adherence to Mahatma's tenets I will say this without the slightest fear that you are not his true followers so long as in respect of character, religion, purity of life and conduct you leave his example severely alone.

"He who follows his character and rejects his opinion like me is more near to him and of closer kindred than some of you who are loud in proclaiming his day. Your relationship to him is only in externals, not in the things that matter, things that touch the soul.

PURITY OF CHARACTER.

"In this world Mahatma has abandoned all kinship. He knows no family relationship. Not only Indians, but all others in the world are his care. He is the friend of the whole of humanity, not part of it. To him therefore mere affinity of people, mere community of country is nothing; what

whole or humanity together, and that is true religious love, belief in omnipotent power and inward purity of character.

"If in these matters you follow him then surely you are entitled to come together on this day and speak his praises, but if in these respects you depart and act on your convictions as heretofore then I submit you are saying by mouth what you do not believe in your hearts.

"I have spoken just as Mahatma would have if he were here. I know that many of you may not like it, that some of you think that I have abused your hospitality and even resent it as an affront. That does not concern me. For a moment I am speaking to a community which is

several days' journey from the Motherland, separated by everything that can separate you from the traditions of the old world in which you were brought up, and it will not be amiss, however unpleasant, if I solemnly ask you to live as he would live, to behave as he would behave and to conduct yourselves according to the principles which are associated with his great name.

INDIAN POLITICS.

"In Indian politics," emphasised Mr. Sastri, "I am practically opposed to Mahatma. Some of you may think he points the way to the Indian Swaraj, but it appears to me he points away from it. There are many things in regard to which I differ from him. Nevertheless I am a great admirer of his character, for it seems to me that that is much greater than his particular views. His views may be mistaken, but there is no mistaking his character."

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MAHATMA GANDHI AND JOHN DUBE⁽¹⁾

The historic relationship between the national movements of India and South Africa goes back to the early years of this century when Mahatma Gandhi and the Reverend John Langalibalele Dube, who was to become the first President-General of the African National Congress, developed friendship and mutual respect.

The early lives of Gandhiji and Dube were largely parallel. Gandhiji was born in 1869 and Dube in 1871. Gandhiji studied in Britain from 1888 to 1891 and Dube in the United States from 1887 to 1892. Dube returned to South Africa in 1892 and was employed as a teacher for several years; Gandhiji went to South Africa in 1893 and stayed on for 21 years as a barrister and public worker.

Dube was very much influenced by Booker T. Washington, the conservative Black leader in the United States who stressed self-help and vocational education for the Blacks. Overcoming great difficulties, he established, in 1901, an Industrial School at Ohlange, modelled after the Tuskegee Institute of Dr. Washington.

Gandhiji too greatly admired Dr. Booker T. Washington and his educational methods. In 1904, he bought about a hundred acres of land in Phoenix, about a mile or two from Ohlange, and established a settlement dedicated to simple living. He set up a school for Indian children which stressed manual work as much as the three R's.

Both men were involved in public work for their communities. Gandhiji founded the Natal Indian Congress in 1894; Dube helped found the Natal Native Congress in 1900. Gandhiji began publishing *Indian Opinion* - a weekly in English, Gujarati, Hindi and Tamil - in June 1903. Dube launched the *Ilange lase Natal*, an African weekly in English and Zulu, in the same year; it was printed in the same press as *Indian Opinion* until Dube acquired a press for the Ohlange Institute.

We do not know when Gandhiji and Dube became acquainted. But in August 1905 they met at the residence of Marshall Campbell at Mount Edgecombe when the latter hosted a reception for delegates of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which had held its annual meeting in South Africa. Gandhiji was impressed by Dube's speech on that occasion.

Dube told the gathering that to deprive the Africans of their land and rights in Natal, the land of their birth, was like banishing them from their home. Without the Africans, he said, the whites could not carry on for a moment. It was unfair to burden them with taxes. Members of the British delegation were moved to subscribe and present 60 pounds on the spot to Dube for his school.

Gandhiji, writing about this meeting in *Indian Opinion* (September 2, 1905), said that Dube was an African "of whom one should know."

There was frequent social contact between the inmates of the Phoenix Settlement and the Ohlange Institute, as well as the mission at Inanda. Zulus and whites used to attend Gandhiji's prayer meetings at Phoenix. He was often seen playing with Indian and Zulu children.

The Bambata rebellion of 1906 was a time of trial for both Gandhiji and Dube.

Two white police officers were killed by Africans in February 1906, near Richmond, during the unrest following the imposition of a poll tax on all adult African males in Natal. The government declared

martial law and sent its militia to crush African resistance. Chief Bambata and his followers carried on guerilla warfare for more than a year but were brutally suppressed. Almost four thousand Africans were killed and thousands were sentenced to whipping.

Gandhiji did not realise the scale of resistance and the strong feeling among the Zulus. He felt that Indians, who were seeking rights as citizens of the Empire, should shoulder their responsibilities to the government. He led a small stretcher-bearer corps which nursed the wounded Zulus whom the whites despised and left to suffer.

Gandhiji's family and friends were worried when he was in the field for a few weeks with the corps. The Phoenix settlement was in a Zulu area and the Zulus could have easily attacked it. But, happily, Gandhiji did not lose the friendship of the Zulus: "he became known as a well-wisher of the Zulus who became friends of the Phoenix Settlement..." (Prabhudas Gandhi, *My Childhood with Gandhi*, 1957, page 42).

There was some criticism of Gandhiji in the small African press, because of his services during the Bambata rebellion, but this was forgotten when the Indians launched passive resistance later in the year, under his leadership, against the Transvaal Asiatic Ordinance.

Gandhiji was for many years reluctant to speak about his traumatic experience during the rebellion, but it had a great influence on his thinking. It helps explain his defiance of the Transvaal Ordinance, as well as his insistence on strict non-violence by the passive resisters.

Dube, for his part, came under attack by the whites for denouncing the military action against the Zulus. He was summoned before the Governor and given a reprimand. He then expressed regret and wrote:

not a war but a massacre

"There are grievances to be dealt with, but I can fully realise that at a time like this we should all refrain from discussing them, and assist the government to suppress the rebellion." (Quoted by Andre Odendaal in *Vukani Bantu*, 1984, p. 70).

He probably feared that, in the tense atmosphere at the time, he might lose all white financial assistance for the Ohlange Institute.

As the Boers and Britons agreed to form a Union of South Africa, with a colour bar, Gandhiji supported the Africans in their opposition to self-government under white rule. *Indian Opinion* wrote in an editorial on August 1, 1908: "Our sympathies go out to our oppressed fellow subjects who are made to suffer for the same cause that we suffer, viz., our slight pigment of skin."

In 1909, when discussions were held in London on the proposed Act of the Union, the African and Coloured organisations sent a delegation to lobby against the Act. Dube assisted the delegation though he declined membership for fear of retaliation by the whites against his educational enterprises. Gandhiji and Hajee Habib were then in London, on behalf of the Transvaal Indians, to make representations on discriminatory measures against the Indians.

Gandhiji felt that while indigenous African and Coloured groups could demand full equality, Indians were a small community of recent settlers who should concentrate at that stage on their civil rights, rather than political rights. But his sympathies were clear. *Indian Opinion* had written on February 13, 1909, that the draft Act amounted to a declaration of war against the black population.

While the African organisations continued with protests, petitions and deputations - and the formation of a national body, the South African Native National Congress (later renamed the African National Congress) on January 8, 1912, with Dube as its first President - the Indian people continued with direct action.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the highly respected leader of the Indian national movement, visited South Africa in October-November 1912, at the invitation of Gandhiji, to meet the Indian community and the Government, and try to promote a settlement. Gandhiji, acting as his secretary, arranged for him to visit the Ohlange Institute on November 11, 1912, to meet John Dube and discuss the "Native question". He received a warm reception from the staff and students at the school.

On September 16, 1913, Gandhiji launched national mass resistance by the Indians and invited women and workers to join. Sixteen satyagrahis, including Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi and three other women, left Phoenix for the Transvaal to defy the immigration law restricting inter-provincial movement by Indians.

Then followed a general strike of tens of thousands of Indian workers - in the mines, plantations and municipalities - with hardly any formal organisation. The workers were inspired, above all, by the example of Gandhiji, his family and his colleagues. They said: "When the King (Gandhiji) and the Queen (Kasturba) and their children were imprisoned by the government for demanding justice for the workers, how can we continue to work?"

Unable to break the strike, the army and police, and the employers, resorted to utmost brutality - assaults even on women, solitary confinement, flogging, shooting of demonstrators, etc., - but though Gandhiji and other leaders were in prison, the workers stood firm and disciplined.

Dube followed the Indian struggle with great interest, though he could not conceive of such direct action by the Africans at the time.

Early in 1914, the Reverend W. W. Pearson, who had come from India to investigate the condition of Indian workers, visited Dube at the Ohlange Institute to enquire about the position of the Africans. We are indebted to Raochandbhai M. Patel, an inmate of the Phoenix Settlement who accompanied Pearson, for an account of the conversation which has been little known as it was published only in 1939 in a Gujarati book in India, *Gandhijini Sadhana*.

Dube explained to Pearson that the status of the Zulus was even worse than that of Indians. "The white man even doubts if we belong to the human race."

Asked why the Africans did not fight for their birthrights as the Indians did, Dube replied:

"Yes, Mr. Pearson, I understand what you say. I have thought over it a lot. I have studied in depth the struggle fought by the Indians under the leadership of Gandhi. And after being an eye witness to the struggle, instead of taking the Indian workers as uncivilised and treating them disdainfully, I have acquired a sense of respect for all the Indians.

"Mr. Pearson, we cannot emulate the Indians. We do not possess that divine power. I have been wonder-struck to see their work with my own eyes."

Then he gave a moving eye-witness account of the heroism of the Indian workers:

"The satyagraha struggle was going on. During that period one day I was coming from Durban. I alighted at Phoenix Station. At a little distance from that station there is an open square. There, about five hundred Indians were sitting together in a group. They had come there after going on a strike in their factory. They were surrounded from all sides by the white managers, their staff and white police. I tarried there for half an hour to see what would happen. Whiplashes began to descend on the backs of the Indians sitting there, in quick rapidity, without stop. The whites beat them with sticks and said, 'Get up, do your work. Will you go for duty or not?' But nobody rose. They sat, quite motionless. They would reply calmly, 'We will not report for duty, so long as Gandhi Raja is in jail.' When whips and sticks failed, gun butts came to be used. The whites now began to beat ladies and children also, along with the men. Some screamed, but none would budge. At last mounted police arrived and horses were made to run over them. 'Get up, otherwise you would be crushed,' they warned. The horses made their way through the legs and backs of some persons. Their skin was torn; the horses' feet caused wounds; they continued to bleed and groaned with pain, but did not move.

"Meanwhile the police brought there an Indian foreman. He was regarded as their leader. He gave bold replies. In reward to his fearless replies, cruelties began to be inflicted upon him. The spectacle of this torture made me shiver.

"Just then a police officer ordered the policemen belonging to my community, 'Spear this man. Don't just stand and stare. All this is due to this wicked man.' Those policemen immediately complied with the orders and pierced that leader of the workers with a spear. This inflamed the workers somewhat and taking that as an excuse, police opened fire, killing one or two persons. The 'leader' breathed his last. Others were injured. But no one moved from the place where they were sitting.

"Trembling at the cruelty of those white men that I had witnessed and amazed at the Himalayan firmness of the Indians, I walked away..."

Dube continued:

"But Mr. Pearson, we will be totally ruined if I ask my people to follow this path. Howsoever illiterate, ignorant, uncultured and wild the Indian workers may be, in their veins there runs the blood which is invigorated with the glory of the ancient culture of the Indians. After getting such a leader as Gandhi that culture has found a renewal. Their original divine power manifested itself again and they could display extraordinary endurance. If our Natives come in their place, nobody can control their violent nature. For their safety they would certainly retaliate. The white men of this place require only this much. If any brother of mine kills a white man after being excited, it would precipitate a great disaster upon us. Thousands of brothers of mine would be put to death in no time and we would be totally ruined. We do not possess so much prowess also to wage a *satyagraha* struggle. Only the strength of the Indians can endure it."

While, as an Indian, I greatly appreciate the handsome tribute paid by Dube to Indian workers and to Gandhiji, I feel that he was perhaps very much influenced by the frustration following the Bambata rebellion. For, at that very time, African women in the Orange Free State were carrying on an effective non-violent resistance movement against the pass laws.

Dube was certainly right in his assumption that white public opinion at the time would have been

hardly outraged by violence and savagery against Africans. The success of the Indian movement depended partly on patient efforts by Gandhiji to develop understanding and support for the cause of the Indian community - among whites in South Africa, as well as in India and Britain. The violence against Indian women and workers in 1913 so outraged opinion in India that the Indian and British Governments had to intervene and prevail on the South African regime to bend and compromise.

What was most lacking on the African side was perhaps the type of leadership which Gandhiji gave to the Indian people - a leadership by example of courage, perseverance and sacrifice. It took time for the Africans to develop such a leadership and launch the Defiance Campaign in 1952. That campaign put an end to the myth that the African people were too "uncivilised" to follow the example of the "civilised" Indians. It also helped promote a powerful international movement of solidarity with all the oppressed people of South Africa.

In the long and difficult struggle since then, in cooperation with Indians and others, the African people and their leaders won the admiration of India and the world.

1. Published in *Hindustan Times*. New Delhi, January 26, 1992; and *The Leader*, Durban, June 5, 1992

Karunananda Chetty - Ghandhism - A Good read - Deena

From: aneed4life <aneed4life@vodamail.co.za>
Date: 3/7/2007 6:41 PM
Subject: Ghandhism - A Good read - Deena

Dr. Arun Gandhi, grandson of Mahatma Gandhi and founder of the M.K.Gandhi Institute for Nonviolence, in his June 9 lecture at the University of Puerto Rico shared the following story:

I was 16 years old and living with my parents at the institute my grandfather had founded 18 miles outside of Durban, South Africa, in the middle of the sugar plantations. We were deep in the country and had no neighbors, so my two sisters and I would always look forward to going to town to visit friends or go to the movies.

One day, my father asked me to drive him to town for an all-day conference, and I jumped at the chance. Since I was going to town, my mother gave me a list of groceries she needed and, since I had all day in town, my father asked me to take care of several pending chores, such as getting the car serviced.

When! I dropped my father off that morning, he said,

"I will meet you here at 5:00 p.m., and we will go home together."

After hurriedly completing my chores, I went straight to the nearest movie theatre. I got so engrossed in a John Wayne double-feature that I forgot the time. It was 5:30 before I remembered. By the time I ran to the garage and got the car and hurried to where my father was waiting for me, it was almost 6:00 .

He anxiously asked me, "Why were you late?"

I was so ashamed of telling him I was watching a John! Wayne western movie that I said, "The car wasn't ready, so I had to wait," not realizing that he had already called the garage. When he caught me in the lie, he said: "There's something wrong in the way I brought you up that didn't give you the confidence to tell me the truth. In order to figure out where I went wrong with you, I'm going to walk home 18 miles and think about !

it." So, dressed in his suit and dress shoes, he began to walk home in the dark on mostly unpaved, unlit roads.

I couldn't leave him, so for five-and-a-half hours I drove behind him, watching my father go through this agony for a stupid lie that I uttered. I decided then and there that I was never going to lie again. I often think about that episode and wonder, if he had punished me the way we punish our children, whether I would have learned a lesson at all. I don't think so. I would have suffered the punishment and gone on doing the same thing. But this single non-violent action was so powerful that it is still as if it happened yesterday. That is the power of non-violence.

TRUTH

"For me Truth is the sovereign principle, which includes numerous other principles. This Truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal Principal, that is God.

The seeker after Truth should be humbler than the dust. Only then, and not till then, will he have a glimpse of Truth.

Truth is like a vast tree, which yields more fruit the more you nurture it. The deeper the search in the mine of truth the richer the discovery of the gems buried there, in the shape of openings for an even greater variety of service. In the march towards Truth, anger, selfishness, hatred, etc. naturally give way, for otherwise Truth would be impossible to attain. A successful search for Truth means complete deliverance from the dual throng such as of love and hate, happiness and misery."

M.K. Gandhi

Issued by the HINDU STUDENTS ASSOCIATION (UDW) in
commemoration of GANDHI WEEK -21/06/93 - 25/06/93

GANDHI



**"I have nothing to
teach the world. Truth and
non-violence are as old
as the hills"**

M.K. Gandhi

*Issued by the Hindu Students Association (UDW)
in commemoration of Gandhi Week -*

21/06/93 - 25/06/93

A U M

HINDU STUDENTS ASSOCIATION

(UDW)

THE MEANING OF AUM

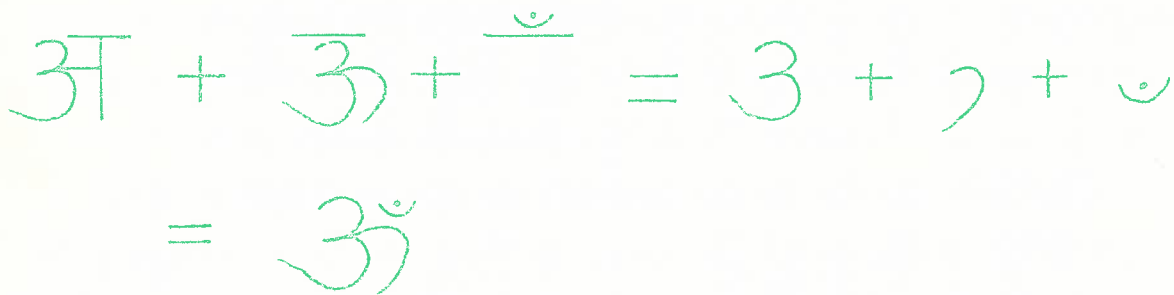
Of all names of God, Aum is the Supreme. Om is the most comprehensive name of God. Other names denote only some one aspect (eg. Ishwar - powerful or Lord of the universe; Prabhu - The Lord of all beings or the one that is capable of doing all things). that is the reason why Om signifies only God and nothing else where as other names stand for other things as well. The word AUM (OM) is made up of three letters, namely A (अ - in Devanagiri script), U (उ - in Devanagiri) and M (म - in Devanagiri). These letters express the three great aspects of GOD:

- A - denotes the power of God to create the Universe.
- U - denotes the power of God to preserve the Universe.
- M - denotes the power of God to dissolve the Universe.

On this basis God is Known to us by the three other names:

- A - Brahma (Creator)
- U - Vishnu (Preserver)
- M - Shiva (Destroyer)

Putting the three letters of the Devanagiri script together we get the AUM symbol. The whole letter is not used therefore we cannot say that the symbol is of any particular linguistic origin - it is not even Sanskrit. The symbol, like the meaning is totally universal - symbolising the formless aspect of God.



The word "AUM" also has two special meanings. It means "Omnipresent" and "Protector". God is present in every particle of the atom and there is not a place imaginable where His presence is not to be found. Being Omnipresent He is protecting this Universe through His power, knowledge and His Laws. God is also the protector of His devotees.

Gandhi

The South African Experience

Maureen Swan

Ravan Press

Johannesburg

Preface

In 1893 Mohandas Gandhi was hired by a Durban-based Indian merchant company to assist in the preparation of a lawsuit against an Indian merchant in the Transvaal. He spent most of the next twenty-one years in South Africa. During that period he developed the moral doctrine and the political technique and skills which became the basis of his idiosyncratic style as one of India's foremost nationalist politicians. Indeed, the international reputation which he had acquired in South Africa by 1914 provided the entrée into Indian nationalist circles which had been denied him on his first attempt to penetrate the upper levels of nationalist politics a dozen years earlier.

As one of the twentieth century's most charismatic figures, Gandhi has been the subject of a vast literature. Naturally, the majority of these studies concentrate on his years as a nationalist politician in India. However, many of them include an introductory section on the crucial, formative South African decades. Some recent works concentrate on that period. The sheer volume of this literature suggests that no aspect of Gandhi's life or career could possibly require further exploration. That was my own first reaction when the topic for the study which produced this book was first suggested to me. It was only then that I began systematically reading the Gandhian literature. I very quickly learned that the existing work on Gandhi in South Africa not only obscures an understanding of this key period in his life, but ignores or distorts what was also the crucial, formative period in the history of the South African Indians. This preface is a brief attempt to explain how and why this has happened.

The general consensus of the existing literature¹ is that the history of the South African Indians was made by Gandhi between 1894 and 1914. He is supposed to have been confronted on his arrival in South Africa with demoralized, apolitical Indian communities, divided on

the basis of religion, and suffering the first onslaughts of discriminatory legislation in Natal and the Transvaal. In the words of one of Gandhi's earliest and more celebrated biographers, 'the Indians in Africa were not equipped to struggle. They had no power, no will, no faith. They were demoralized and without organization. They needed a leader.'²

Some variation of this arresting verbal portrait provides the familiar backdrop for a history which sees Gandhi as the unique figure who chose to resist this oppression, and to rally his countrymen behind him. The contrast between Gandhi and the rest of the Indians, 'dispirited and sunk in apathy, accepting their depression without protest',³ is so stark that a later and equally celebrated biographer asks rhetorically, 'Why, of all the people, did it occur to Gandhi to resist the evil?'⁴ Another writer's answer, which captures the flavour of the literature as a whole, is that 'he was deeply introspective — a moralist and idealogue who all his life wrestled with conscience and the spirit, Truth and Right.'⁵

There is no real place in this discourse for anyone but Gandhi. The assertion that 'organized Indian political expression in South Africa owes its origins to M K Gandhi'⁶ acquires a seemingly irrefutable logic within this framework. Thus one readily accepts the dominant theme of the literature which portrays Gandhi as the man who organized, united and led the Natal and Transvaal Indians in a movement of protest against discriminatory legislation — the man who 'remained twenty years fighting the battle for Indian rights [and] won.'⁷ One can find no quarrel — within this problematic — with a description of Gandhi which sees him as 'the champion of indentured labourers',⁸ and the author of a 'startling new philosophy of revolution'.⁹

The flaw in all of this is that analyses which concentrate on Gandhi to the exclusion, or virtual exclusion, of his constituents, inevitably offer a superficial, and thus often distorted, picture of the social and political reality in which the doctrine and techniques of *satyagraha* (passive resistance) were worked out. The reasons for this Gandhi-centric superficiality are less surprising than they might seem at first glance. In some instances it derives from the hagiographic nature of the studies in question — a burden which has been imposed on many colonial nationalists beside Gandhi. But Gandhi was unusual even for a colonial nationalist, and the well-known asceticism of his lifestyle in later years provided a further impetus to hagiography. By virtue of hindsight, many of his biographers have projected the

'Mahatma-ness', the 'saintliness', of the 1930s and 1940s backwards into his early life.

But superficiality has also, in many instances, derived from a too heavy reliance on Gandhi's historically inaccurate autobiographical writings, *Satyagraha in South Africa* and *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Surely no other politician's memoirs have been — or should be — accepted as uncritically as these? They were written years after the events which they describe. It scarcely needs be said that Gandhi, like all of us, interpreted, and thus rewrote, his past in the light of subsequent experiences. But more than this, the 'soldier of Truth' was also a teacher, and these works were meant to be, as Eric Eriksen suggests, pedagogic: they were meant to convey certain moral lessons to their readers.¹⁰ As such, they are of use more as reflections of what Gandhi was thinking in the 1920s than as the historical documents they are so often taken to be. Remarkably, however, an awareness of this did not prevent Louis Fischer from basing the South African chapters of his biography almost exclusively on these sources.¹¹ Indeed, they are the standard source for the years 1894–1914.

More recent studies of this period, notably Huttenback's *Gandhi in South Africa* and Pillay's *British Indians in the Transvaal* (which deals with some of Gandhi's most important constituents and includes a chapter specifically on Gandhi), move beyond his memoirs into some of the documentary sources. However, despite the promise of their prefaces, neither Huttenback nor Pillay systematically explores the political and social reality of the turn-of-the-century South African Indians. By concentrating on official documents, both studies confine themselves mainly to a discussion of the relations between the imperial government, the South African governments and Gandhi. The social and ideological bases of Indian politics are scarcely examined: the 'Indians' appear as a virtually undifferentiated mass. Thus stratification within the Indian communities, and the relationships of the different strata to each other, and to Gandhi, are lost.

This book has taken as its starting point Gandhi's constituents rather than Gandhi. I have tried to explore and to understand divisions within the Indian communities, and the way in which, and the extent to which, these were reflected in organized politics. Although concentrating on those strata which were represented by the political parties, I have also attempted to identify and investigate the others which remained outside of or inadequately represented by Indian

the reasons for this inadequacy, and the consequences of lack of representation for those outside the political community. But, in particular, I have tried to assess Gandhi's role in South African Indian politics between 1894 and 1914 — to explore his contribution to these politics and their contribution to the development of his unique political style. Much of Gandhi's mature moral and political philosophy was already apparent by the early years of this century. I have therefore tried to root the development of that philosophy in the social and political context in which it was worked out. I have tried also to understand the nature of Gandhian passive resistance in South Africa, the extent to which and the reasons why it was 'successful', and the limitations of that success. This has seemed to me important not only because the South African experience informed Gandhi's approach to Indian nationalism, but also because his political technique and, indeed, elements of his philosophy have provided an enduring legacy for the continuing struggle against racial and class oppression in South Africa.

A very different picture of Gandhi emerges when he is viewed thus — within the context of the Natal and Transvaal Indian communities, rather than above or beyond them as he has been in the past. I find contribution to South African Indian politics has been greatly overstated. The role of 'leader' which is generally attributed to him is entirely inappropriate before 1906, and must be carefully qualified for the period after 1906. The constituency which Gandhi represented throughout most of the period under review was very select, and consisted of the highest strata in the Indian communities. The underclasses, especially the indentured labourers with whom he has so consistently and so wrongly been identified, formed part of his constituency only for a very brief period, and for a very special reason. It is also particularly noteworthy that as a politician Gandhi was never more than a reformist in terms of goals and ideology, even when the passive resistance movement was transformed into a truly mass movement. Gandhi was a social 'rebel' to the extent that he had made the commitment to moral autonomy, and sought to convert others to moral individuation. But he was a revolutionary only to the extent that the technique of mass passive resistance implies elements of a revolutionary style.

Frene Ginwala's unpublished D.Phil thesis — 'Class, Consciousness and Control: Indian South Africans 1860-1946' (Oxford, 1975) — is an exception. Her work suffers, however, from lack of access to the key South African sources, and although her mainly materialist analysis is sensitive to the need to move beyond the leadership level, she lacks the evidence to do so successfully.

R. Rolland, *Mahatma Gandhi* (Zurich, 1925) p.13. This, and the quotes which follow, have been chosen for the way in which they capture the essence of the literature as a whole.

R. F. Hoernlé, 'A South African Tribute', S. Radhakrishnan (ed.), *Mahatma Gandhi: Essays and Reflections on His Life and Work* (London, 1939) p.116.

L. Fischer, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi* (London, 1951) p.56.

R. Huttenback, *Gandhi in South Africa* (Cornell University Press, 1971) p.47.

B. Pillay, *British Indians in the Transvaal* (London, 1976) p.112.

Fischer, *op cit.*, p.60.

Ibid. p.63.

Huttenback, *op cit.*, p.vii.

E. Eriksen, *Gandhi's Truth* (London, 1970). See, for example, pp.57-61.

Fischer, *op cit.*, p.546.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GANDHI

AN ABSTRACT OF THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF M. K. GANDHI

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1087			
1092			
1111	The House at Porbander		26
1113	The Room in which Gandhi was born — October 1869		27
	Karamchand Utamchand (Kaba) and Putlibai Gandhi in Porbander		28
	The House in Rajkot and Gandhiji's room		29
1137	The Primary school in Rajkot; A Classroom; Seven year old Gandhi		30
	Alfred High School in Rajkot		31
	Gandhi in Porbander, age 14		56
1139	Gandhi with brother Lakshmidas		58
1148	As a law student in London		60
	Gandhiji with members of the London Vegetarian Society, 1890		76
1159	Gandhi, 1890		80
	Abdul Carrim Haji Adam Jhavy		83
	First Indian shop in South Africa, West Street, Durban, 1874		84
	Leading Indian businessmen who proceeded to Johannesburg to assert their rights		86
	Copy of Memorial to England, 1891		90
	Abdulla Haji Adam Jhavy (Dada Abdulla)		103
	Gandhi as he appeared at the commencement of the struggle in 1906		106
	Pietermaritzburg Station where Gandhi was kicked out of the train en route to Johannesburg on 7 June 1893		108
1177	2 000 British Indians protest against Government Bills depriving them of their trade licences, 1896		122
	M.K. Gandhi — the young lawyer		143
	Hawkers in Durban, 1887; Indian family in Umzinto, 1890		144
1179	Asiatic Organ Player [Cartoon]		158
	The Green Pamphlet		169
	Founders of the Natal Indian Congress — 1895		170
1219	Artist's impression of a NIC meeting		186
	Portrait of Queen Victoria — A souvenir from the Indian Community in South Africa to its school children — organised by the Natal Indian Congress		203
	Mass meeting held at the Victoria Cafe, Monday, January 4, 1897		204
1234	Protest meeting of white citizens of Durban against Gandhi and the passengers of <i>Naderi</i> and <i>Courland</i> , January 13, 1897		206
	Invitation to Gandhi Farewell — 1901		260
1244	Photograph by Reverend J.J. Doke in whose house Gandhiji was convalescing after the assault		266
	Cartoon		268
	Indian Mass Meeting — Pretoria		294
	A Modern Martyrdom [Cartoon]		299
	Some of the Kimberley Passive Resisters		305
	Some notable colonial-born passive resisters of Johannesburg		313
	Indian Passive Resistance Volunteers in Pretoria		330
	Germiston Passive Resisters		340
	South African deportees at Madras		353
	Cartoon		357

Women resisters who spent three months in gaol	358
The Great March to the Transvaal	360
The Pioneer Party of the last phase of the struggle	370
Some Brave women Passive Resisters	373
Gandhi being placed under arrest in 1914. He is second from the right with Herman Kallenbach and Sonia Schlesin on either side	390
Senator Marshall Campbell who strenuously advocated the repeal of the £3 Tax	403
Valiammah Moodley, who died after serving a term of imprisonment	408
Gandhiji and Kasturbai in South Africa in 1913	411
The Great March	413
Mr Thambi Naidoo addressing a mass meeting of over 6 000 people on the Durban Indian Football Ground during the 1913 strike	417
Gandhi addressing farewell mass meeting at Durban	423
The young Smuts; The young Gandhi	424
Spoofed! [Cartoon]	428
Mr Albert Cartwright	465
Cartoon	476
Mrs R. M. Sodha — was arrested by the government as a "prohibited immigrant"	494
The Babe of Peace [Cartoon]	516
An Interlude — taken between the provisional settlement of 1911, and the final settlement of 1914, at the house of I.A.H. Moosa, the treasurer of the Honourable Gokhale Reception Committee	534
Gandhi in Johannesburg	560
M.K. Gandhi	562
Mr Ahmed Mahomed Cachalia	571
Gandhi, third from the left, outside his Johannesburg law office in 1908. Thambi Naidoo stands to his left and Leung Quinn is sixth from the left	578
Parsee Rustumjee	585
Mr and Mrs Gandhi — prior to their departure for England, July 1914	590
En route to London in 1906	620
From the <i>S.S. Armadale Castle</i>	626
En route to London in 1906	650
Mr Joseph Royeppen as he appeared when arrested under the Asiatic Act	676
A Group, 1908	678
Ram Sundar Pundit	681
P.K. Naidoo	687
Sorabji Shapurji	701
Mr C. K. Thambi Naidoo; Imam Abdool Cadir Bawazeer	709
R. M. Sodha	723
Hanifa Bibi (Sheik Mehtab's mother); S. Nagappen, Sheik Mehtab, Naryasamy	724
Harbatsingh	726
Ratan J. Tata	732
Gandhiji — leader of Indian Ambulance Corps	740
With the Indian Ambulance Corps during the Boer War. Gandhiji is seated fifth from left with Dr Booth to his right	742
Indian Volunteer Stretcher Bearer Corps	762
Medal awarded to Gandhi for services during the Boer War	787
M.K. Gandhi	788
John and Jim Godfrey	790

	358	Gandhiji's hand	
	360	Indian Home Rule	830
	370	M.K. Gandhi; Maganlal K. Gandhi; H.S.L. Polak; A.H. West	832
ie right	373	Pioneer Settlers at Tolstoy Farm with Gandhiji and Kallenbach, 1910	837
	390	The Gandhi Family	866
of the £3 Tax	403	Gandhi with Miss Schlesin and Kallenbach	868
ment	408	Count L. N. Tolstoy	886
	411	Gandhi: The ascetic repose	897
	413	Gandhi with Andrews and Pearson	908
ople on the	417	Students at the Phoenix Settlement with their families	910
	423	Gandhi with Satyagrahis at Tolstoy Farm	932
	424	Widow and sons of Selvan, a free labourer shot dead during the strike. Soorzai,	934
	428	with his wife and child	958
	465	Gandhi addressing the Verulam Farewell Meeting. About 5 000 indentured	
	476	labourers were present	960
bited immigrant"	494	Transvaal Indian Women's Bazaar	990
	516	Olive Schreiner; Mrs Sivprasad; Miss Minnatjee; Mrs Somar; Mrs D.M.	
, and the final		Lazarus; Mrs H.S.L. Polak; Mrs W.M. Vogl; Mrs J.J. Doke; Miss Sonja	
of the		Schlesin; Miss Ada West; Miss Thomas	992
	534	Gandhi and the Hindu Women's Association in 1913	995
	560	Widow and orphan of Pachiappan on the Coast, shot dead during the strike	1015
	562	Reverend John L. Dube	1024
	571	Dr Abdurrahman; Rubisana and Dr Jabavu	1026
1 1908.		Gandhiji promotes soccer matches, 1910	1042
1 the left	578	The Last Scene in Cape Town	1044
	585	The last photograph of Mr and Mrs Gandhi in Durban along with several friends	1063
914	590	Testimonial from Gandhi to Dr Godfrey	1066
	620	The Gandhi family, 1898	1068
	626	Sita Gandhi, Gandhiji and his grand niece-in-law, Abha Gandhi	1070
	650	Kasturbai Gandhi	1074
ic Act	676	Gandhiji and Kasturbai on their return to India	1081
	678	Manilal and Harilal Gandhi	1082
	681	Harilal M. Gandhi	1086
	687	Manilal Gandhi	1110
	701	Gandhiji's nephews, Maganlal and Chhaganlal Gandhi	1136
	709	H. Kallenbach; L.W. Ritch and Reverend J.J. Doke	1158
	723	Gandhiji's handwriting in manuscript of "Hind Swaraj"	1173
Naryasamy	724	Satyagrahis who worked with Gandhi	1176
	726	M.K. Gandhi on his return to India	1178
	732	Kasturbai Gandhi on her return to India	1218
	740	Sorabji Shapurji Adajania	1219
seated fifth	742	A. M. Cachalia	1220
	762	P.K. Naidu	1221
	787	Parsee Rustomjee	1222
	788	Imam Bawazeer	1223
	790	Subhan Godfrey	1226
		Mrs S. Godfrey	1228
		Mr Abdoola Hajee Adam Jhaveri (Dada Abdulla)	1229
		Mr Hussain Dawad Mahomed	1230

TRANSVAAL PEACE PRESERVATION ACT.

IMPORTANT AMENDMENTS.

EXPULSION OF UNDESIRABLES.

THE PAINS AND PENALTIES.

APPLICATION FOR PERMITS.

Friday's Transvaal "Government Gazette" contained an ordinance to amend the Peace Preservation Ordinance as follows:—

(1) Repeals sections 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24 of the Indemnity and Peace Preservation Ordinance, No. 38, of 1902.

(2) After the date of this Ordinance no person shall enter or reside in this Colony unless he is possessed of a permit issued to him under the provisions of this Ordinance, or can give satisfactory evidence that he belongs to one of the following classes:—(a) Persons Resident and actually in this Colony and the Orange River Colony on May 31, 1902, or persons who, before the date of the proclamation, have already received a permit; (b) persons coming under Article 2 of the Terms of Surrender of members of the Army, Navy, or Civil Service. Exemption in this section shall not apply to any person who has been already expelled from the Transvaal or Orange River Colony.

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

(4) (a) No permit to enter the Colony shall be granted to any person who, having been a burgher of the late South African Republic or Orange Free State, has not taken the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, or made some declaration equivalent in import and in form approved by the Governor; (b) subject to the above limitation, the granting or withholding of permits shall be in the absolute discretion of the Governor.

(5) Any person entering or residing in this Colony may be called upon by any member of any constabulary or police force or other person authorised thereto by the Colonial Secretary, to produce the permit issued under this ordinance or to give satisfactory evidence that he belongs to one of the classes exempted from the necessity of having such a permit under the provisions of section 2. If a person so called upon fails to produce such permit or to give such evidence as aforesaid, he may be arrested without warrant, and dealt with as hereinafter provided.

LOST PERMITS.

(6) Every person so arrested shall, with all convenient speed, be brought before a magistrate and if he fails to satisfy the magistrate that he is duly authorised to enter or reside in the Colony under the provisions of this ordinance, the magistrate may make an order in writing directing such person to leave the colony within such time as may be specified in such order, provided that if such person declares upon oath that he has already obtained a permit, and gives satisfactory reasons for his inability to produce the same, or if he declares upon oath that he can produce satisfactory evidence that he belongs to one of the classes exempted from the necessity of obtaining permits by the provisions of section 2 hereof, he may be released upon sureties to produce before the magistrate named in such recognisance within the time stated therein, such permit or evidence as the case may be. If such person fails to

TERMS OF EXPULSION.

(7) Any person who may be ordered to leave this Colony and fails to do so within the time specified in the order, and any person whose recognisance has been forfeited under the provisions of the last preceding section, may be arrested without warrant and brought before a Magistrate, and shall, upon conviction, be sentenced to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period of not less than one month and not more than six months, and with or without a fine not exceeding £500, and in default of payment to a further term of imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

THE MAXIMUM PENALTY.

(8) If any person imprisoned under the terms of the last preceding section shall remain the Colony for a period of more than seven days after the expiration of his term of imprisonment, or any subsequent term of imprisonment imposed under this section, without obtaining permission in writing from the Colonial Secretary to remain in the Colony, the burden of proving which shall be upon him, he may be arrested without warrant and brought before a Magistrate, and shall on conviction be sentenced to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period of not less than six and not more than twelve months, with or without a fine not exceeding £500, and in default of payment to a further term of imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

FRAUDULENT ENTRY.

(9) Any person who (a) obtains or attempts to obtain, or induces any person to obtain, or aids or abets any person in obtaining a permit by fraud, misrepresentation, false statements, falsehood or other improper means, or (b) uses, attempts to use, or induces any person to use, aids or abets any person in obtaining any permit so obtained, or attempts to enter this Colony with a permit so obtained, or on a permit not issued to him by the proper authority, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £500, or to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding two years; or both, such fine and such imprisonment.

A MENACE TO PEACE.

(10) It shall be lawful for the Lieutenant-Governor, on its being shown to his satisfaction that there are reasonable grounds for believing a person within this Colony is dangerous to the peace and good government of the country, to issue an order under the hand of the Colonial Secretary to such person to leave the Colony within such time after the service of such order as may be stated therein. If, on the expiration of the said period, such person shall be found within the Colony, he shall be proceeded against in the manner prescribed in sections 7 and 8 of this ordinance, and shall be subject to the penalties therein provided.

(11) This ordinance may be cited as the Peace Preservation Ordinance, 1903, and shall be read as one with the Indemnity and Peace Preservation Ordinance, 1902.

H. W. Hamilton
Fowle,
Chief Secretary
for Records

Off. of Chief
Secy of Records
& Legislation
as stated

was 25
Rissik St
Jo'burg

The
application
had to be
made on
specially
printed
application
forms
(specimen
copy in
vol 22)

ACCESSION NO. 88121

From: H. W. Hamilton
3rd March 1903.

It is with pride we record that the Indian people were the first to form a political organisation to fight for democratic rights. The Natal Indian Congress was founded in 1894 by Mahatma Gandhi. It was much later, in fact in 1911, that the African National Congress was formed and the Nationalist party even later in 1913.

With the rise of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe during the nineteen thirties, South Africa was also seeing a resurgence of racialism and this, apart from denying the Blacks all rights in their own country, also made the Indians the scapegoat of undemocratic, Racial and unjust policies. The enactment of the Asiatic Land Tenure Acts, the Pegging Act and late the Group Areas Act, resulted in the Indian community being hounded from their homes, businesses, schools and even their temples and mosques. In fact it was intended to forcibly repatriate them to India because the whites saw them as an alien element in the land of their birth. It was to the credit of the young leadership of the Congresses that they decided not to go hat in hand to the Government any longer but rather hold their heads high and resist this unjust law. They embarked on the Second Passive Resistance Campaign i.e. non violent opposition to apartheid and tyranny. Over 2 000 men and women went to jail between 1946 and 1948 for challenging the iniquitous Land Act and also the archaic provincial barrier.

The 1946 Resistance campaign of the congress was an eye-opener to the freedom struggle of the Blacks; the ANC leadership admired the Indian stand. Among others, Nelson Mandela, has often said that they were inspired to embark on resistance by the Indian leaders of the Passive Resistance struggle of 1946. It was therefore not surprising that in 1952, the Defiance Campaign against the unjust laws of the nationalist Government of Verwoed was jointly launched by the African and Indian Congresses. Over 8000 men and women were jailed. Nelson Mandela and Molvi Cachalia were the volunteers in-chief. Almost all of the Indian Congress leadership again went to jail, - Dr Naicker, Dr. Dadoo, Dr. Goonam, J.N. Singh, Ismail Meer, Debi Singh, Docrat, M.P. Naicker, Nana Sitha, Cachalia, Thandroyen, A.C. Meer, Ashwin Chaudree and many others.

With the banning, arrest, exile and silencing of all credible leaders, the seventies and eighties saw the rise of the youth and students in the struggle against apartheid which became more oppressive and affected almost every aspect of the lives of the Black voteless population. More particularly the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration act, the Pass Laws and the Bantu and Separate Education policies galvanised them into the resistance. Student organisations, Religious groups and Civic organisations became increasingly active and resisted, protested and challenged government actions and edicts. This again resulted in arrests, detentions and bannings.

However, despite these setbacks within the community, we have, through our struggle and consistent opposition to apartheid and our clear stand for democracy and justice, seen the fruits of our sacrifices. We are indeed on the threshold of a new non-racial, nonsexist democratic South Africa. We no longer will have to choose to fight apartheid or collaborate with it. For the first time all South Africans, Blacks, White and Brown will be able to vote in one election for one non-racial Parliament. We will be free to choose which Party will serve us best. The right of every individual to his religion, language, profession, job, trade and education will be free of discrimination and entrenched in a Bill of Rights, protected by the Courts and Parliament.

LIFESTYLE WOMAN

A new look at Gandhi

HISTORY'S idols inevitably have flaws, so it did not surprise Dr Maureen Swan to find Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi was not entirely the hero described by various writers.

After researching Gandhi's 22 years in South Africa, Scotland-born Dr Swan has written a book which contests the ideas that Gandhi was the champion of oppressed Indians and a revolutionary politician in this country.

It was certainly not a liking for Gandhi himself, but an interest in Africa, India and the working classes that made this soft-spoken historian start delving in South African archives.

"Biographies touching on Gandhi's time in South Africa portray him as a fighter for the Indian working classes, a man possessed of iron ethical and moral values.

GANDHI may not have been the hero depicted by some historians, although his political techniques and philosophy have proved an enduring example for the continuing struggle against racial and class oppression in this country, according to MAUREEN SWAN, author of a new book on him. KATE MCKINNELL spoke to her.

"But in fact, Gandhi only developed his deep philosophy and 'saintliness' later in life," says Dr Swan.

For most of his time as a politician in this country, Gandhi represented only a highly select portion of the Indian community, the relatively well-off merchants.

Through reading countless letters, documents and accounts, Dr Swan found Gandhi only included the working class late in his passive resistance campaign, when the struggle needed a boost in numbers.

Dr Swan's fascination with Indian history grew at school in Britain and

at university in Canada.

"I joined the popular drift to India during the '60s and spent two fascinating years, travelling and absorbing the customs and heritage of the country," says Dr Swan.

In 1975, while lecturing at Calgary University in Canada, she researched the history of Indian people in South Africa, and this inevitably included Gandhi.

She visited South Africa in 1976 and then moved here two years ago after receiving a fellowship grant to work and study at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Last year she submitted her thesis for publication and it will soon appear as *Gandhi — The South African Experience*.

"Contrary to what is often written, his extreme aestheticism and high moral ethics only developed later in his life," says Dr Swan.

She has found too that Gandhi's own autobiographical writings were historically inaccurate and should not be accepted as uncritically as they are.

"He wrote about his past as if he had always had the beliefs he only developed later in life. Perhaps this was be-

cause he intended his books as an education to young people."

Dr Swan says her opinion of the epic film *Gandhi* would be unprintable.

"It was a garbled portrayal and barely factual. The South African period, particularly, was inaccurately shown. For one thing, Gandhi was never physically attacked by officials in this country."

But Dr Swan says he has left his mark in South Africa.

"He may not have been the hero depicted by some historians. But his political techniques and elements of his philosophy have provided an enduring legacy for the continuing struggle against racial and class oppression in South Africa," says Dr Swan.

□GANDHI - *The South African Experience* by Maureen Swan (Ravan Press, R14,95)



MAUREEN SWAN

760/55

IF PRIZES were given for bad book production, then surely *Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa* would get the trophy for the worst.

Everything about the technical side of this book, published by its author P S Joshi, seems designed to irritate the reader — a dozen literal errors to every page, some pages under-inked and nearly too light to read, some pages over-inked and smudged, and so on.

But...overlook the physical defects and you will find Mr Joshi has put together a well researched, most interesting history of

Gandhi in South Africa ^{6/11/80}

the South African period in the life of India's most charismatic leader.

One would suspect that an Indian author, writing about South Africa from India, would take the opportunity to whip this country. Mr Joshi has presented his story from the Indian point of view, to be sure, but he has not fallen into the trap of many overseas writers who don't let the facts interfere with their versions of the truth.

White South Africans may not like the idea of Jan Smuts being portrayed as the villain who double-crossed the Indians and set South Africa even more firmly on the road to

segregation and discrimination. It is a view of the story that has long been coming, but one from which nobody should shy away.

The place Gandhi has in South African history is clearly defined by Mr Joshi, and the author gives an insight to the character of the man who needed only to walk to have others follow him.

Our review copy was sent to us by the author, so we cannot say who will be distributing the book in South Africa. The author's address is 'Punya Smriti', 11 Jagnath Plot, Rajkot, India. In the book he gives the South African selling price as R5. J B.

N. MER.

6/11/80

AUM

THE HINDU STUDENTS ASSOCIATION

"UNITY IN DIVERSITY " "TAMASO MA JYOT R GAMAYA" - LEAD US FROM DARKNESS UNTO LIGHT

RAMNAVMI

JAY SHRI RAM!

Ramnavmi or the birthday of Shri Ram falls on the 9th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra (March -April).He incarnated on earth in order to destroy the demon Ravan. The Ramnavmi or the Vasanta Navaratri celebration every year is an opportune period to saturate our selves with the spirit of Shri Ram. Shri Ram was the ideal Prince, warrior and protector of his people. He is also the embodiment of dharma therefore he is a Dharmatman.

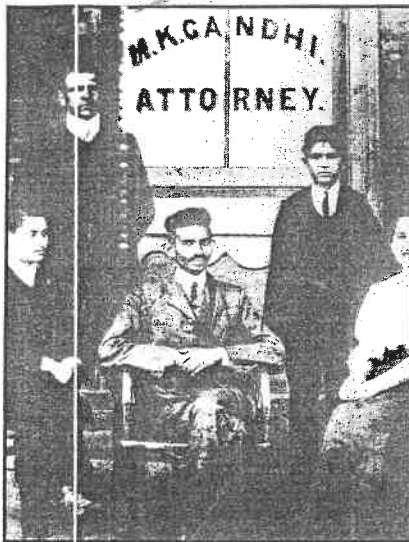
The noblest lesson is embodied in the Ramayana, one of the most important epics in Hinduism. It encompasses righteousness on the spiritual level as exemplified by Shri Ram himself. Ramnavmi is one of the most important festivals of the Hindus. A strict fast is observed on the day and the Ramayana is read in many Temples. Here the glories of Shri Ram are explained and lessons are taught to assist us in our quest for righteousness. Vedic rituals are performed and a havan is also done.

In the changing face of a new South Africa, the example of Shri Ram needs to be acknowledged to an even greater degree. We should look upon each individual as part and parcel of the Supreme Reality (Brahman)

MAY THE BLESSING OF SHRI RAM BE UPON US ALL!!!

**WITH GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: HINDU FASTS AND FESTIVALS, SRI SWAMI
SIVANANDA,**

ISSUED BY PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE (HSA-UDW) - 1992



On the far left, Gandhi in front of his office in South Africa. Merchant and indentured Indians thrived because of their ability to trade. Seen here are traders in busy Grey Street, Durban and below Indian street vendors in Johannesburg. Bottom are nine of the men who, between 1906 and 1909, led the passive resistance movement against Pass Laws for Asians, they were: (from left to right) G.M. Pillay, Nawah Khan, Gandhi, Thambi Naidoo, P.K. Naidoo, M. Eastun, J. Foteon, M.E. Karwa and Leung Quin. Gandhi saw to it that representation was as broad as possible. Chinese were not forgotten; they were being exploited in the mining industry and were being paid far less than indentured Indians.



THE INDIAN OPINION

"We'll hang Gandhi from the sour apple tree" were the angry chants outside a police commissioner's house. The wife of the Durban Police Commissioner placed her life in danger and took Gandhi into her home, preventing injury to this small framed-man who stirred the anger of the white regime. Most politicians have comical stories to tell; one of Gandhi's was when he was smuggled out of the back entrance, disguised as a policeman, by officials.

Two more laws, aimed specifically at Indians; the 'Immigration Restriction Bill' and 'Dealers' Licences Bill' were passed in order to further stint the Indian progression. The Immigration Bill stipulated that prospective immigrants had to possess £2 and furthermore had to be literate and able to speak good English. The Dealers Licence Bill empowered municipal authorities to refuse trading licences, simply on the grounds of poor sanitation.

After a failed attempt in India to win a leadership position in the Indian Nationalist Movement, Gandhi returned to South Africa and set up the first Indian newspaper in Africa called the 'Indian

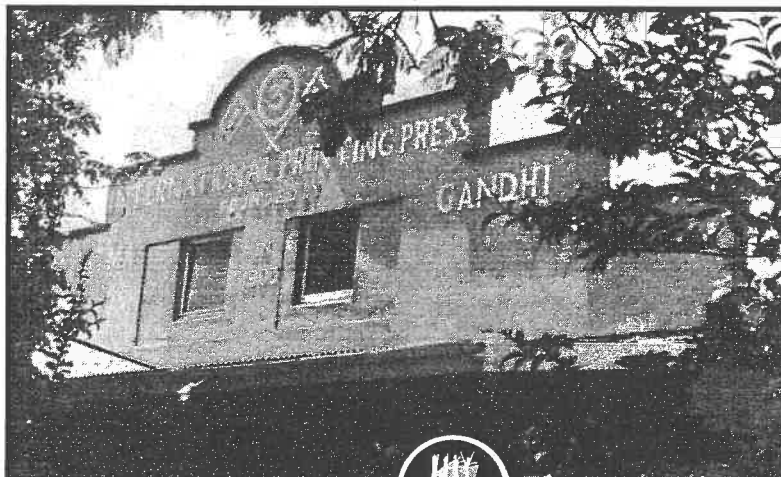
Opinion'. A year later he set up the 'Phoenix Self-Help Settlement' scheme near Durban. The 'Indian Opinion' played a major role in spreading Gandhi's philosophy of passive resistance and gave Indians courage to take action against oppression.

More trouble brewed among the Indians 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. Indians reacted in anger and held a 3000 strong representational protest, taking an oath that none would apply for registration but they would act in passive resistance.

Gandhi had to implement new measures to safeguard peaceful protest. In his words, Gandhi says, "None of us knew what name to give our movement. I then used the term 'passive resistance' in describing it. I did not quite

understand the implications of 'passive resistance' as I called it. I only knew that some new principal had come into being." He later used the same tactics to free India from Colonial rule. It was decided that an Indian Struggle could not go by an English name and so, a small prize was advertised in the 'Indian Opinion' to be awarded to the reader who came up with the best designation for their struggle. The nature of the struggle was fully discussed in the paper and suggestions came pouring in.

Shri Maganlal Gandhi was the one who suggested the word 'Sadagraha', which meant 'firmness in good cause'. Gandhi liked the word, but wanted the word to represent the whole cause. He corrected it to 'Satyagraha', truth (satya) implies love, and firmness (agraha) is a synonym for force. The movement was thus called 'Satyagraha'.



The first Indian-owned Newspaper for Indians in South Africa, was the 'Indian Opinion', which was published in four languages: English, Gujarathi, Hindi and Tamil. Seen here are the premises of this newspaper.

african
Renaissance

KwaZulu-Natal
presents
King Cetshwayo
African Image Awards

Star Walk

OLIVER
REGINALD TAMBO

As past President of the African National Congress (the ANC), he is credited for having led and unified the ANC in exile, until its unbanning and return home as a formidable liberation movement.

BISHOP
ALPHEUS ZULU

Bishop Alpheus Hamilton Zulu, a well respected religious and courageous political leader, was born on 29 June 1905 at Magogo in the district of Nqutu. He was the first African to be elevated to the position of Bishop of the Anglican Church in South Africa. In recognition of his abilities, Bishop Zulu was asked to serve as one of the Presidents of the World Council Churches. A man of strong convictions, he refused to carry a Pass Book and was arrested. He preferred to be called 'Bishop' to the title, 'My Lord' and motivated his African priests in particular, to run self-reliant parishes and not to depend on subsidies from the White missions. He was also first African Bishop of the Anglican Church in KwaZulu Natal.

PROPHET
ISAIAH SHEMBE

Isaiah Shembe was born at Entabamhlophe, Estcourt around 1867. According to the history of his church, Shembe was a prophet even before he was baptized by Rev. W.M. Leshega of a separatist Black Baptist Church in 1906. He formalized the establishment of the Nazarene Church at Nhlankakazi in 1918. In 1940, Shembe composed 219 hymns which were compiled and published as the first work of this type in any independent church in Africa. Ekuphakameni was built in 1924 and the faithful still gather there every July, to worship, dance and be healed. Shembe taught people to use their traditional cultures as a point of departure for understanding the Bible and striving for morality. He was the founder of one of the largest African churches in 1910; the 'Nazareth Baptist Church' in KwaZulu Natal.

MIRRIAM
MAKEBA

Affectionately known as 'Mama Afrika', she gained worldwide recognition by being the first black woman to sing about the pain and oppression in South Africa.



african Renaissance

**KwaZulu-Natal
presents
King Cetshwayo
African Image Awards
Star Walk**

Dr John Langalibalele Dube

Born on 21 February 1871, Dube trained as a teacher and subsequently entered the Theological Seminary which culminated in his being ordained as a pastor. As a visionary, Dube also known as Mafukuzela, established the Ohlange Institute. Also a trail-blazer, Dube then established Ilanga lase Natal and the Natal Native Congress in 1912. After leading the Ohlange Institute, Dube withdrew in order to advise the Zulu Royal House under Isilo Solomon KaDinuzulu. A profile writer, he authored 'Ujeqe, Ushembe' and Ukuziphatha kahle.

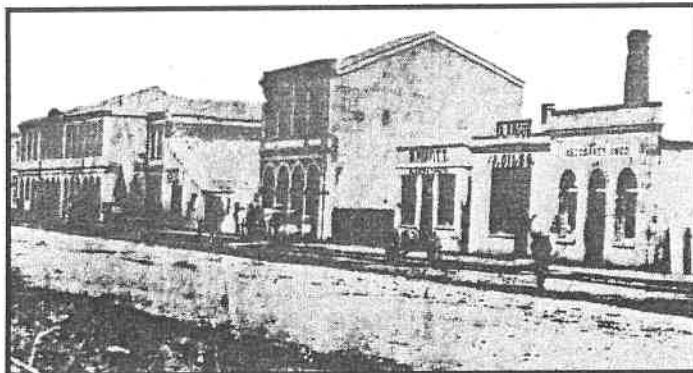
He was the first President of the African National Congress, founder of Ohlange High School and Ilanga lase Natal. He travelled extensively overseas and in Africa. Educated at the Oberlin College, in Ohio, Dube, known as Mafukuzela weAfrika, had spoken extensively about African Renaissance while in the United States. He had met and worked with Moses Marcus Garvey and was greatly influenced by the Africanist. On his return to South Africa, Mafukuzela, also started a branch of Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association. He was also influential in black American bishops who came to South Africa under the aegis of the AME church.

CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI

Past President of the African National Congress (ANC), was the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize and Isitwalandwe Saseparakoe Award. This Inkosi Luthuli was born in Bulawayo in 1898 and grew up on a farm owned by a White member of the Seventh Adventist Church. Trained as a teacher, he was elected secretary of the African Teachers Association where he joined forces with ZK Mathews in 1928. Later, the two men became the two most powerful figures in the African Renaissance Movement. In 1951, Albert Luthuli became President of the Natal Branch of the African National Congress. A fearless fighter of the Apartheid regime, Luthuli was banned for five years under the Suppression of Communism Act. The pinnacle of his distinguished career as humanitarian was the honour of receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960.

MOSES MABHIDA

Veteran Secretary General of the South African Communist Party, founding member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and member of the NEC of the African National Congress.



West Street 1874

Ever heard that old local soccer joke? You know, the one that goes... "never give an Indian a corner when playing soccer... cause he'll open a shop there!" But jokes aside, passenger Indians, as they were called, were setting up trade around 1870. By 1880, they owned 60 of the 66 Indian stores, like the one pictured left, owned by Aboobaker Amod on West Street - the first Indian Store in Natal. Their move to South Africa was not a welcome one and they faced hostility and rejection. They were not allowed, among other things, to trade on Sundays which was the only day that Indentured Indians could do their shopping. Being business class people, they were able to get word to Britain of their treatment in South Africa. In 1893 Mohandas Gandhi left India to represent the Indians.

GANDHI ARRIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA

1893, a young, London-trained lawyer named Mohandas Gandhi, left India to act in a matter concerning two Indian Merchants in South Africa. He purchased a first-class ticket in Durban and took his seat where, during the journey, a white traveller refused to share with a 'coolie'. Gandhi, who was removed from the train after refusing to move to a third class coach, found himself spending the night on the platform of the Pietermaritzburg station. His arrival was set to fuel the resistance of Indians in South Africa.



Born in a country stricken by poverty, illiteracy, disease and starvation, Gandhi was more fortunate than most. He was born to a 'merchant caste' family in Porbander, Gujarat in 1869. Educated in India and then sent to a University in London, Gandhi qualified as a lawyer in 1891. He was a young man, ready to instill his ideology of life into just courses.

While many educated Indians returned home to fight imperial rule, Gandhi showed little interest in politics and returned to establish a law practice in Bombay. He was soon dismayed as his practice proved to be a failure and clients were few and far between. His first attempt at fighting for justice left him speechless; he lost his nerve and couldn't utter a word in court in defence. His practice was closed and the young disillusioned lawyer returned to Porbander.

As fate would have it, Gandhi was thrown a life-line which revived him from his gloom. A representative of an Indian business firm based in Transvaal offered him 12 months of work in South Africa at a splendid fee of £105. He arrived in South Africa in 1893 unaware of the impact his presence would have on the lives of those around him. He spent a week in a Natal Court and ran into much trouble with the magistrate over the wearing of his turban while in session. He left for Pretoria to start work on his lawsuit. It was then that he ran into problems that any Indian would have faced on a South African train. The ordeal of being thrown off the train in Pietermaritzburg station was pivotal in shaping and directing his political career.

Unlike the indentured workers who had been forced to Natal by extreme poverty in India, 'Passenger Indians' were seen as a threat by white business owners. Both groups of Indians were targeted and the white government tightened the noose on those who requested greater political rights. The Indentured Indians

were exploited and were subjected to harsh conditions, flogging and poor pay, while the passenger Indians were given unfair restrictions such as trade being prohibited on Sundays. This meant that the Indentured Indians were unable to do their shopping, as Sunday was the only day that they did not work. Although Indians with money were more powerful than Blacks, Europeans still found them preferable to Blacks whom they believed would become lazy if they were paid more.

A larger problem also emerged, which today is very rarely spoken of in Indian circles. Passenger Indians treated indentured Indians very poorly. They had more power and money and while whites oppressed Indians, Passenger Indians treated Indentured workers as bad if not worse. Caste division saw its emergence in South Africa. The latter part of the 19th Century saw the lower class Indian take up petitions against the discrimination by the 'merchant caste'. All they could do was appeal to the British sense of justice as they had come from the British colony.

A far cry from development, came from the Boer Law passed against Indians entitled: 'Law 3', stating that Indians were of poor hygiene and were to be moved to a deserted spot in the veld away from their lucrative stands in the centre of Johannesburg. 'Law 3' also classified Indians as 'coloured africans'. This really angered the Indian Community as coloureds had no voting rights and the implementation of such a law meant they would not be able to vote either.

The Indians sought assistance from the government of the Orange Free State, but to no avail. The Boers were not impressed with the argument and pushed on with matters of the new Boer Republic where Black, Indian and Coloured people were not allowed to vote or participate in constitutional rights.

Gandhi's Mission becomes apparent

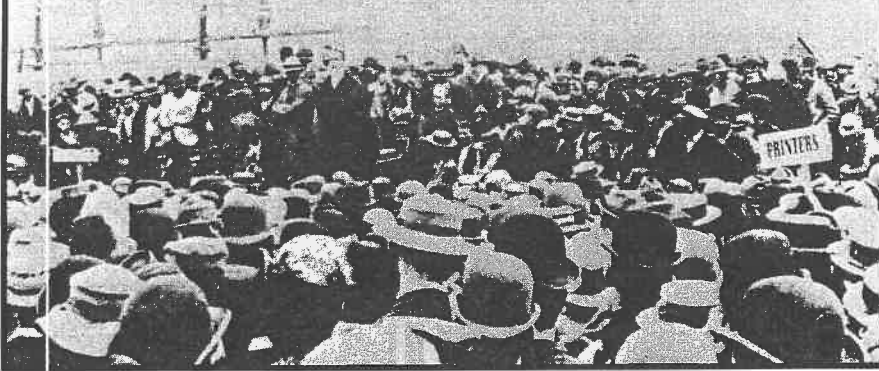
Politicians of the new government in Natal were under increasing pressure to clamp down on 'Merchant Class' Indians, through legislation. In 1894 the government obliged by implementing the Immigration Law Amendment Bill, which stipulated that at the end of the five-year term of indenture and Indian had to return to India or be re-indentured for a further two years. On refusing to comply he would face a tax of £3 annually. Despite an uproar, the bill saw effect in 1895.

Gandhi began working on the issue by writing petitions and appeals in Newspapers and campaigning in India. This attained him the attention of Lord Ripon, Secretary of the Colonies of State. Even here we see his early approach to passive resistance. On 24 August 1894 the Natal Indian Congress was formed and was the first official political organisation to fight for Indian Rights. Still problems arose as it cost £3 pounds annual membership fee.

The help came from the western-educated children of the Indentured Indians. Being born into a new South Africa and having a new sense of politics and freedom, they joined the Congress. Gandhi returned to India and launched a crusade for the cause of S.A. Indians. By the time Gandhi returned to Africa, White tensions over Indians were at dangerous levels with violence looming. Gandhi was forced to remain on his boat for almost a month as daily demonstrations took place at the dock-side. When he was allowed to leave, Gandhi was assaulted by some of the angry protestors.

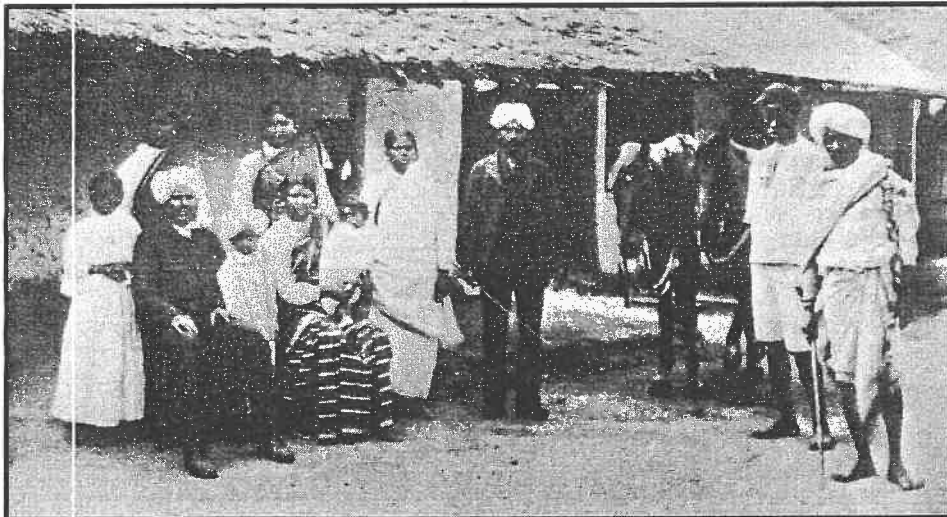
Gandhi continued page...13

No ordinary Coolie!



The importation of Indian Labourers into Natal was bitterly opposed by many whites, who demanded that they be repatriated at the end of their contract periods. One of the main agitators was Harry Escombe (pictured left addressing a protest meeting in Durban in the 1890's) The fact that 'coolies' were regarded as units of labour rather than people left them open to widespread abuse. In an editorial which aptly summed up the attitude of white colonists the 'Natal Witness' commented - 'the ordinary Coolie...and his family cannot be admitted into close fellowship and union with us and our families. He is introduced for the same reason as mules might be introduced from Montevideo, oxen from Madagascar or sugar machinery from Glasgow. The object for which he is brought is to supply labour and that alone. He is not one of us, he is in every respect an alien; he only comes to perform a certain amount of work, and return to India....'

THE SWEET ECONOMIC BOOM IN NATAL BRINGS THE INDIAN TO AFRICAN SHORES



Davarum was 30 years old when he put his thumb-print to a document that he could not even read. 'We, the adult male immigrants,' it said, 'do hereby agree to serve the employer to whom we may respectively be allotted by the Natal Government under the Natal Act No. 14 of 1859 and we all understand the terms under which we are engaged.' ...Davarum or 'coolie no.1' as the recruiting officer named him had no idea where Natal was, but for 10 shillings a month was prepared, along with hundreds of others, to escape the poverty of 'Mother India' which was under British rule. When sugar was first produced from cane in Natal in 1851, the colony seemed set for major economic boom. A parallel could be drawn between the indentured Indian labourers of Natal and the labourers in Mauritius during the same period.

In the late 1840's and early 1850's sugar cultivation, along the coastlands of Natal was shown to bring the promise of great economic reward. However the plantations required regular labour which was in short supply. The solution was found in indentured Indian labour. The first Indian immigrants arrived on African shores in Durban in 1860 adding to the races of South Africa which now comprised of Afrikaaner and British whites, so called Africans, the rapidly increasing coloured population and now the 'Coolie' Indian. Much less spoken about, are the thousands of Chinese who were brought to work on the mines in the interior, where gold, diamond and coal was set to shape South Africa as a country of great economic gain.

By 1866, 6 445 Indians had arrived in Durban, 2/3rds of whom were men. They were brought to the colony on five year contracts at agreed minimum wages. It was blatant exploitation by the British which back-fired and had bitter consequences as the Indian population grew. After the 5 year period had been served, the Indians were given the option of serving a further 5 years in which they could earn their freedom and stay in Africa or be given a free passage back to India. Groups arriving in Africa came mainly from Madras. Eighty per cent were Hindu, twelve per cent Muslim and five per

cent Christian. Indian labourers are largely responsible for the rapid growth of the sugar industry between 1854 and 1866.

In 1871, after a period of economic depression, the colony seemed set to attain more Indian labourers. But with the first Indian repatriates arriving in India, the Indian government changed their mind, disgusted at the poor treatment they had received at the hands of the colonial planters and they forbade further recruitment. In 1872 special steps were taken to remedy abuse such as flogging and excessive pay deductions. A protector of Indian Immigrants was appointed. Provisions were made for the introduction of higher percentage of women, the registration of marriages, land grants for time-served immigrants and the dropping of the term 'coolie'.

In 1874 the first immigrants under the new conditions arrived in Natal. By 1880 the total Indian population of Natal reached 12 823. Indians were subject to the laws of the colony and classed as ordinary citizens some even qualifying for the franchise. In the late 1870's a new class of 'passenger' Indians had come to Natal, Gujarati-speaking Muslims, whose interests competed with those of whites. By 1886 the Indian population had risen to 29 828.



THE EVENTS THAT FOLLOW APARTHEID: HIGHLIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA'S HISTORY. 1931 TO 1994

Jan. 9, 1991

Black students enter previously all-white public schools.

June 5, 1991

The Lands Acts of 1913 and 1936 and the Group Areas Act of 1950 are repealed.

June 18, 1991

The Population Registration Act of 1950 is repealed.

July 10, 1991

President George Bush lifts most U.S. economic sanctions against South Africa.

Sept. 4, 1991

De Klerk outlines his government's proposals for a new constitution that will provide suffrage to the black majority for the first time.

Dec. 20-21, 1991

Delegations from 19 political groups meet in Johannesburg for talks aimed at ending white-minority rule in South Africa. Seventeen sign a declaration pledging them to work toward a nonracial democracy.

March 17, 1992

South African whites, voting in record numbers, overwhelmingly endorse de Klerk's reform policies in a referendum on whether to negotiate an end to white minority rule through talks with the black majority.

June 17, 1992

More than 40 blacks are killed in the South African township of Boipatong. The incident prompts the ANC to withdraw from constitutional talks for four months, urging the government to take steps to curb township violence that has claimed 1,500 lives since the beginning of 1992.

Feb. 12, 1993

The government and the ANC agree on a transitional "government of national unity" in which both parties will be partners.

April 10, 1993

Chris Hani, the secretary general of the South African Communist Party, is assassinated. White rightists are later convicted.

July 2, 1993

A date is confirmed for the country's first universal suffrage elections.

Sept. 7, 1993

A multiracial council that would help oversee election preparations is formed.

Oct. 8, 1993

U.N. lifts most remaining economic sanctions against South Africa.

Nov. 18-23, 1993

Twenty-one of South Africa's black and white political parties approve a majority-rule constitution that provides fundamental rights to blacks. The document calls for the election of a coalition government that would remain in office for five years after the elections.

PASSIVE ACTION IN DEFIANCE OF APARTHEID



Chief Albert Lutuli



Nelson Mandela



M.K. Gandhi

The 'Campaign of Defiance against Unjust Laws' - launched jointly by the African National Congress of South Africa and the South African Indian Congress - was one of the greatest non-violent passive resistance campaigns, in the tradition of Mahatma Gandhi.

It was the largest mass action by the newly-formed alliance of the two congresses, confronting the apartheid regime which had come to power in 1948 and had enacted a series of racist and repressive laws.

Over 8,500 volunteers courted imprisonment, by contravening pass laws and curfew regulations, orders segregating whites and non-whites in railway stations and post offices, and other oppressive and humiliating restrictions. Fears expressed by many people, racists as well as some liberals, that Africans were somehow incapable of non-violent resistance were disproved. Some whites were moved to join the 'Passive Resistance'. They included: Patrick Duncan, son of a former Governor-General; Miss Bettie du Toit, an Afrikaner trade union leader; Miss Freda Troup, an author; and Albie Sachs, then a law student and now Professor of Law in Mozambique.

The Campaign generated a mass upsurge for freedom. The membership of the A.N.C. increased from 7,000 to 100,000 during the campaign and it became a truly national organization of the people. The Campaign also led to the formation of the Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of (white) Democrats, and then a "Congress Alliance" which played a crucial role in promoting multi-racial resistance to apartheid in subsequent years.

It was during the Campaign that the late Chief Albert Lutuli was deposed from the chieftancy to which he had been elected for refusing to obey the orders of the regime to disassociate from the ANC. He was elected President-General of the ANC in December 1952 and earned the respect of world opinion for his steadfast resistance to apartheid until his mysterious death in 1967.

Nelson Mandela, President of the ANC Youth League, was appointed Volunteer-in-Chief of the Campaign. His

outstanding qualities as a mass leader led to his election as the Transvaal President and Deputy National President of the ANC in 1952. He was to assume ever greater responsibilities in the struggle, especially after the ANC was banned in 1960. Despite his incarceration for twenty-five years on 5 August 1962, he remained an inspiring symbol of resistance.

The Campaign led to the foundation of the 'Defence and Aid Fund' for South Africa by the late Reverend Canon John Collins in London and the American Committee on Africa by the Reverend George Houser in New York, initiating the international solidarity movement with the South African struggle.

The Defiance Campaign and the subsequent bus boycotts and other acts of non-violent resistance in South Africa were an inspiration to the black people in the United States when launching the Civil Rights Movement, under the leadership of the late Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

It was during the Defiance Campaign that the Government of India, led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, took the initiative for a joint request by 13 Asian-African States to the United Nations General Assembly to consider "the question of race conflict in South Africa, resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa. They declared that "apartheid is creating a dangerous and explosive situation, which constitutes both a threat to international peace and a flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations." They called for international action "to prevent an already dangerous situation from deteriorating further."

The apartheid regime met the non-violent resistance of the people with physical violence, resorting to the flogging of many volunteers. It enacted new laws providing for long terms of imprisonment and 10 lashes for such resistance. It proceeded in subsequent years to close all avenues of peaceful protest, restricting the leaders of the movement, charging them with high treason and banning their organizations.



Discrimination's Ticket - 'THE DOMPASS'

left: Mandela burning his Pass Book following the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. He hoped to initiate a mass pass-burning campaign, but the government clamped down on all protests and banned the ANC for 30 years.

'Apartheid' tradition was statutorily defined and enforced in 1948 and it was largely due to the Apartheid slogan that the National Party came to power and proceeded to implement the policy in practice by means of legislation. Before the 1948 election had taken place, Malan had already explained how the Black people of South Africa would be affected. Reserves would be retained and hopefully enlarged. Instruction would be given to peasant farmers regarding scientific farming methods, soil conservation and general agriculture. 'Permanent urban blacks would be placed in separate residential areas and would be provided with improved housing schemes. temporary labourers would

continued to page 23.

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and for the dissolution of the country's 10 black self-governing homelands. The U.S. repeals sanctions against South Africa.

Jan. 29-Feb. 2, 1994

Mandela and de Klerk officially launch their respective election campaigns. Mandela presents the ANC's campaign manifesto detailing the group's economic-reform proposals.

March 13-31, 1994

The leader of the Bophuthatswana homeland, who opposed the election accord, is deposed by South African government forces. A state of emergency is declared in the KwaZulu homeland following upsurges of civil unrest. Also, 53 people are killed in gun battles in Johannesburg during a protest march by Zulus demanding that KwaZulu be excluded from the elections.

April 19, 1994

The Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, which has been blamed for inciting violence in its KwaZulu stronghold, agrees to join the elections.

April 26-29, 1994

The country's first universal suffrage elections are held, and blacks are given their first opportunity to vote.

May 2, 1994

Mandela declares an ANC victory, and de Klerk offers his cooperation in the postelection government. The new parliament is set to meet the following week, and Mandela is scheduled to be sworn in as president May 10.

Principal Apartheid Legislation 1949-1961

- Act No. 55 of 1949
Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act
- Act No. 21 of 1950
Immorality Amendment Act
- Act No. 30 of 1950
Population Registration Act
- Act No. 41 of 1950
Group Areas Act
- Act No. 46 of 1951
Separate Representation of Voters Act
- Act No. 52 of 1951
Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act
- Act No. 68 of 1951
Bantu Authorities Act
- Act No. 67 of 1952
Natives (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act)
- Act No. 47 of 1953
Bantu Education Act
- Act No. 49 of 1953
Reservation of Separate Amenities Act
- Act No. 19 of 1954
Natives Resettlement Act
- Act No. 69 of 1955
Group Areas Development Act
- Act No. 64 of 1956
Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act
- Act No. 34 of 1959
Bantu Investment Corporation Act
- Act No. 3 of 1961
Coloured Persons Communal Reserves Act
- Act No. 31 of 1961
Preservation of Coloured Areas Act
- Act No. 79 of 1961
Urban Bantu Councils Act

List of Gandhiana items available for Exhibition Purposes

1. Video Cassettes :

- a. The Making of the Mahatma/Shyam Benegal (Director)
- b. Mahatma : Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, 1869-1948 (An abridged version)/Gandhi Films Foundation

2. Audio Cassettes :

- a. Bapu ke Priya Bhajan (vernacular)
- b. Speeches of Mahatma Gandhi and Devotional Songs
- c. Gandhi Darshan : Mahatma Gandhi's Vision of Life (2 vols.)

3. CD-ROM

- a. Gandhi : Apostle of Peace and Nonviolence

4. Books

1. Nonviolence : Contemporary Issues and Challenges/Mahendra Kumar (Ed.)
2. Quotes of Gandhi
3. Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics/Thomas Weber
4. Conflict Resolution Through Non-Violence : Role of the Universities/ K.D. Gangrade and R.P.Mishra . Vols.1 & 2
5. Peace, Non-Violence and World Order (Gandhian Perspective)/ J.S.Mathur
6. Gandhian Model of Development and World Peace/ R.P.Misra (Ed.)
7. Dimensions of Peace and Nonviolence : The Gandhian Perspective/ Dr Anima Bose
8. Contemporary Crisis and Gandhi/ Ramashray Roy (Ed.)
9. Gandhi & The Future of Humanity/ Ramjee Singh (Ed.)
10. Gandhi Between Tradition and Modernity/ Madhuri Wadhwa
11. Gandhi and the World Order/ Ramjee Singh (Ed.)
12. Exploring Gandhi/ Manmohan Choudhuri
13. Facets of Mahatma Gandhi : Non-Violence and Satyagraha/ Subrata Mukherjee (Ed.). Vol.1

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General Lukin Interviewed.

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Upon his return from Verulam last night General Lukin granted an interview to a representative of the "Mercury" at the Hotel Edward. He explained the position very briefly.

"Yesterday a certain number of the Indians on the estates refused to work. They attempted to get into Verulam," he said, "but were turned back by the police. There were some 1,000 strikers assembled in Verulam. These were got back to their respective estates by the S.A.M.R., and detachments have been stationed at these estates to prevent intimidation, and also to protect property. It is hoped that the men will be kept on the estates; in fact, they will be kept on the estates, and now the only question is: Will they return to work?"

General Lukin informed our reporter that there was no disturbance at Verulam, and that there is no need for any alarm whatever. He added that to him it appeared that 90 per cent. of the men did not know what they were out for.

The S.A.M.R., he said, would be reinforced to confine the men to their own estates, in case they should show any further intention of marching or intimidating other Indians. At 5.45 yesterday the assembly of Indians at Verulam had been despatched in charge of the police, and everything was quiet.

General Lukin was accompanied by Col. Clarke, commander of the 2nd S.A.M.R., and Capt. Clark-Kennedy, staff officer to General Lukin. General Lukin is remaining in Durban for a day or two.

An Indian Opinion.

A prominent Indian yesterday expressed the opinion that the present unrest will go on until the £3 tax is repealed. He stated that no damage whatever would be done, but as soon as the few police the authorities can muster are safely at one spot the trouble will break out in a district from which the police have been removed, and that the Durban County and South Coast districts would shortly be "called out." He was confident that the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi would in no way tend to end the trouble, for the Indians have ample means at their disposal, whilst the Government is short both of money and men.

Sugar Association Meeting.

A meeting of the Sugar Association was held yesterday, at which the exact position in regard to the Indian trouble in the Imbhoti Valley was explained. The members were informed what steps had been taken within the last few days to deal with the matter. The views held by the members of the Sugar Association have been expressed to General Lukin, in whose hands the matter rests to a great extent. No resolution was passed at the meeting.

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seen, with inducing indentured immigrants to leave the Province. The Court was crowded with Indians and Europeans. Mr. W. Dalzell-Turnbull was specially instructed by the Attorney-General to appear for the prosecution, and Mr. Advocate J. W. Godfrey appeared for Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi pleaded guilty to the charges.

Mr. Turnbull read the section, and left the matter in the hands of the Magistrate.

Mr. Godfrey stated that he was under an obligation to the defendant not to plead in mitigation in any way whatsoever. The circumstances which had brought Mr. Gandhi before the Magistrate were well known to all persons, and he was only expressing the desire of the defendant when he stated that the Magistrate had a duty to perform, and that he was expected to perform that duty fearlessly, and should therefore not hesitate to impose the highest sentence upon the prisoner if he felt that the circumstances in the case justified it.

Mr. Gandhi obtained the permission of the Court, and made the following statement:—As a member of the profession, and being an old resident of Natal, he thought that, in justice to himself and the public, he should state that the counts against him were of such a nature that he took the responsibility imposed upon him, for he believed that the demonstration for which these people were taken out of the Colony was one for a worthy object. He felt that he should say that he had nothing against the employers, and regretted that in this campaign serious losses were being caused to them. He appealed to the employers also, and he felt that the tax was one which was heavily weighing down his countrymen, and should be removed. He also felt that he was in honour bound, in view of the position of things between Mr. Smuts and Professor Gokhale, to produce a striking demonstration. He was aware of the miseries caused to the women and babes in arms. On the whole, he felt he had not gone beyond the principles and honour of the profession of which he was a member. He felt that he had only done his duty in advising his countrymen, and it was his duty to advise them again, that until the tax were removed, to leave work and subsist upon rations obtained by charity. He was certain that without suffering it was not possible for them to get their grievance remedied.

The Magistrate then addressed as follows:—In this case the accused had pleaded guilty to the three counts, and the section of the law under which the accused was charged made him liable to a fine of £20 for each immigrant he attempted to induce, or induced, to leave the Province. Mr. Gandhi was an educated gentleman, and had the distinction of being a member of the legal profession, and whatever he had done, he had done with a full knowledge of the consequences of his act. The Magistrate then referred to the conditions under which Indians were brought into this Province, and the terms they had agreed

upon for remaining here after the expiry of their indentures. He also referred to the contention of the Indians regarding Mr. Smuts's alleged promise to the Indians. The Natal members of Parliament had consented to the tax being removed so far as it affected the women and children, but not the men. The Government had, therefore, not broken faith with the Indians, and he believed this was the ground upon which Mr. Gandhi had advised the Indians to strike. To strike was to defy the law, and the Government's position was that, so long as the Indians were out on strike, it was impossible for them to consider any legislation regarding repeal. The defendant was, by his threatening conduct, only bringing ruination to the men and harshness upon themselves. He therefore advised the Indians to stop the passive resistance and make representations to the

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Sympathy with Gandhi.

Rand Indians Close Businesses.

Johannesburg, Nov. 12 (Reuter).—The Indians have closed their places of business out of sympathy with Mr. Gandhi. On the produce market the decision seriously affected the day's business. Hawkers did not buy at the auctions, with the result that the stalls are packed with unsold vegetables. Householders in town, and particularly along the Reef, were in consequence inconvenienced.

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Representations were made to the Government by Maritzburg and Durban Indians, and the result was that yesterday the Maritzburg gaol authorities received instructions from headquarters to supply these prisoners with ghee, so that the trouble in that connection is now ended.

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