B/GANDHI

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# REPSTA

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SCRAPBOOK = 874/296

# SCRAP BOOK

## GANDHI DISPLAY

Repsta

266



# GANDHI IN SOUTH AFRICA 1893 - 1914

## His contribution to the political development of the Indian South African

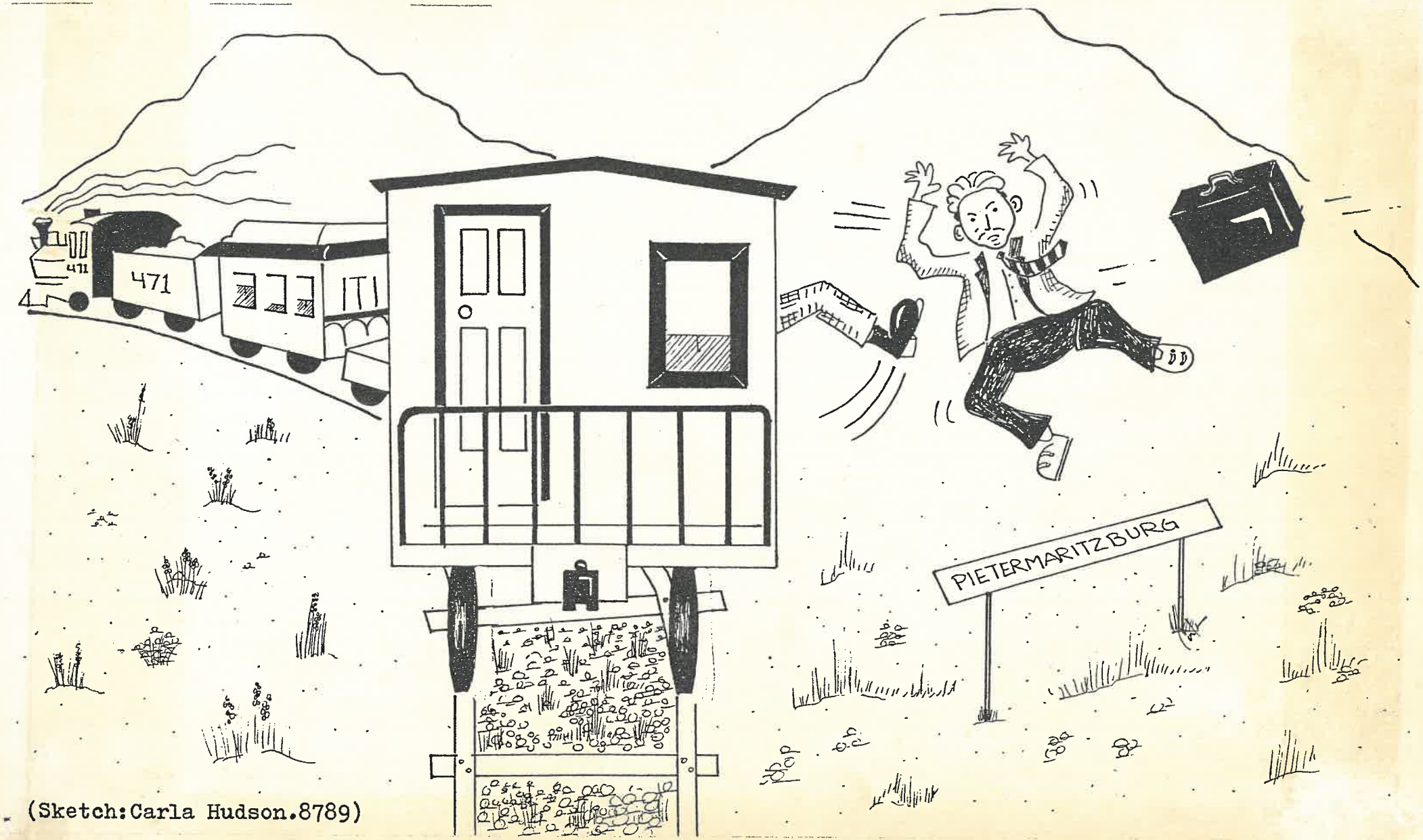
## MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI,

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.



Photo: 155/47 (MP/MRS. Gandhi)




(Sketch:Carla Hudson.8789)

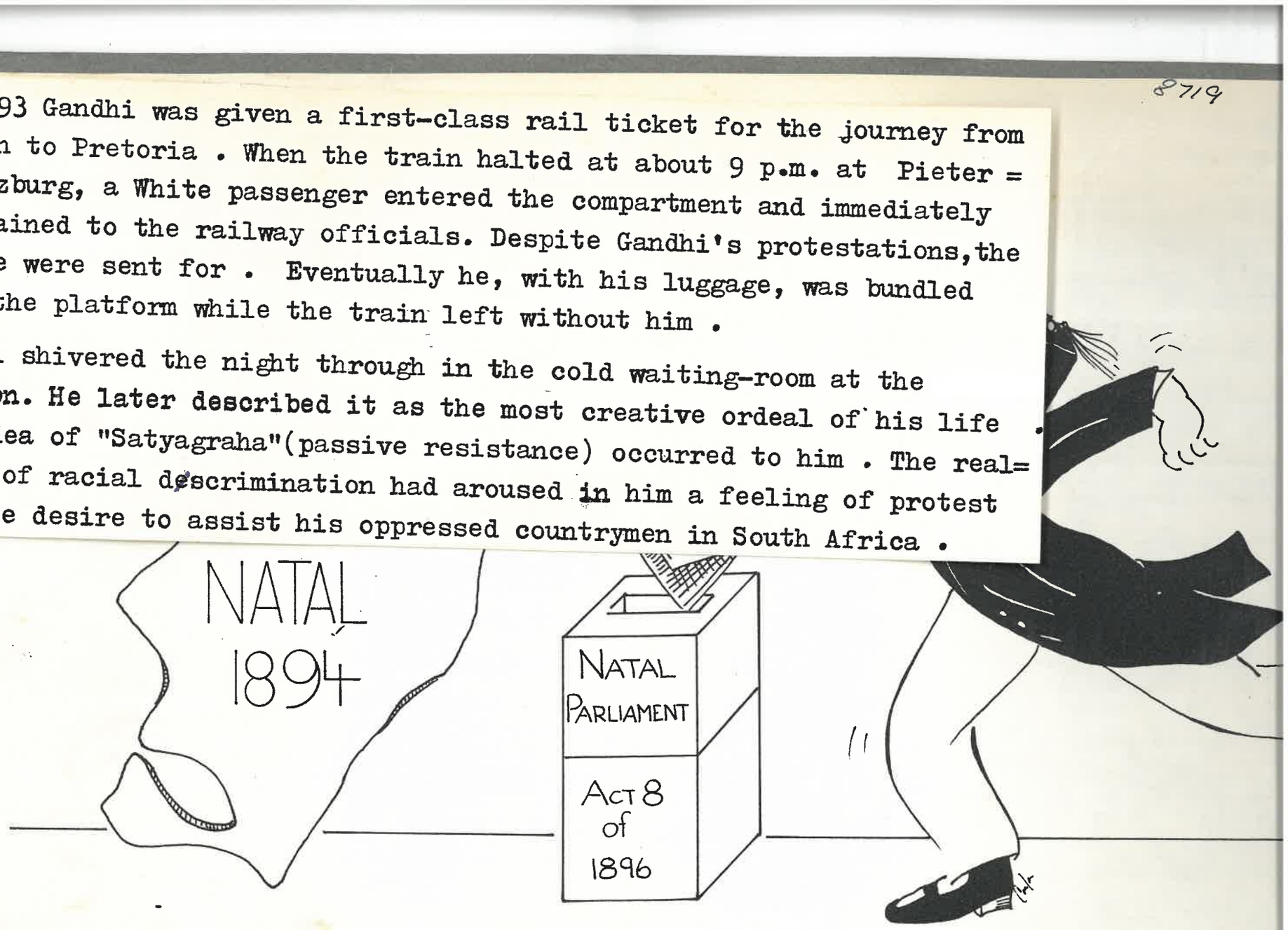
1893/1894

6878

8719

In 1893 Gandhi was given a first-class rail ticket for the journey from Durban to Pretoria . When the train halted at about 9 p.m. at Pieter = maritzburg, a White passenger entered the compartment and immediately complained to the railway officials. Despite Gandhi's protestations,the police were sent for . Eventually he, with his luggage, was bundled onto the platform while the train left without him .

Gandhi shivered the night through in the cold waiting-room at the station. He later described it as the most creative ordeal of his life . The idea of "Satyagraha"(passive resistance) occurred to him . The real= ities of racial discrimination had aroused in him a feeling of protest and the desire to assist his oppressed countrymen in South Africa .




In 1894 the newly-elected Responsible Government of Natal introduced Act 25 which sought t deprive Asiatics of the parliamentary franchise. Royal assent to this measure was refuse

In 1896 a new Bill excluded from the voter's roll all persons who, not being of European origin,were natives or descendants in the main line of natives of countries which had not hitherto possessed elective representative institutions founded on the parliamentary fra

P2

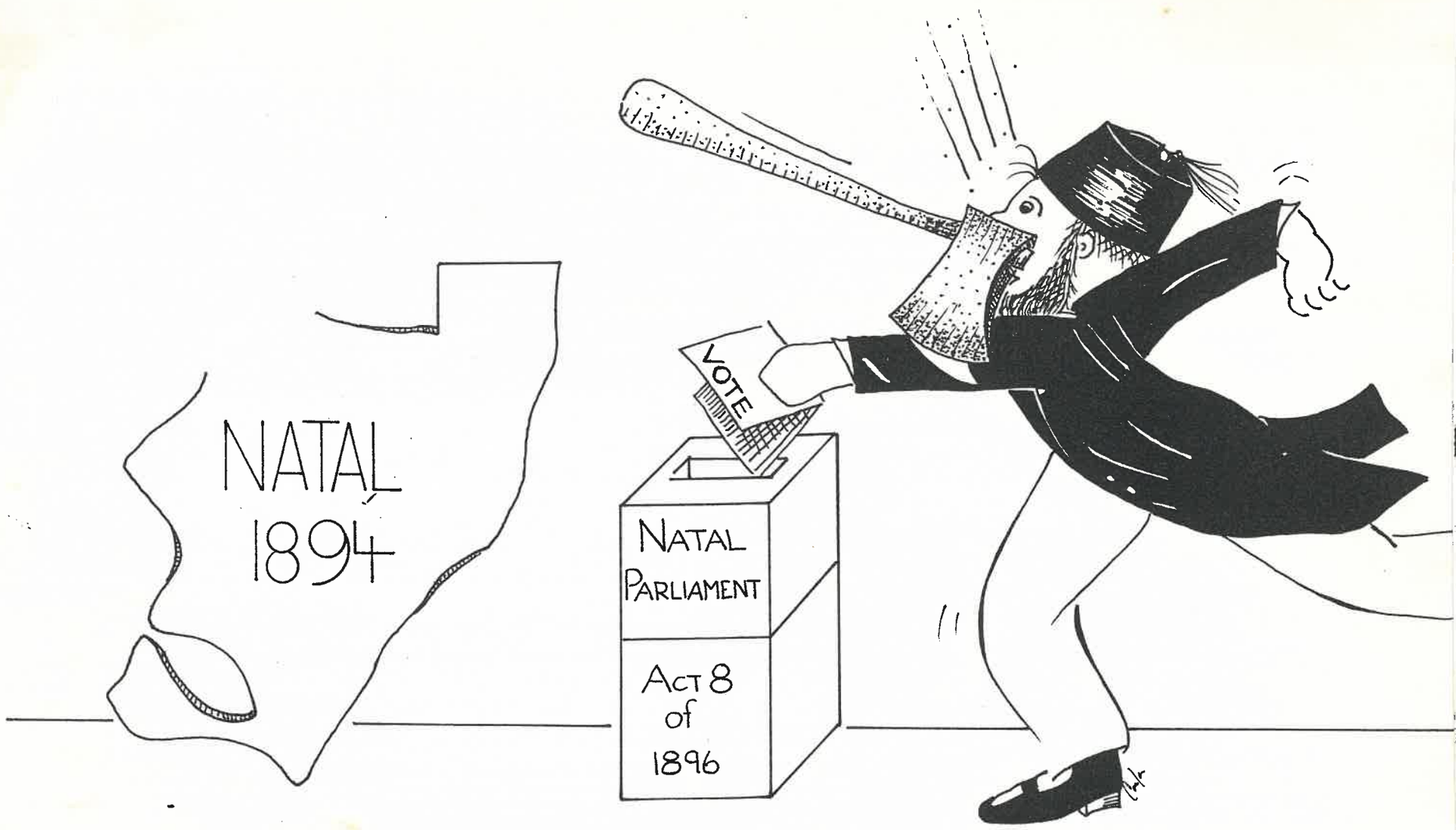
8719

# Throwing of Gandhi from

## proved to be event of

## historic importance

267

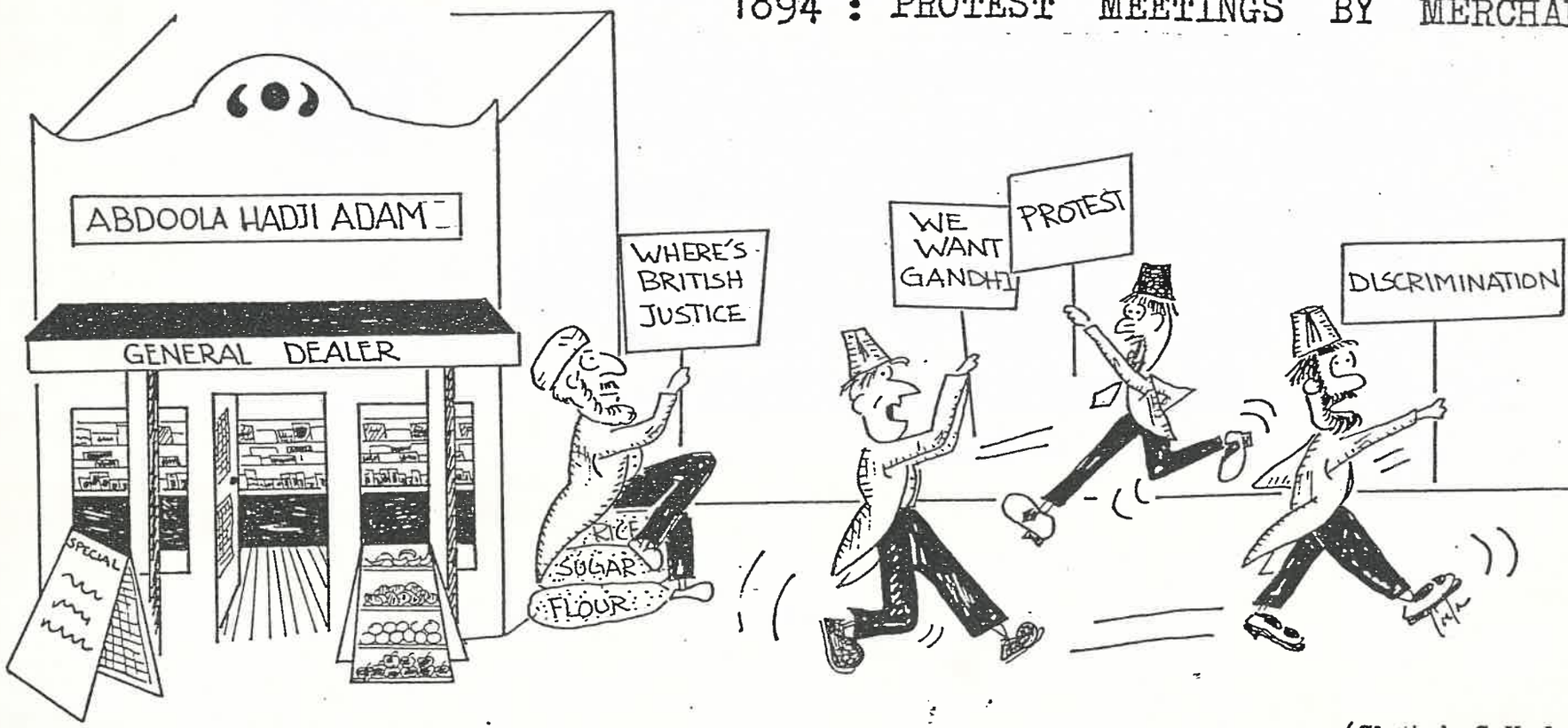



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In 1896 a new Bill excluded from the voter's roll all persons who, not being of European origin, were natives or descendants in the main line of natives of countries which had not hitherto possessed elective representative institutions founded on the parliamentary franchise...

8729

# 1894 : PROTEST MEETINGS BY MERCHANTS




(Sketch: C.Hudson
8722 )

8722

Natal INDIAN CONGRESS

Although the Disenfranchising Act affected only about 251 Indians who possessed the necessary voting qualifications, the local Indians were alarmed and sought the aid of Gandhi. Gandhi, on the point of depart= ure to India, prolonged his stay until 1896.

PROTEST MEETINGS were held.....A PETITION which was signed by a 1000 Indians and forwarded to the Colonial Secretary, was supported by H.M. Government, but infuriated the Natal Europeans .

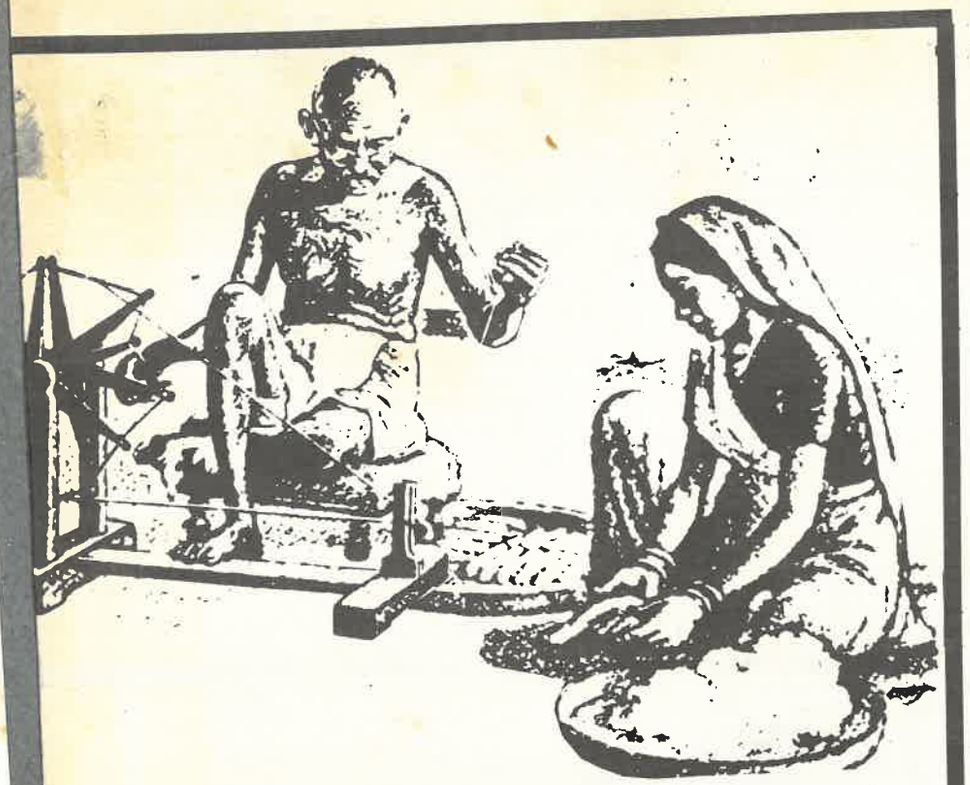
Gandhi now becomes a political leader and on May 22,1894, a new political organisation, T H E N A T A L I N D I A N C O N G R E S S is inaugurated, with Gandhi as the first Hon. Secretary and Abdoola Hadji Adam as the first President . The membership fee of £3 p.a. confined membership largely to the merchant class .

Gandhi's aims : to uphold the principles of British democracy for the S. A.Indians; to abolish discrimination and to achieve this by non-violent means.

AN INDIAN PIONEER

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
10th February, 1912.

p3



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



# Beloved Gandhi

## THE LEGACY OF GANDHI

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

**MAY HIS SPIRIT GUIDE US TO THE RIGHT PATH.**

155/83

.....a tribute to

# GANDHI



.....by the

HINDU STUDENTS ASSOCIATION
MEDICAL SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

603/1

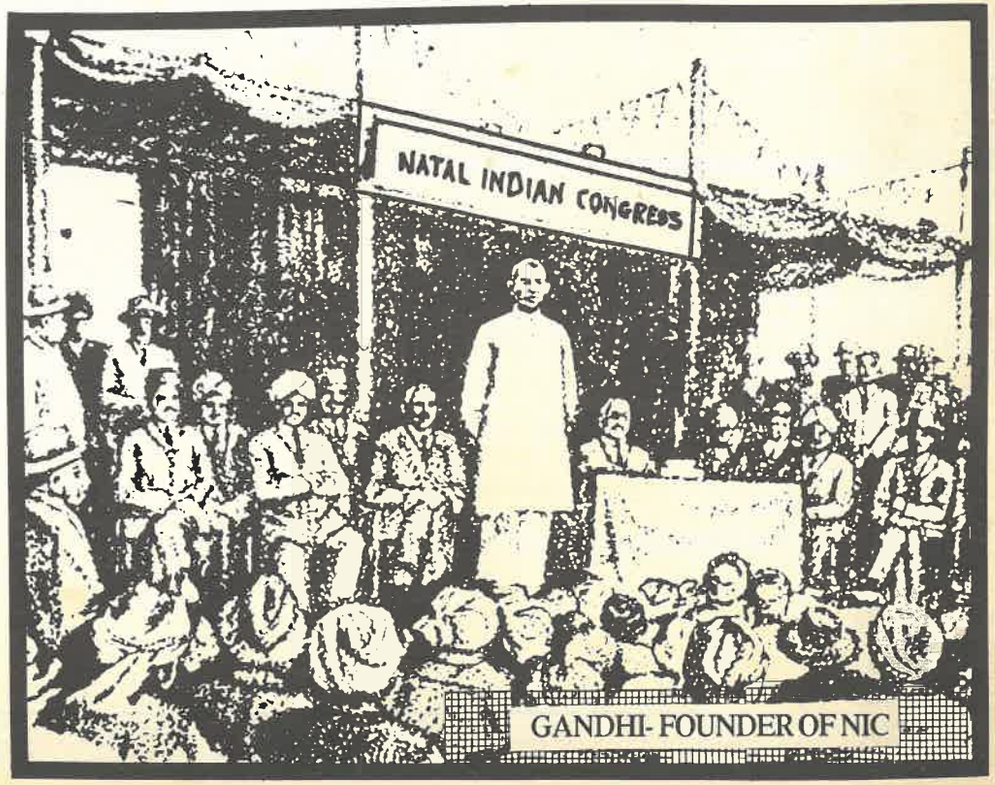
# PROGRAMME

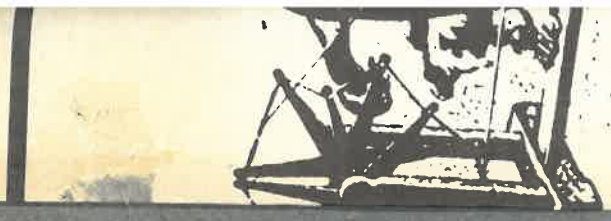
3 August 1983 ( WED ) : GANDHI PHOTO EXHIBITION
BROWN COMMON ROOM
12.00 - 4.00 p.m.

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

1.00 p.m.
L2

103





* special thanks
- Dr HENNING
- GANDHI PH
- TOMMY and
- Mr S. S. SIN
- HINDU STU
- HSA - UDW
- MSRC
- HSA WORKI

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
10th February, 1912.

P3

# AN INDIAN PIONEER



*Photo by* ] [ *Stuart Jones*

**The late Mr. ABDOOLLA HADJI ADAM,**

The first President of the Natal Indian Congress

## મરહુમ મી. અબદુલા હાજી આદમ

જેઓ નાતાલ ઇંડીઅન કોંગરેસના પહેલા પ્રમુખ હતા, અને અત્રેની જાહેર હીલચાલોમાં હમેશાં આગેવાની ભરયો ભાગ લેતા.

155/53

8790

(8790 )




Gandhi returned to Natal with his wife and children, arriving on 18th December 1896. Another ship, the S.S.Naderi, also arrived from India . Together they carried 611 free-passenger Indians. 5000 agitated Europeans held a demonstration at the Point to prevent the Indians landing. They were alarmed at the Indian "invasion" and regarded Gandhi as the "commander-in-chief" of the "invasion" force . Gandhi, who recently published his controversial "Green Pamphlet" while in India, was lynched by a hostile mob .....

269

DURBAN DEC 1896

4

E9

210

# CLASH! Europeans versus Indians

The day Gandhi arrived back in Natal on the S.S.Courland, another ship, the S.S.Naderi, also arrived from India, together carrying a total of 611 free passage Indians .

5000 Europeans held a demonstration to prevent the Indians disembarking -- they were alarmed at the Indian "invasion" and regarded Gandhi as the "commander-in-chief" of the "invasion force".

In addition, the Europeans were annoyed with Gandhi because he had criticised them . Gandhi was assaulted, but pressed no charges .

P4

1/30.



Thereafter the descriptions of the incident vary considerably :

"He was surrounded by a mob and pelted with missiles of a maladorous description. The Superintendent fortunately appeared on the scene and conducted the Advocate to his destination.."

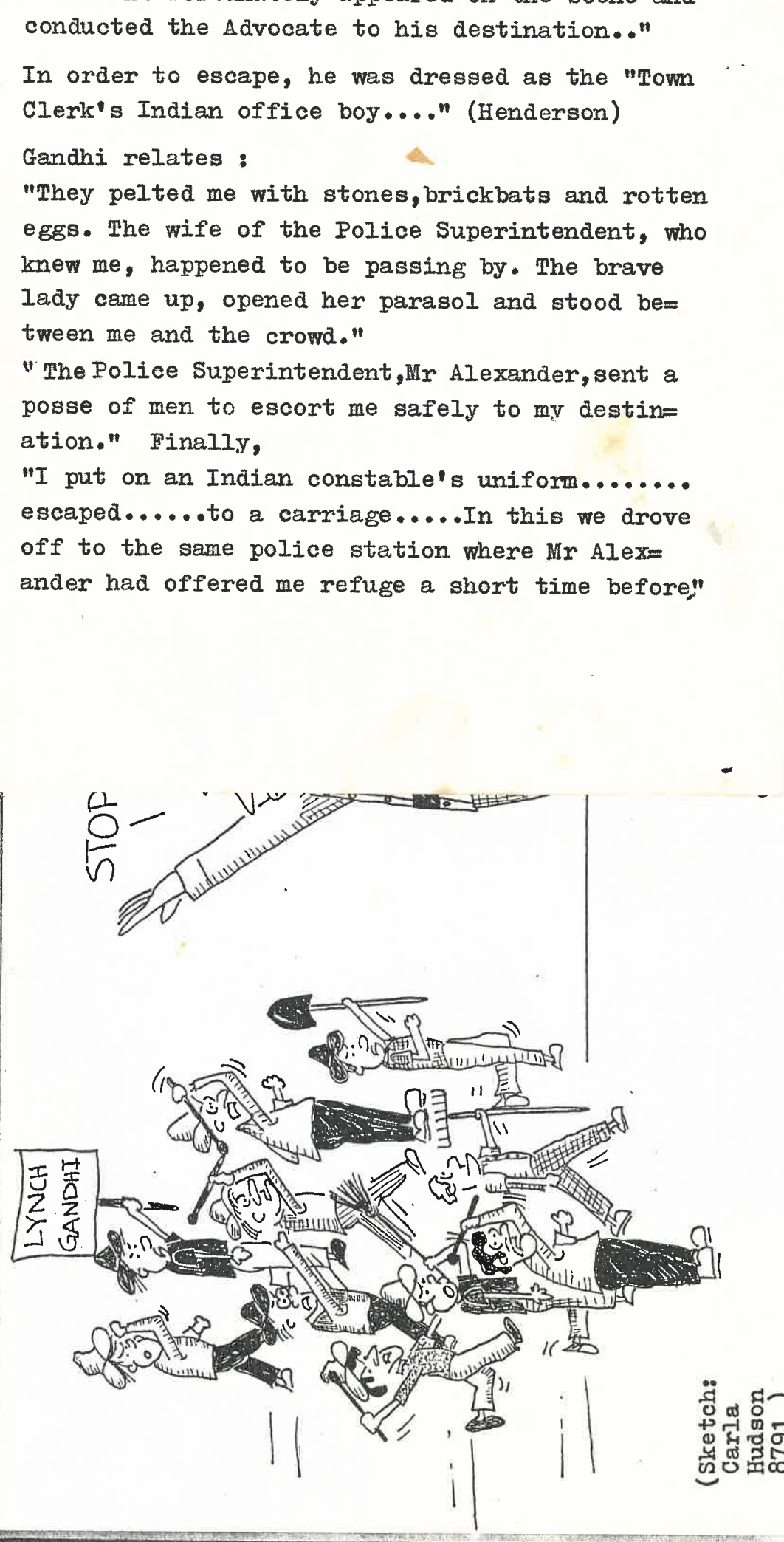
In order to escape, he was dressed as the "Town Clerk's Indian office boy...." (Henderson)

Gandhi relates :

"They pelted me with stones,brickbats and rotten eggs. The wife of the Police Superintendent, who knew me, happened to be passing by. The brave lady came up, opened her parasol and stood between me and the crowd."

" The Police Superintendent,Mr Alexander,sent a posse of men to escort me safely to my destination." Finally,

"I put on an Indian constable's uniform..... escaped.....to a carriage.....In this we drove off to the same police station where Mr Alexander had offered me refuge a short time before"



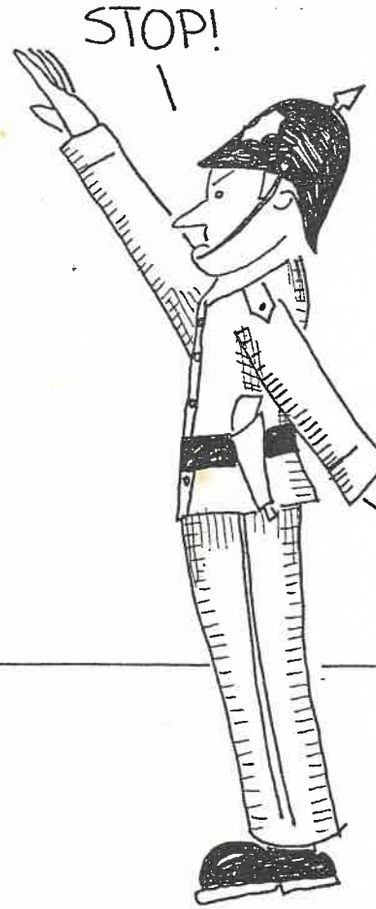

(Sketch: Carla Hudson 8791 )

GANDHI BEFRIENDED BY THE POLICE SUPERINTENDENT AND MRS ALEXANDER , DURBAN

8791

8791






(Sketch:
Carla
Hudson
8791 )

GANDHI BEFRIENDED BY THE POLICE SUPERINTENDENT AND MRS ALEXANDER , DURBAN

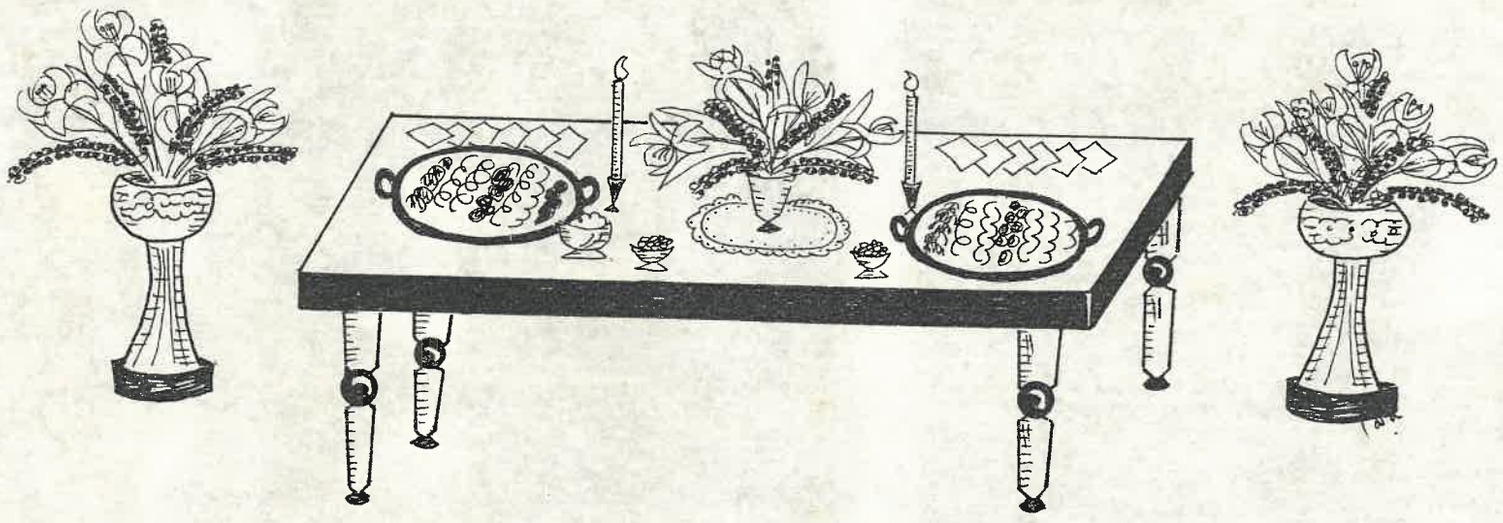
# INDIAN VOLUNTEER AMBULANCE CORPS

272

INDIAN VOLUNTEER AMBULANCE CORPS : Gandhi established this non-combatant group who numbered about 1100. The Corps served in northern Natal and 37 members, including Gandhi, received decorations . This was the first local Indian military unit in South Africa .

8792

8793



(8793)

GANDHI'S SECOND PERIOD IN SOUTH AFRICA ( DEC 1896 to OCT 1901 ) WAS RELATIVELY UNEVENTFUL. TO=DATE HE HAD ORGANISED THE LOCAL INDIANS INTO A POLITICAL UNIT, POINTED THE WAY TO PUBLIC SERVICE AND ESTABLISHED THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS WHICH WOULD ACT AS A POLITICAL FORUM .

BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE A SPECIAL FAREWELL DINNER WAS HELD IN HIS HONOUR . GANDHI PROMISED THAT SHOULD HIS SERVICES BE REQUIRED, HE WOULD RETURN. FOUR MONTHS LATER HE RECEIVED AN URGENT APPEAL AND TOWARDS THE END OF 1902,HE RETURNED TO SOUTH AFRICA.

FAREWELL 1901




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.

R. S. V. P.

96

1551/00

THE

# INDIAN OPINION.

ENGLISH. GUJARATI. PUBLISHED IN TAMIL. HINDI.

(12 Pages with Supplement). Durban, June 4th, 1903. No. 1.

ઇન્ ગારડન એન્ડ કં૦

હોલસેલ મરચન્ટસ્,

૪૮૧, સ્મીથ સ્ટ્રીટ, ડરબન.

પ્રથમ દરેક જાતનું કાપડ તૈયાર તથા અઠવાડીયા વાન, [illegible] બરના કબાટો, તથા હાર્મોનીયમ વગેરે [illegible] મળી શકશે.

| | |
|---|---|
| [illegible] | WANTED. |
| [illegible] | GOOD MACHINE BOY, GOOD WAGES for suitable person. Apply to PROPRIETOR "INDIAN OPINION." |
| [illegible] CYCLES | WANTED. VERY COMPETENT MAN. WHO CAN READ AND WRITE HINDI THOROUGHLY. MUST HAVE A GOOD KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH. Apply to PROPRIETOR "INDIAN OPINION." |
| [illegible] | होना. |

LOOK OUT

FOR

NEXT WEEK'S

INDIAN - -

OPINION

INDIAN

# Indian Opinion.

**Published Weekly**

## In FOUR Languages

**ENGLISH,**

**GUJARATI,**

**TAMIL,**

**and HINDI**

**the interest of the Indians in South Africa**

INDIAN

Printed and published by V. Mayanne, International Printing Press, 113, Grey Street, Durban.

"INDIAN OPINION" WAS THE SECOND INDIAN NEWSPAPER TO BE ESTABLISHED IN SOUTH AFRICA. IT CONTINUED UNTIL 1961 . INITIALLY GANDHI INITIATED THIS NEWSPAPER VENTURE BECAUSE (i) HE NEEDED A POLITICAL MOUTHPIECE and (ii) THE INDIAN PUBLIC NEEDED A FORUM FOR EXPRESSION OF THEIR OPINIONS. AFTER A FEW MONTHS THE PAPER HAD ITS PERMANENT HOME AT THE PHOENIX SETTLEMENT . GANDHI PLAYED A CONSPICUOUS ROLE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE PAPER. THE PAPER SUBSEQUENTLY APPEARED IN GUJARATI AND ENGLISH AND WAS FOR MANY YEARS WELL-SUPPORTED BY THE GUJARATI=SPEAKING COMMUNITY. UNOFFICIALLY IT BECAME THE ORGAN OF THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS. HOWEVER,THE PAPER FAITHFULLY RECORDED THE COMING PASSIVE RESISTANCE STRUGGLE AND THE POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN .

274

# THE INDIAN OPINION

## 4TH JUNE

## 1903

# INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
·MAHATMA GANDHI·


(1) It would have a newspaper that would advocate its cause as well as give to all sections of it news in their own languages.

(2) It would contain news specially affecting Indians of all parts of South Africa, besides local and general information.

(3) It would contain an epitome of events happening in India.

(4) It would give commercial intelligence.

(5) It would contain contributions from competent writers, Indian as well as European, on all subjects—Social, Moral, and Intellectual.

The advantages to the *European community* would be:—

(1) The paper would give it an idea of Indian thought and aspirations.

(2) It would acquaint it with such Indian matters as are not commonly known to it, and yet which should not be ignored by true Imperialists.

To *Europeans and Indians* alike, it would serve as the best *advertising medium* in those branches of the

8

INDIAN OPINION
Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1903

No. 39. Vol. XLII. SPECIAL NUMBER Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper. PRICE: ONE SHILLING.

275

FORMER EQUIPMENT OF "INDIAN OPINION" ON DISPLAY AT THE PHOENIX SETTLEMENT . PHOTOGRAPHED 1980.

203/11

2037

2038



# PHOENIX SETTLEMENT

276

9

## HOW PHOENIX SETTLEMENT CAME INTO EXISTANCE

The birth of Phoenix Settlement is closely related to that of "Indian Opinion",which was founded in 1903 by Mr.V.Mandanjit. In the founding year, the paper was being run at a loss, and Mahatma Gandi (then a barrister in Johannesburg) offered to meet the monthly deficit. The following year, after reading Ruskin's "Unto This Last",Mahatma Gandhi thought of the idea of Phoenix Settlement, and he moved the International Printing Press, which printed Indian Opinion, to Phoenix. In his autobiography, "My Experiments with Truth", he explains how Ruskin's book made an immense impression on him. "I determined to change my life in accordance with ideals of the book", he says,"..the one book that brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation by my life...". The three major principles of the book, as he saw them were:

1. That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
2. That a lawyer's work has the same value as a barber's in as much as all have the same right of earning a livelihood from their work.
3, That life of labour, i.e. the life of the tiller of soil and the handicraftsman, is the life worth living.

So Phoenix Settlement was founded, on the ideal of an equal living wage should work on the farm and attend to the press in their spare time. Among those working on the press was a cousin of Mahatma Gandhi, Changanlal Gandhi. He and the machinist (Mr.R.Govindon, now father-in-law of Dr.M.G.Naidoo) agreed to the low wage, but other workers , while agreeing to move tp Phoenix, did not join the scheme. Mahatma Gandhi endeavoured to recruit to the settlement various relatives and friends who had come with from India. Few agreed,but outstanding amongst them was Maganlal Gandhi, who left his business and cast his lot in with those at Phoenix. In 1914, Mahatma Gandhi left for India and most of the settlers followed him during World War 1. In 1916 those remaining requested assistance, and he sent his two sons, Manilal and Ramdas Gandhi, from India to help. In 1929, Manilal Gandhi returned to India to help in the Interdepence Struggle, but he returned in 1931, after a year's imprisonment, and was appointed a trustee of Phoenix Settlement.

203/12

E19

ZULU WAR 1906

## Indian Volunteer Stretcher Bearer Corps.



Top Row,left to right : Coopoosamy,Kunji,Ajodhasing,Alwar,Moothoosamy,Appalsamy, Sheikh Dada Mia,Kistama,Mahomed Essop.

Middle Row,L to R : Jamalu Din,Rarbhu Hari,Cpl.,U.M.Sholat,Sgt.,M.K.Gandhi,Sgt.Maj, H.J.Joshi,Sgt.,S.R.Medh,Sgt.,Khan Mahomed.

Bottom Row,L to R : Sheikh Madar,Mahomed,Bomaya,Pooti Naicken .

155/51

1906 ZULU WAR

E19

278

P14

## PROBLEMS IN THE TRANSVAAL

WHEN GANDHI RETURNED TO THE TRANSVAAL IN 1902 HE ARDENTLY CHAMPIONED THE CAUSE OF THE TRANSVAAL INDIAN TRADERS : He,

- ESTABLISHED THE TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN ASSOC.
- PROTESTED TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT .
- UNDERTOOK NUMEROUS DEPUTATIONS, EVEN TO ENGLAND.
- HELD PROTEST MEETINGS , e.g. ON 11 SEPT. 1906 3000 ATTENDED : THE "FOURTH RESOLUTION" READ....

"rather than submit to the galling ,tryannous and un-British requirements..every British Indian in the Transvaal shall submit to imprisonment until its repeal"....

FURTHER , THE IMPORTANT RESOLUTION WAS :

TO COMMENCE A PASSIVE RESISTANCE CAMPAIGN.

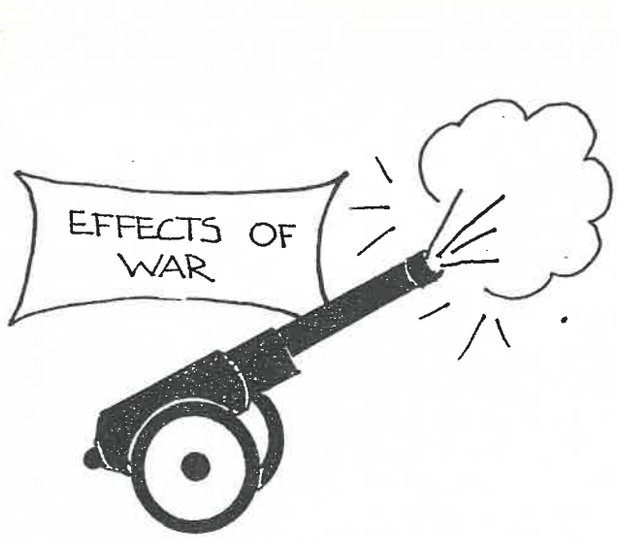
155/51

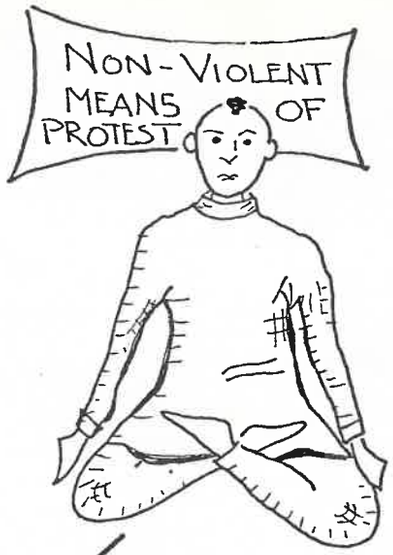
Top Row,left to right : Coopoosamy,Kunji,Ajodhasing,Alwar,Moothoosamy,Appalsamy, Sheikh Dada Mia,Kistama,Mahomed Essop.
Middle Row,L to R : Jamalu Din,Rarbhu Hari,Cpl.,U.M.Sholat,Sgt.,M.K.Gandhi,Sgt.Maj, H.J.Joshi,Sgt.,S.R.Medh,Sgt.,Khan Mahomed.
Bottom Row,L to R : Sheikh Madar,Mahomed,Bomaya,Pooti Naicken .

ZULU WAR 1906

8194

# SATYAGRAHA







NEW TESTAMENT (SERMON ON THE MOUNT)

THE BHAGAVAD GITA

TOLSTOY THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS WITHIN YOU

RUSKIN CROWN OF WILD OLIVES

INFLUENCES

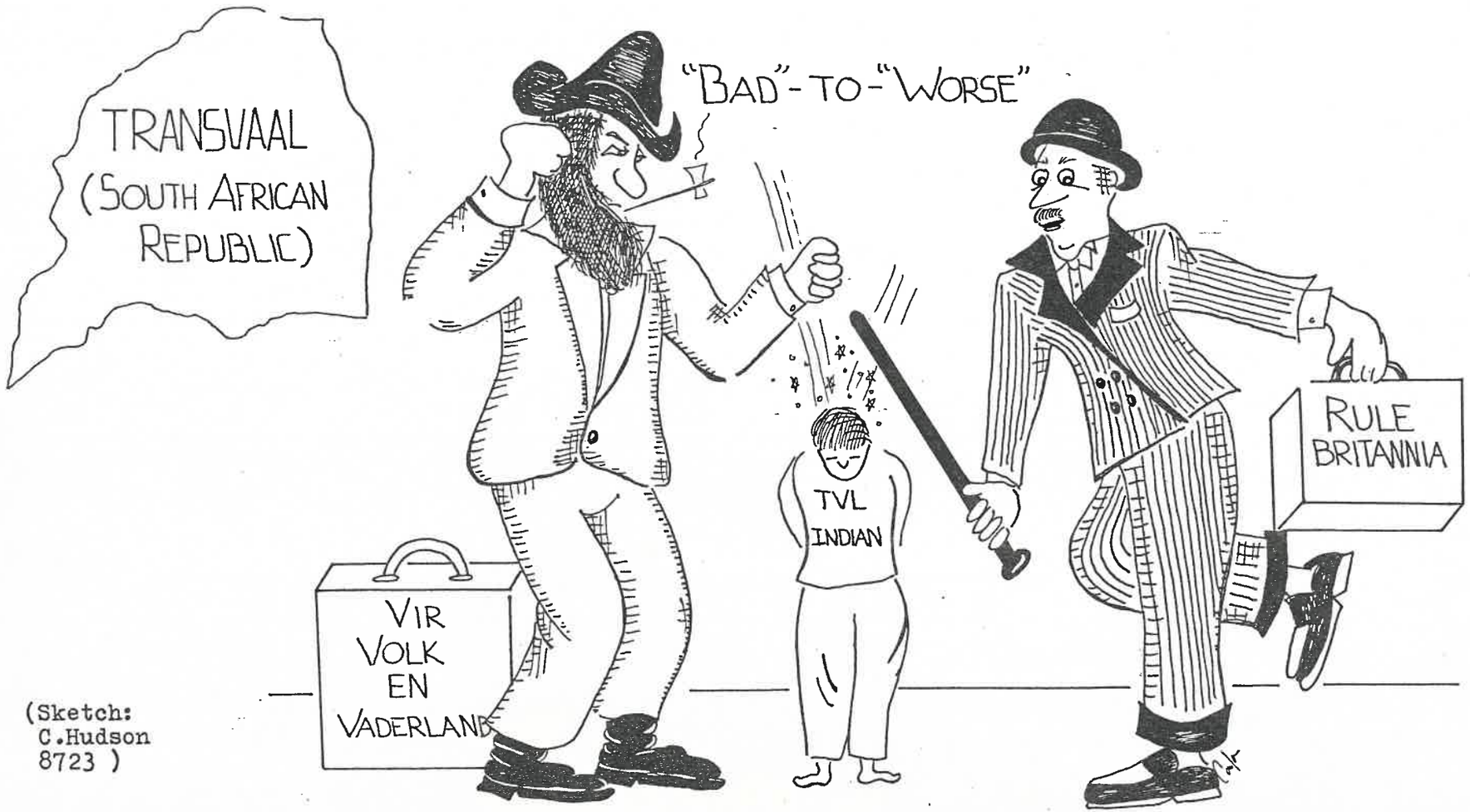



SATYAGRAHA



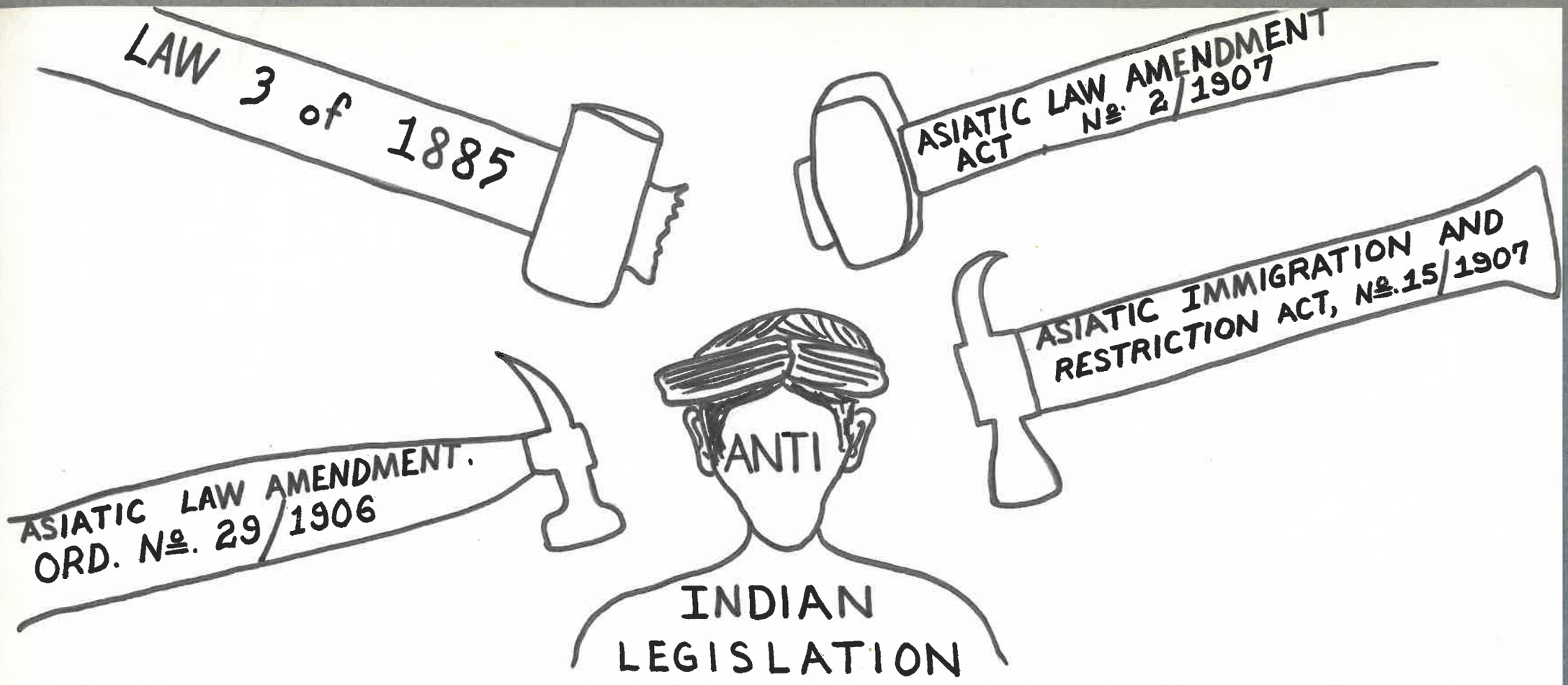

(C.H. 8794)

The LAW stated that Asiatics could neither acquire citizenship nor landed property in the Z.A.R. On payment of a licence, they were allowed to trade in a prescribed area . Under the new British Administration in 1900, the old law was applied even stricter . (See Gandhi display )




(Sketch:
C.Hudson
8723 )

TRANSVAAL



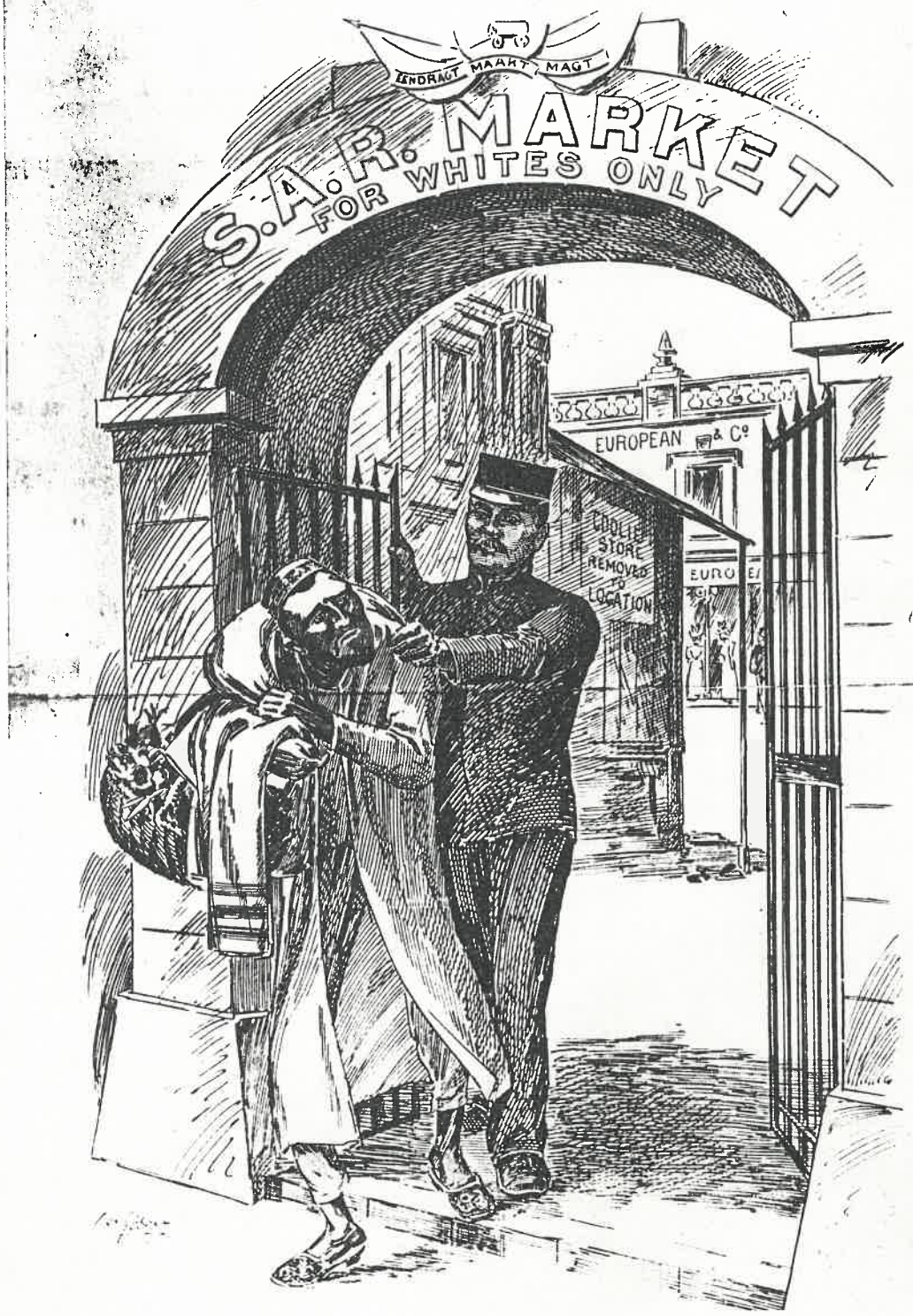

AIM: TO RESTRICT ENTRY OF INDIANS INTO THE TRANSVAAL.

A.S. Adam

# TRANSVAAL 2

14

THE ASIATIC QUESTION.




THE CLOSED DOOR

Town Custodian : Very sorry,my friend,but you cannot trade in our streets . Better try Natal,the Cape or Charterland-- or the Location .

(from Supplement to "The Weekly Press",Saturday August 13,1898 )

155/24 E87

principal disabilities.The licensing measure is being enforced with a severity unknown before.

In the Orange River Colony the Indian has no footing except as purely and simple a labourer.

There is this marked distinction worthy of note between the Cape - Natal legislation and the Republican legislation, namely, that while the former, in theory, is applicable to all nationalities, the latter is especially directed against the Asiatics as such.

Strong popular prejudice has practically kept the Indian from the other parts of British South Africa.

Socially and popularly, the Indian is a pariah - in some places, less so than in others. He is nicknamed "Coolie". In fact popular prejudice has portrayed him as a "filthy being", without any virtue. The prejudice, it must be confessed, has become much toned down in Natal. The struggle seems to be fiercest in the Transvaal.

"THE INDIAN OPINION" 4.6. 1903

219

(FIRST EDITORIAL)

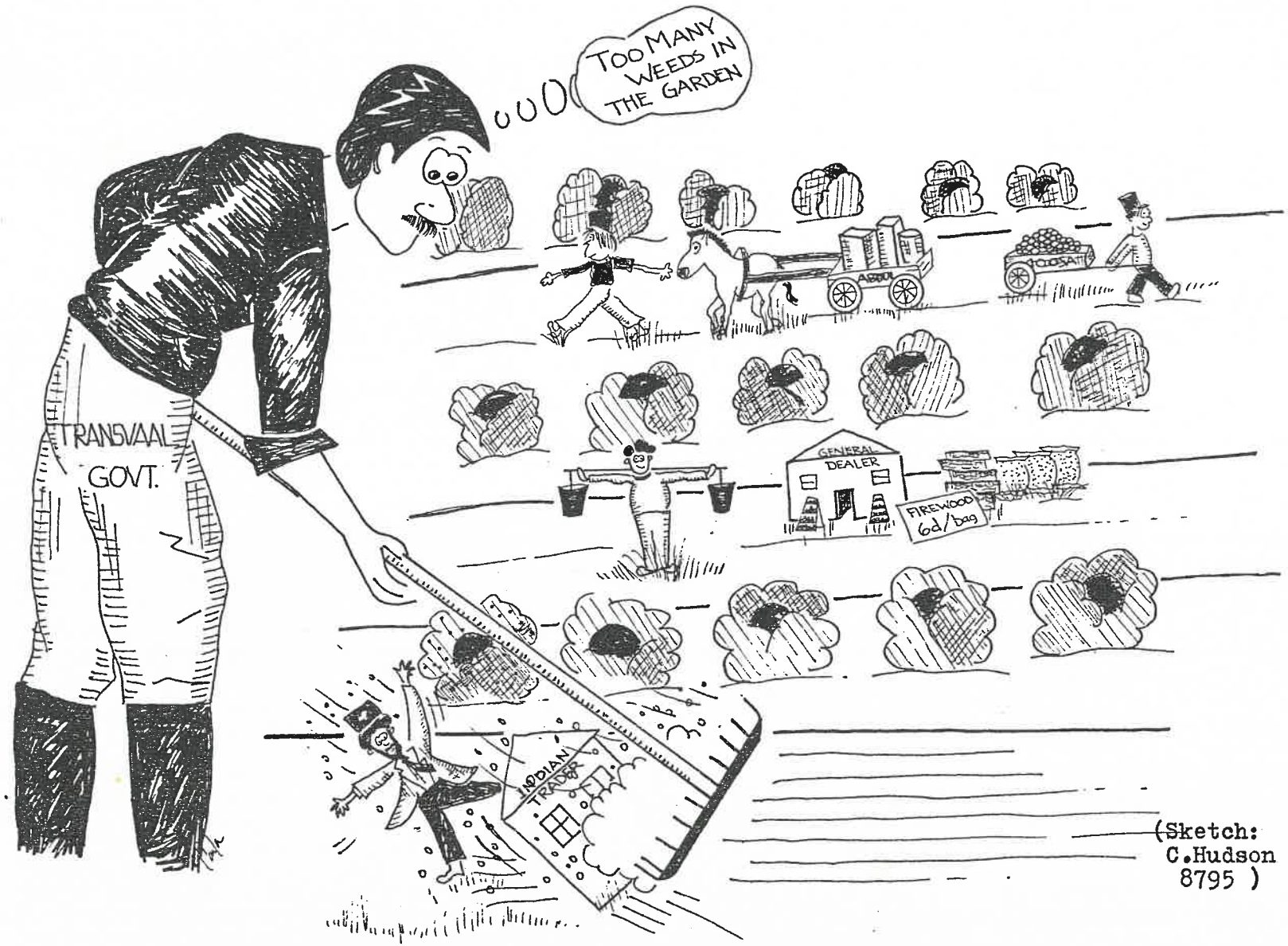
The Indians , resident in British South Africa, loyal subjects though they are of the King - Emperor, labour under a number of legal disabilities which, it is contested on their behalf, are undeserved and unjust. The reason for this state of affairs is to be found in the prejudice in the minds of the colonists, arising out of misunderstanding the actual status of the Indian as a British subject.....

In the Transvaal , Her Majesty's Government inherited the legislation of the late Republics,which is naturally very drastic. It is now being reconsidered, and the whole of it will be recast in the not very distant future.

However, as the yoke falls most heavily upon Indians in the newly annexed territories, it is worthwhile recapitulating the Republican legislation.

In the Transvaal the Indian cannot trade,or reside, or own landed property, except in locations set aside for him. He must pay a registration fee of £ 3. He may not be out after 9 p.m. and may not walk on the footpaths. These are the

5978




(Sketch: C.Hudson 8795 )

# TRANSVAAL 3

280

ON 1 JANUARY 1907 THE TRANSVAAL BECOMES AN INDEPENDENT BRITISH COLONY AND PASSES THE "INDIAN PROBLEM" ONTO THE TRANSVAAL COLONY. HENCEFORTH GEN. J.C.SMUTS, THE NEW COLONIAL SECRETARY OF THE TRANSVAAL AND GANDHI BEGIN A LONG SERIES OF FRUITLESS NEGOTIATIONS.

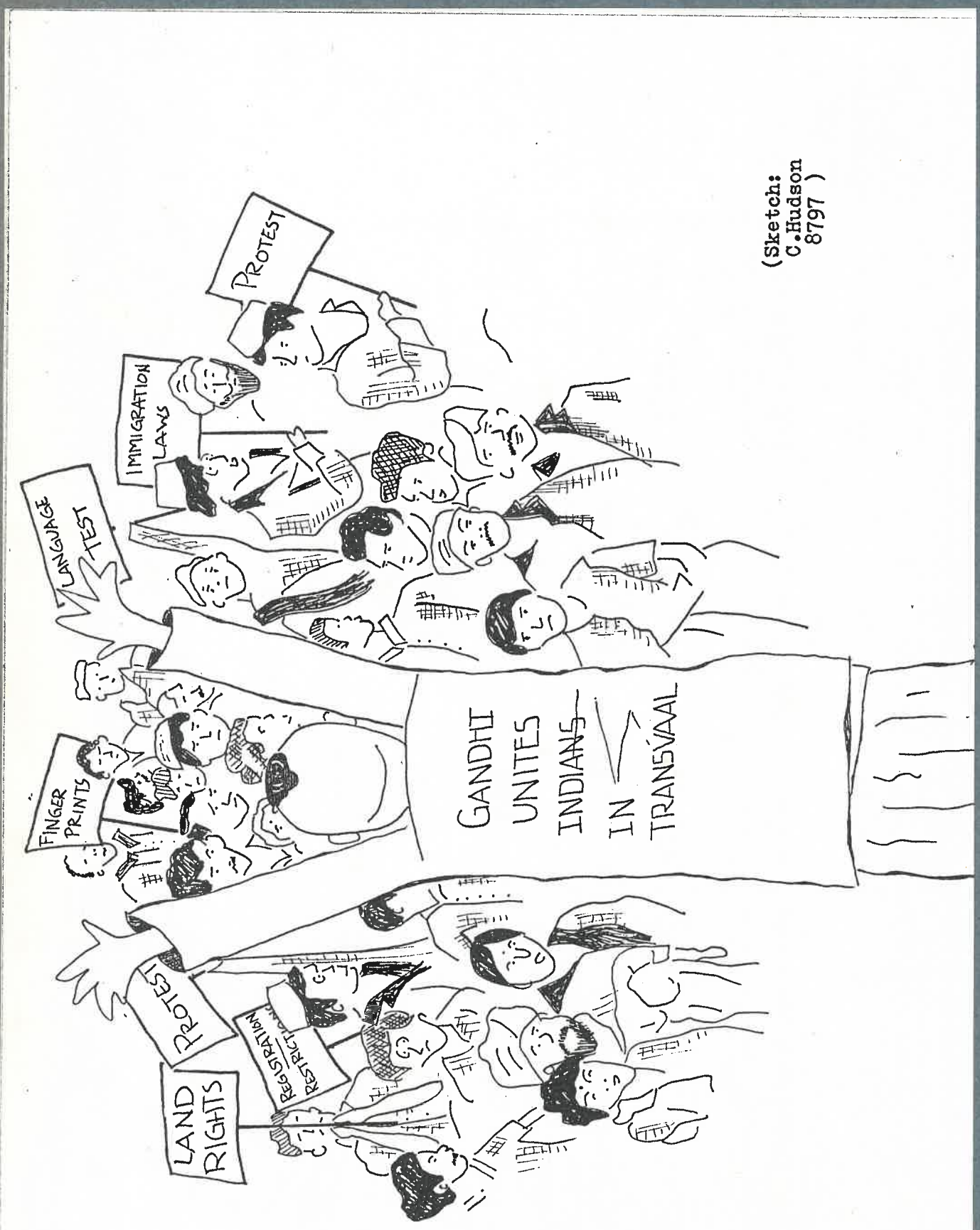
GANDHI'S COMMENT ON ORDINANCE 9/ 1906 :

"NOTHING IN IT EXCEPT HATRED OF INDIANS "

and that it was

"AN INSULT TO THE WHOLE NATION".

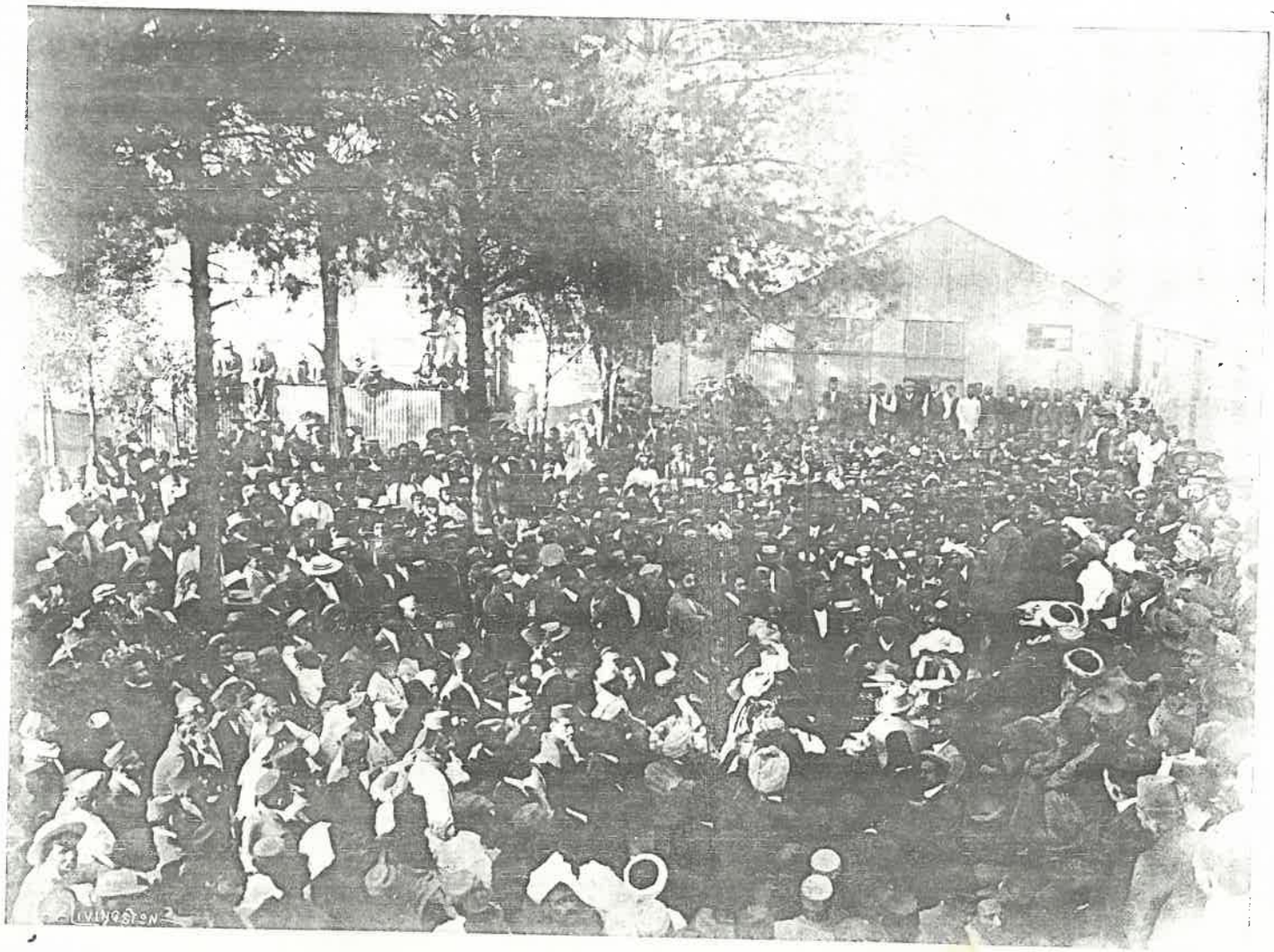
8797




(Sketch: C.Hudson 8797 )

# The Indian Mass Meeting

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



કાયદા સામે ઝુંબેશ ચાલુ રાખવાનો ઠરાવ કરવા પ્રીટોરીએ મળેલી ૨૦૦૦ માણસોની ગંજાવર મીટીંગ.

*Photo by A. Brittlebank, Pretoria.*

PROTESTS

See 1/1171 p 27

155/62

281

E25
P16

16 AUGUST 1908
INFURIATED INDIANS DESTROY ABOUT 1800 CERTIFICATES IN A LARGE THREE LEGGED POT IN JOHANNESBURG.

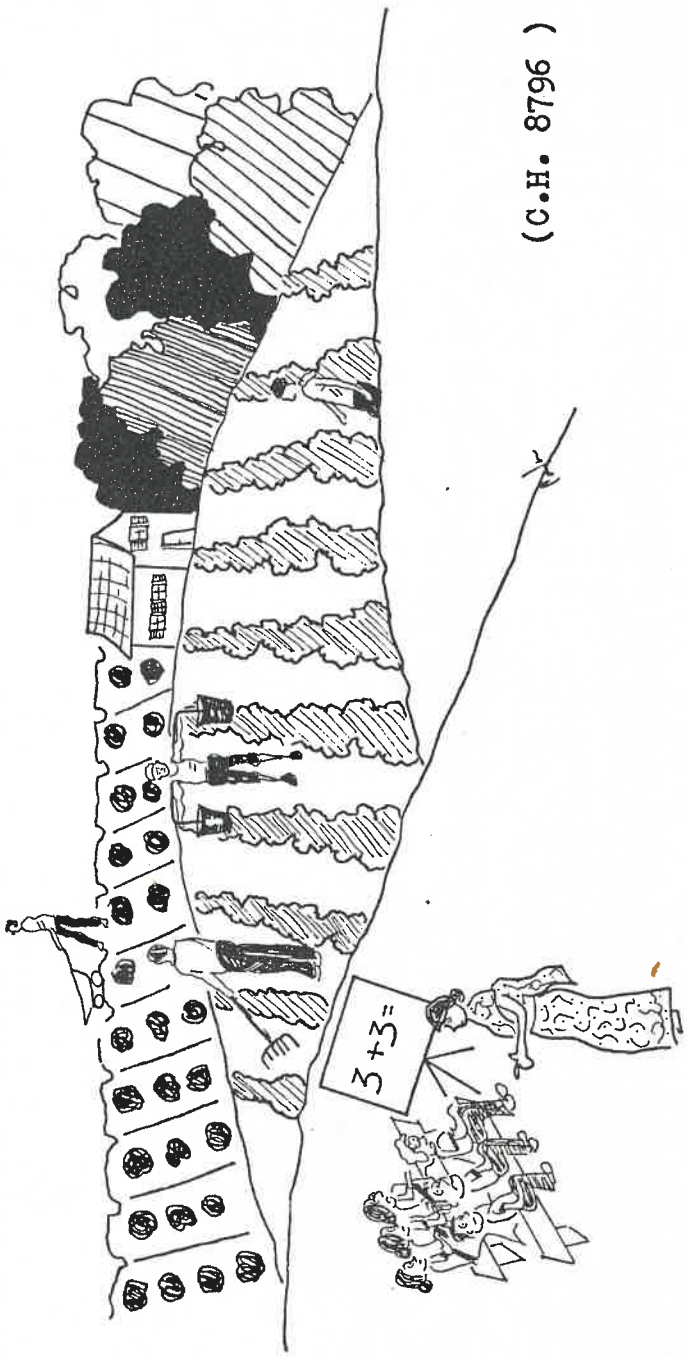



OBJECTION TO :
ASIATIC VOLUNTARY REGISTRATION VALIDATION BILL (ACT 36/19

# TOLSTOY FARM

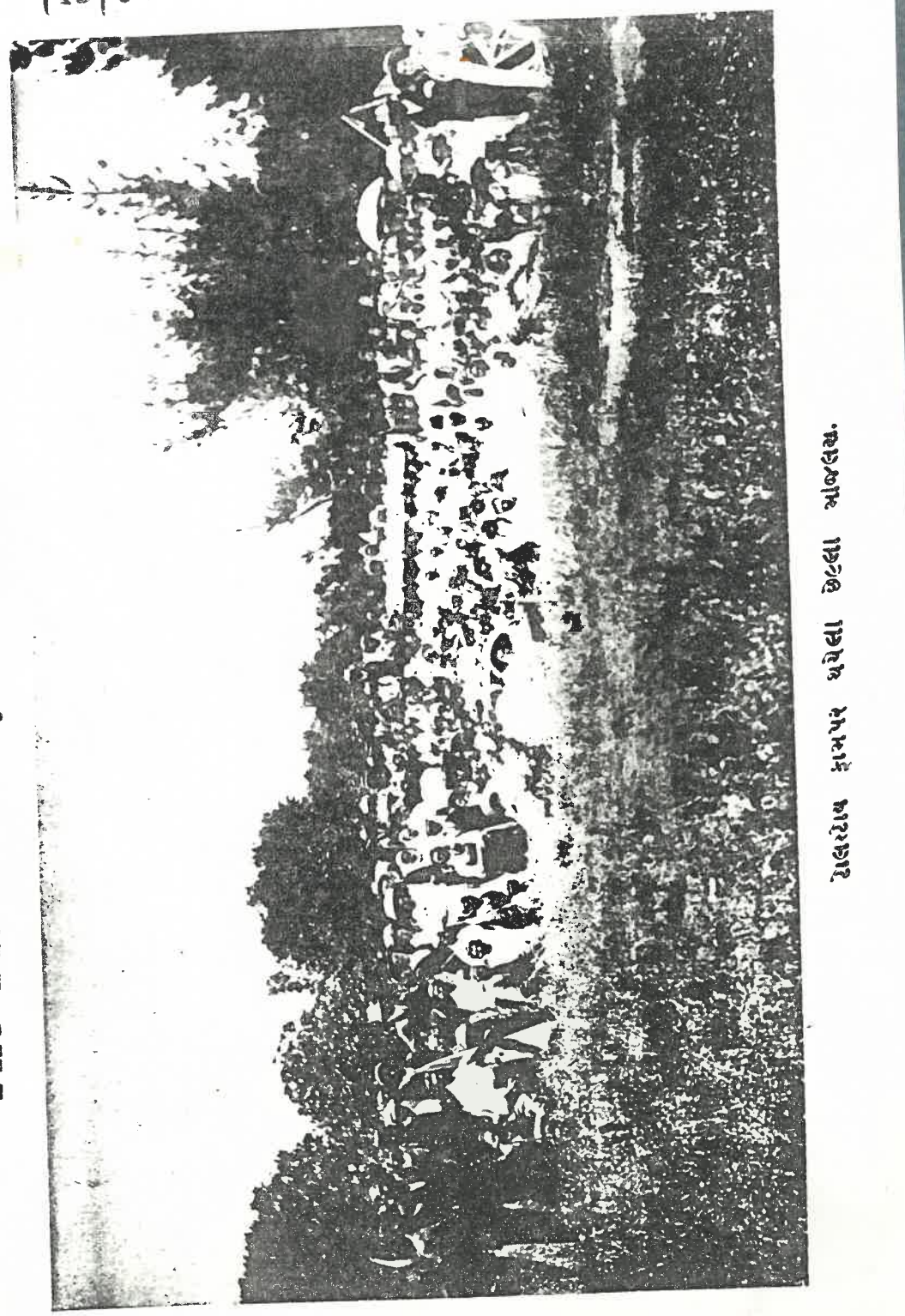


(C.H. 8796 )



1910 : GANDHI REALISES THAT THE PASSIVE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT WAS DESTINED TO BE A LONG DRAWN OUT AFFAIR. MONEY AND ACCOMMODATION WAS DESPERATELY NEEDED TO CONTINUE THE MOVEMENT SUCCESSFULLY. A GERMAN FRIEND , KALLENBACH, PURCHASED A FARM ABOUT 1100 ACRES IN EXTENT AT LAWLEY, ABOUT 35 km OUT= SIDE JOHANNESBURG . HERE GANDHI ESTABLISHED THE TOLSTOY FARM .

155/57



14th January, 1911.

The Picnic Party at Tolstoy Farm

ટોલ્સ્ટોય ફાર્મ પર ગયેલી ઉજાણી પ્રસંગે.

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
5th August, 1911.

D17

155/43

# The Owner of Tolstoy Farm

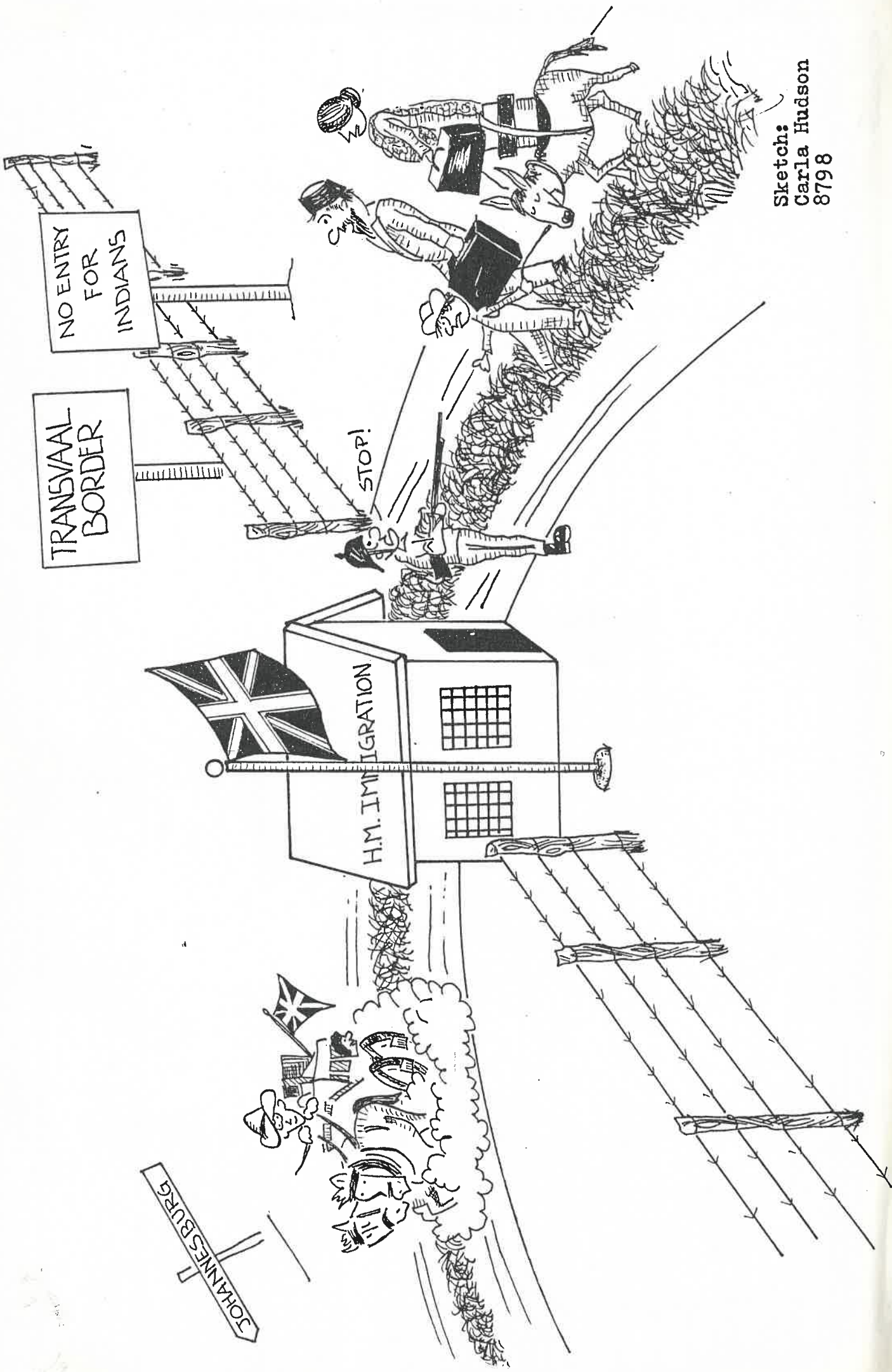


WHERE PASSIVE RESISTERS FOUND A HOME

## સત્યાગ્રહના મિત્ર અને ટોલસટોય ફાર્મના માલીક મી. એચ. કેલનબેક

8798

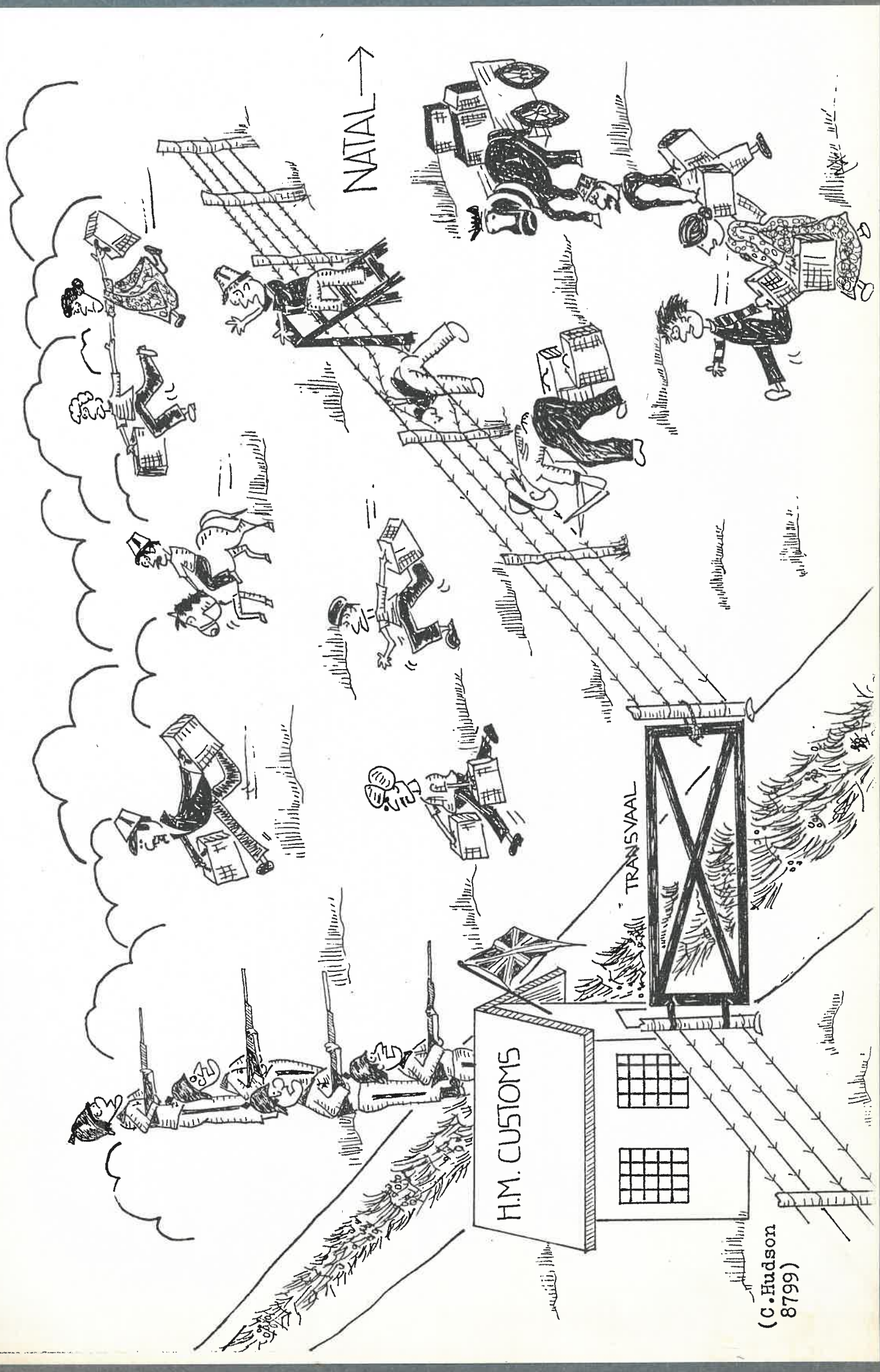
DUE TO RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION, IT WAS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR INDIANS TO ENTER THE TRANSVAAL, BUT, INDIANS CONTINUED TO DEFY THE LAW.....




Sketch:
Carla Hudson
8798

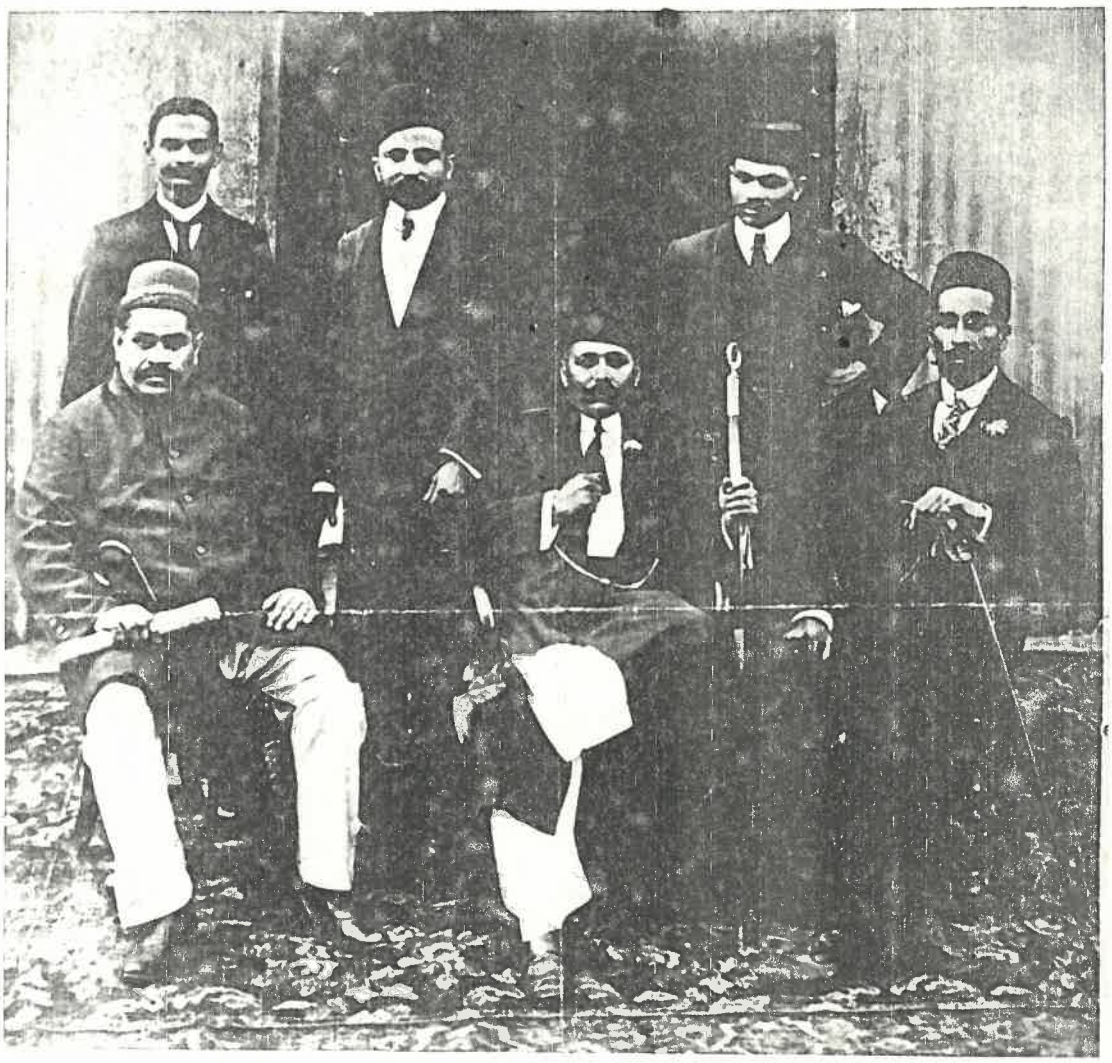
# PASSIVE RESISTANCE

8799



# SATYAGRAHIS
# PASSIVE
# RESISTERS

## Natal to the Rescue!



Mr. S. J. Randeria  Mr. M. C. Anglia  Mr. H. I. Joshi
Mr. Parsee Rustomjee  Mr. Dawad Mahomed  Mr. Adam H. G. Mahome
(Capetown.)

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

ટ્રાન્સવાલના હિંદીઓની મદદે ચઢેલા બહાદુર હિંદી આગેવાનો.

22.8.1908 →

See 155/41

19

P19

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
11th June, 1910.

# A Parsee Stalwart of Passive Resistance



MR. SORABJI SHAPURJI ADAJANIA.

Who has served the greater part of the last two years in prison on behalf of the Transvaal Passive Resistance cause.

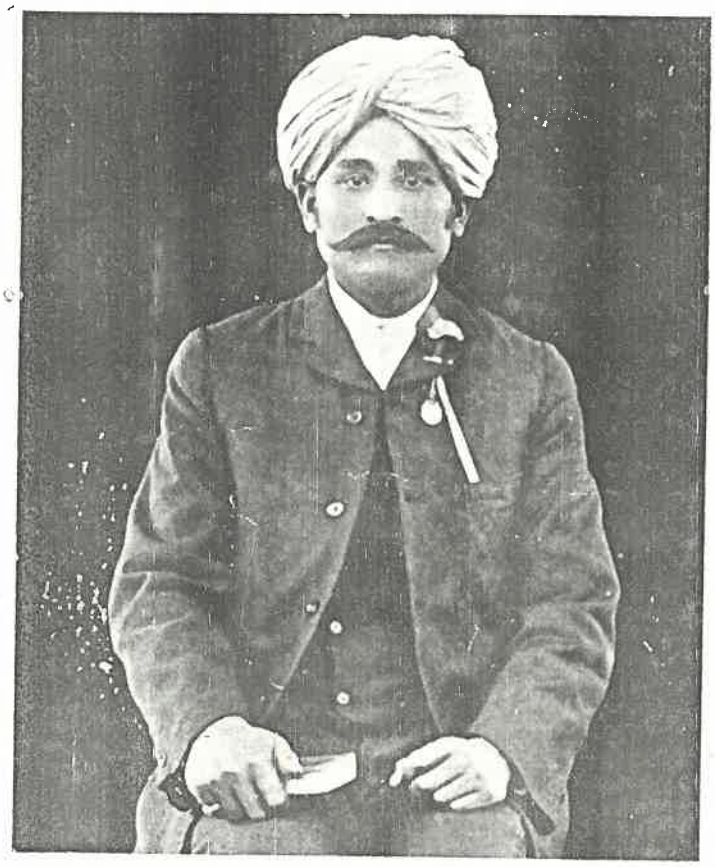
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## મો. સોરાબજી શાપુરજી અડાજનીઆ

આ પારસી યોદ્ધો છેલ્લાં બે વરસ થયાં ટરાંસવાલની લડતના બારામાં ફરી ફરીને જેલ ભોગવી રહેલ છે.

2ll
155/--

P19



RAM SUNDAR PUNDIT.

રામસુંદર પંડિત.

See 171/1 p.28

THE PASSIVE RESISTERS OPENLY DEFY LEGISLATION BY .....

(a) FAILING TO REGISTER,
(b) TRADING WITHOUT LICENCES,
(c) CROSSING THE BORDER BE= TWEEN NATAL AND THE TRANS= VAAL. .....

R.S.PUNDIT OF GERMISTON WAS ARRESTED AND SENTENCED TO A MONTH'S IMPRISONMENT...THIS WAS THE FIRST PROSECUTION ...

....

.....

HUNDREDS MORE WERE TO BE ARR= ESTED .....

.....

S.S.ADAJANIA,THE FIRST NATAL INDIAN TO DEMAND ENTRY INTO THE TRANSVAAL , WAS PROSECUTED AND SENTENCED TO IMPRISONMENT UNDER THE ASIATIC LAW AMENDMENT ACT AND NOT UNDER THE IMMIG= RANT'S REGISTRACTION ACT .

Restriction

MANY OTHER INDIANS FROM NATAL NOW JOINED THE STRUGGLE AND HUNDREDS COURTED ARREST....

.....

.....

GANDHI HIMSELF WAS ARRESTED ON MANY OCCASIONS.....

M A R T Y R S  OR  L A W = B R E A K E R S ? ?

MANY INDIANS WERE PREPARED TO PAY THE HIGHEST SACRIFICE FOR THEIR CAUSE ...

# SATYAGRAHIS

P 20

155/30

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
22nd October, 1910.



THE LATE MR. NARYANSAMY

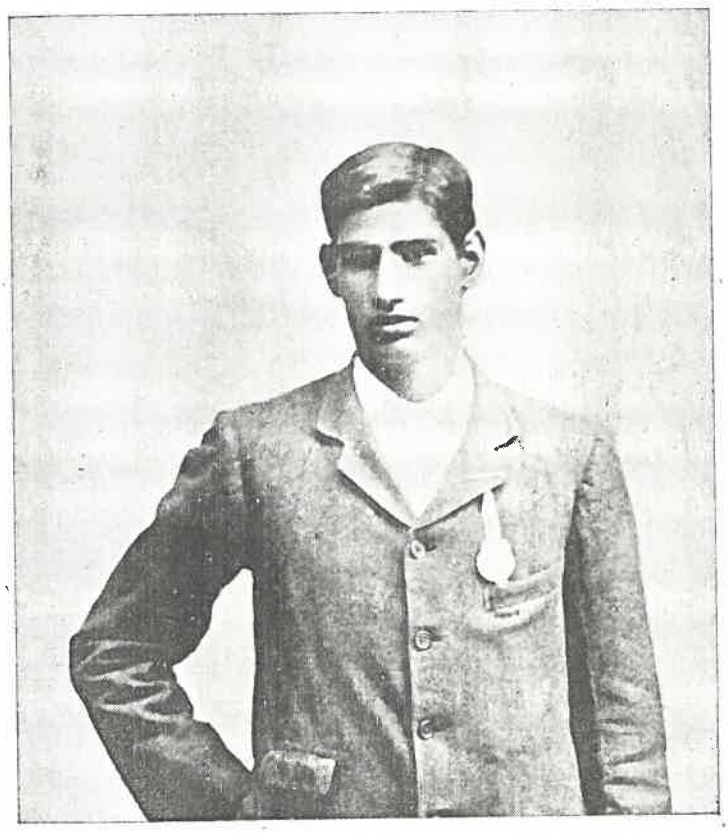
મરહુમ સત્યાગ્રહી મી. નારાયણસામી

See 171/1 p. 42

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
11th September, 1909.

P20

# A Martyr to the Cause



THE LATE MR. S. NAGAPPAN.

Discharged from Gaol June 30th, 1909, covered with weals and suffering from pneumonia diagnosed as fatal; died July 6th, 1909.

ટ્રાંસવાલના હિંદીની લડતમાં પોતાનો જાન આપનાર

મરહુમ મી. એસ. નાગાપન.

155/47

P20

155/46

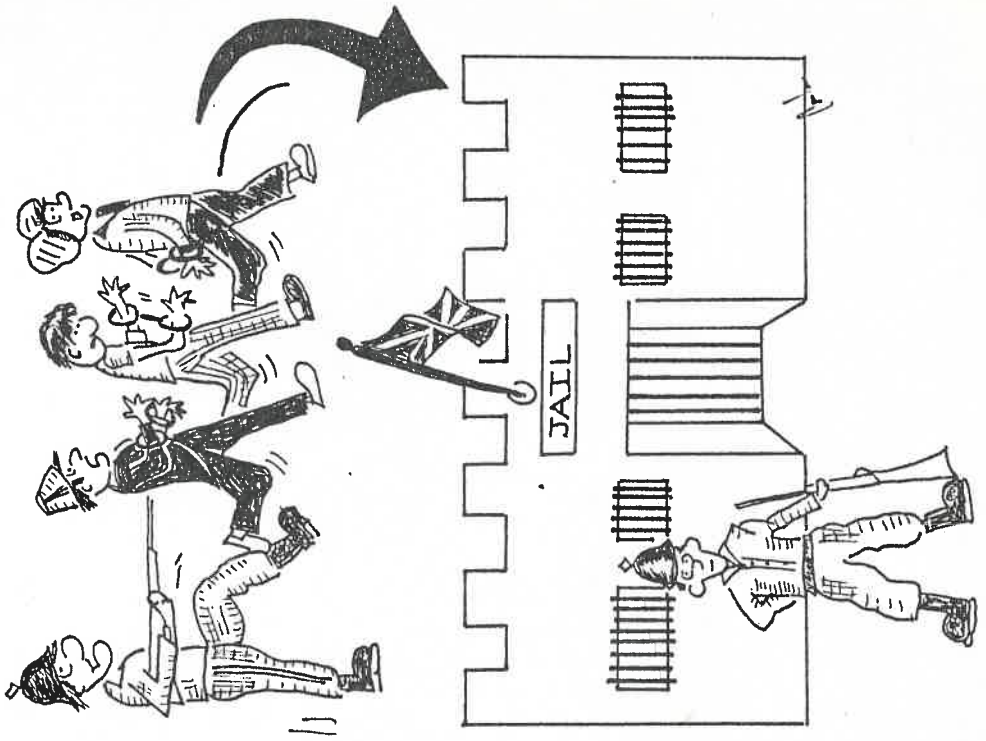
# A BARRISTER-HAWKER



Mr. Joseph Royeppen as he appeared when arrested under the Asiatic Act.

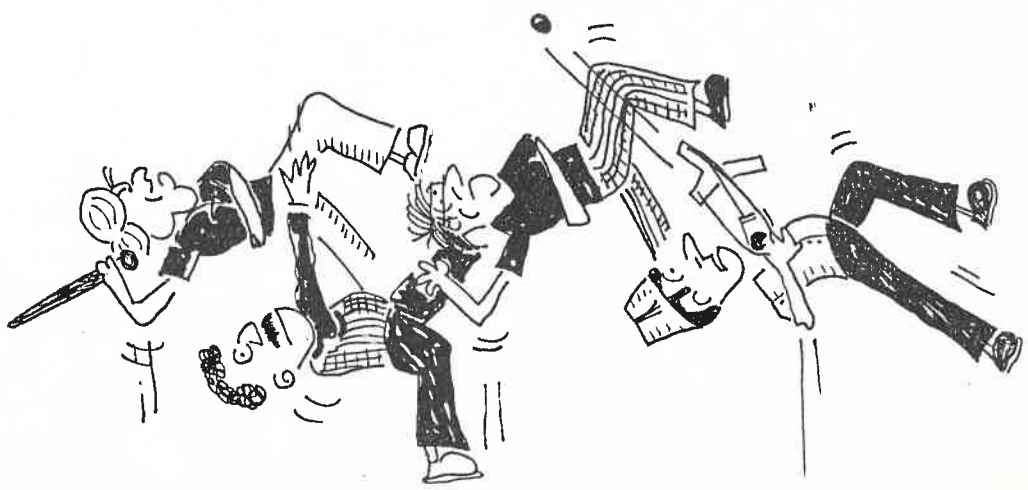
ટ્રાંસવાલની લડતમાં રેાકાએલ મી જોસફ રેાયપન બી. એ. બારીસ્ટર-એટ-લેા
ફેરીઆ તરીકે ઉપરની સ્થિતિમાં પકડાયા હતા.

8801




(Sketches
C.Hudson
8801 )



MARTYRS OR LAW-BREAKERS ? Many Indians were prepared to pay the highest sacrifice for their cause .....

# PASSIVE RESISTERS

## IN 1910 GANDHIJI PROMOTES SOCCER MATCHES

Pretoria Passive Resisters with striped jerseys, vs. Johannesburg Passive Resisters with plain jerseys played in Rangers Ground, Mayfair, Johannesburg.

1917



*1st Row; Standing from left.*

*1. Unknown, S. B. Medh, Murugas (Thabla) Naidoo, H Kallenbach, C. K. Thumbi Naidoo, Chairman Tvl. Tamil Benefit Society;* **M. K. Gandhiji** *Miss Sonja Schelisin, L. W. Ritch, G. Isacks, Khusal Bai, Sorabji, Shapurji.*

*2nd Row; Subraya Padayachy, Acting Chairman Pta. Tamil League; Venogopal Naidoo, D. Lazarus, K. Raja Rethnam, Perumaal Naidoo, V. S. Manickum Pillay, Billy K. G. Pillay, Sooboo Naidoo, V. Chetty, Newyoki, V. S. Pillay, Chairman Pretoria Tamil League; Chinapa, R. Kathira Velloo Padayachy, J. K. Philips, H. Moonsamy.*

*3rd Row; Francis Pillay, Murugas Pillay, Govindasamy Masthan Padayachy, Johnny Peters, Ramlall Mooloo, Chairman Pta. Indian Congress; N. K. Pillay, Jhb. Captain; Boblal Maharaj, Pta. Captain; G. H. Moona. David Anthony, V. Naidoo, David Mooideen, Narsoo Naidoo, David Ernest, N. S. Pillay.*

*4th Row; R. R. Frank, John Andrews, H. Masootoo Pillay, K. Jaganathan Pillay, Chinsamy Pillay, Jimmy Chetty, D. Patel, S. Arunachala Padayachy, Aron John, Govindasamy Pillay.*

**PERHAPS THE MOST UNUSUAL SOCCER MATCHES IN SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS HISTORY ? ? ?**

## Indian Passive Resistance Volunteers in Pretoria.



EBRAHIM NOOR
ઈબ્રાહીમ નુર

GOVIND PRAG
ગોવીંદ પ્રાગ

GOOLAB RUDRA DESAI
ગુલાબ રૂદ્રા દેસાઈ

MOOSA SULIMAN
મુસા સુલેમાન

HOOSEN BIA
હુસેન બીયા

VALLI MAHOMED
વલી મહમદ

A. F. C. BEG
એ. એફ. સી. બેગ

BABU GANGARAM
બાબુ ગંગારામ

GOOLAM MAHOMED ABDOOL RASHID
ગુલામ મહમદ અબદુલ રસીદ

AHMED M. CACHALIA
અહમદ એમ. કાજલીઆ

G. P. VYAS
જી. પી. વ્યાસ

CASSIM SIDOO
કાસમ સીદુ

KHOOSHAL SITA
ખુશાલ સીતા

P21

SAE 155/61

28.8.1907

# FRIENDS OF GANDHI

22

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
March 19th, 1910.

P22

155/40

Rev Joseph J.Doke who
wrote the first biography
of Gandhi (1909 )

## "A Friend in Need"



*Photo. by]* *[O'Byrne*

REV. JOSEPH J. DOKE,

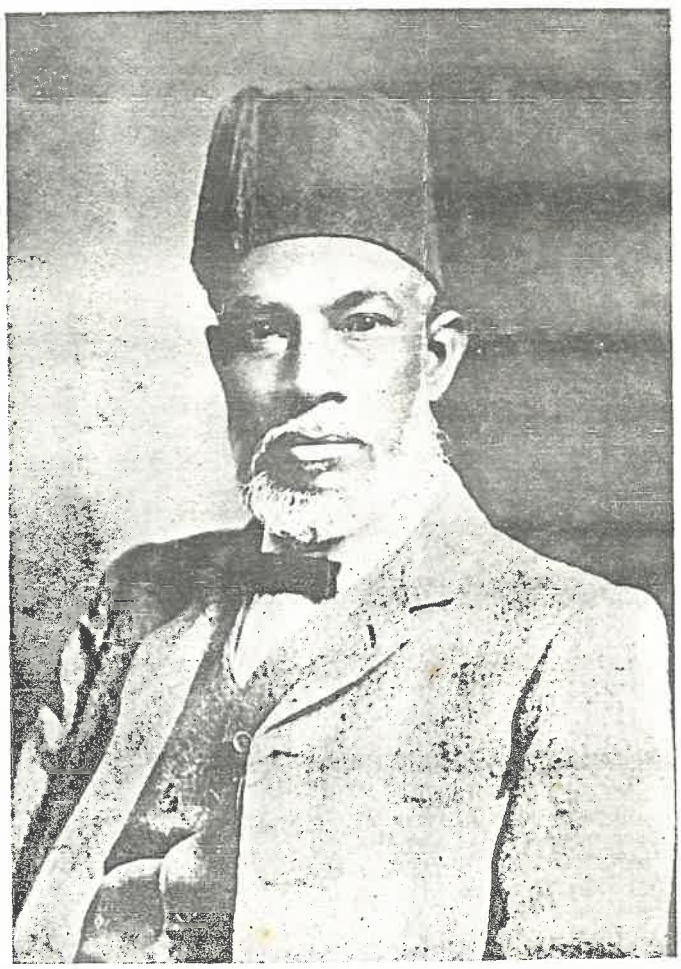
Who so ably assisted the Asiatic communities of the Transvaal in the Passive Resistance campaign.

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સત્યાગ્રહની લડતમાં એક દિલસોજ ગોરા મિત્ર તરીકે એશીઆટીક કોમની મોટી સેવા બજાવનાર
રેવરંડ જોસફ જે. ડોક.

P22

22



MR. H. O. ALLY.

155/38

H.O.ALLY , a member of Gandhi's deputation to England in 1906.

also 171/1 p.26

GANDHI HAD INFLUENTIAL FRIENDS IN ASIA , AFRICA AND EUROPE WHO WERE PREPARED TO SUPPORT HIS CAUSE .....

His Highness Sir Aga Sultan Mahmun Shah,K.C.I.E. (The Aga Khan )

P22

155/23

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
25th February, 1911.

The Right Hon.Syed Ameer Ali

# RIGHT HON. SYED AMEER ALI, P.C., C.I.E.,



PRESIDENT OF THE LONDON BRANCH OF THE ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE,

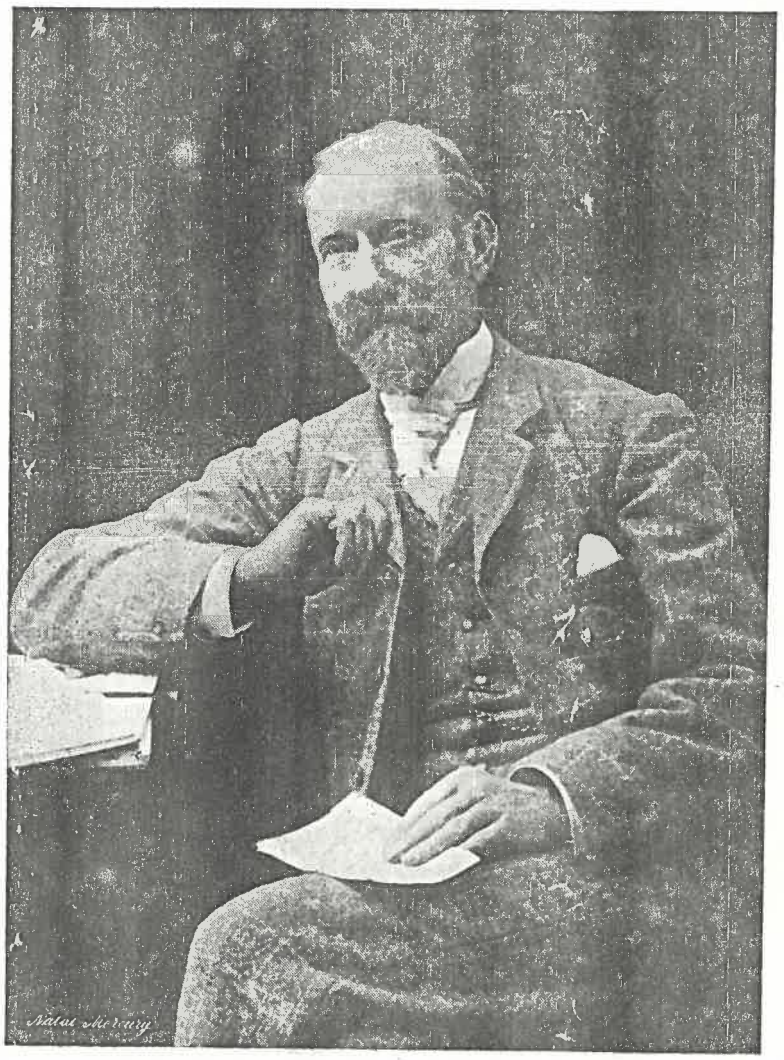
**Which has made persistent efforts to secure redress for the Transvaal Indian passive resisters and for the entire Indian Community of South Africa.**

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## રાઇટ ઓન સઇયદ અમીર અલી પા. સો., સો. આઇ. ઇ.,

જેઓ ટ્રાંસવાલની સત્યાગ્રહની લડતના બારામાં તેમજ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના હીંદીની હાડમારીઓના બારામાં રજુઆતો વગેરે વડે ઘણું કામ કરનાર ઓલ-ઈંડિઆ મોસ્લેમ લીગની લંડનની શાખાના પ્રમુખ છે.

P22




# Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Bt.,

President of the Twenty-Sixth Indian National Congress

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# સર વિલ્યમ વેડરબરન બેરોનેટ

૨૬ મી ઇંડિઅન નેશનલ કોંગ્રેસના પ્રમુખ.

155/33

Sir Ratanji Tata donates
25,000 rupees (+- R 10 000)
to Assist Gandhi's Passive
Resistance Movement and
Tolstoy FARM.

283

# H E N R Y  S. L. P O L A K

MR POLAK BECAME ONE OF GANDHI'S MOST ARDENT SUPPORTERS IN THE PASSIVE RESIST= ANCE STRUGGLE .

HE WAS IN SOUTH AFRICA FROM 1903 to 1916 .INITIALLY HE WAS A JOURNALIST FOR THE "TRANSVAAL CRITIC". IN 1904 HE WAS ONE OF THE ORIGINAL SETTLERS AT PHOENIX. IN 1906 TOOK ARTICLES WITH GANDHI AND IN 1908 WAS ADMITTED AS AN ATTORNEY OF THE TRANSVAAL SUPREME COURT AND PUBLISHED"THE INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA".

IN 1907 HE WENT TO INDIA TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR THE CAUSE OF THE INDIAN SOUTH AFRICANS.

IN 1910 HE UNDERTOOK A SECOND TOUR OF INDIA , WHERE HE MET PROF. G.K. GOKHALE...

FRIENDS OF GANDHI

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
3rd July 1909.

P23
155/44

# The Transvaal's Delegate to India



*Photo by* *O'Byrne, Johannesburg.*

## Mr. HENRY S. L. POLAK,

Assistant Honorary Secretary of the Transvaal
British Indian Association.

[NOTE.—Mr. Polak's three fellow-delegates are now serving terms of imprisonment with hard labour in Transvaal Gaols, they having been arrested by order of the Government immediately after appointment.]

## હીંદુસ્તાન માટેના ટરાંસવાલના ડેલીગેટ.

છેલી માસ મીટીંગમાં હીંદુસ્તાન જવા ડેપ્યુટેશનમાં જે ચાર મેંબરો ચુંટાયા તેમાંના મેસરસ. ઇ. એસ. કુવાડીઆ, એન. એ. કામા તથા એન. વી. ગોપાલ નાઇડુ ને તરતજ પકડી જેલમાં પુરવામાં આવ્યાથી મી. હેનરી એસ. એલ. પોલાક (શ્રી. ઇ. એસોસીએશનના આસીસ્ટંટ ઓનરરી સેકરેટરી) એકલા હીંદુસ્તાન જાય છે.

P23

155/55



MR. AMEERODIN FAJANDAR,

*Transvaal Delegate to the Indian National Congress.*

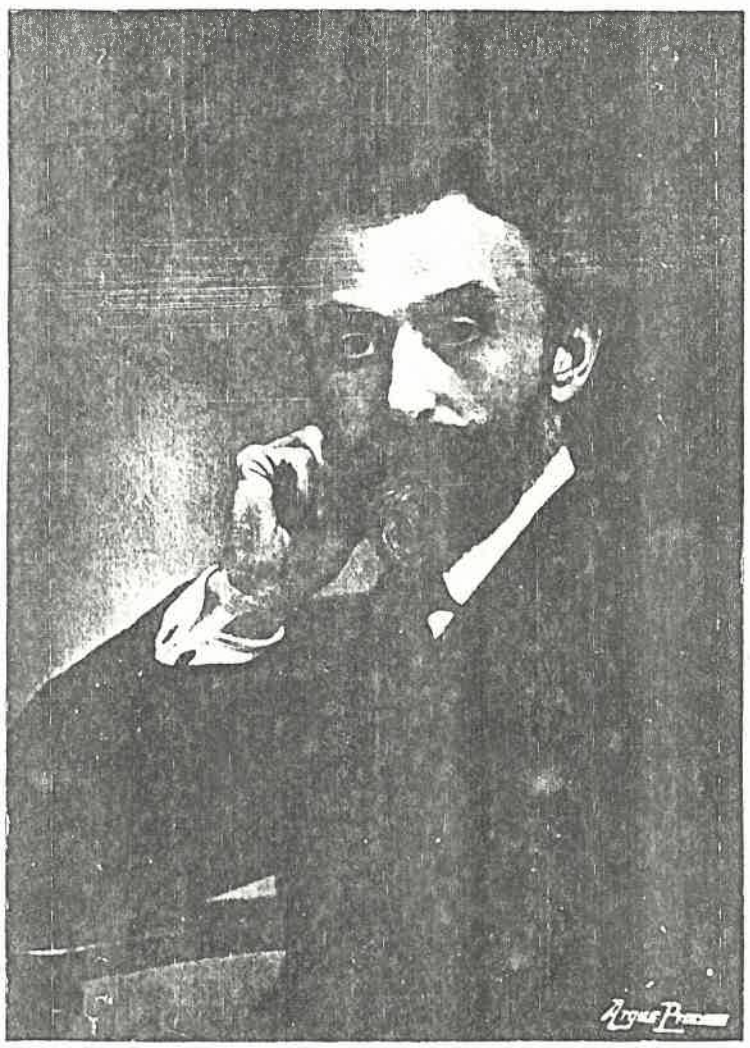
## મી. અમીરૂદ્દીન ફજંદાર.

ઈંડિઅન નેશનલ કોંગ્રેસના ટ્રાંસવાલ તરફથી નીમાએલ પ્રતિનીધી.

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
18th February, 1911.

P23
155/42

# TO THE RESCUE!



MR. RATAN J. TATA,

Who has donated the munificent sum of half a lakh of rupees (about £3,333 sterling) for the maintenance of the Passive Resistance struggle in the Transvaal.

## દિલાવર મી. રતન જે. તાતા

જેમણે ટ્રાંસવાલની સત્યાગ્રહની લડતમાં અધલાખ રૂપિયાની મોટી સખાવત કરી છે.

# DEPORTATIONS

8802




(C.Hudson
8802 )

P24

PROTESTS.....PETITIONS ..... ARRESTS .....

FINES AND IMPRISONMENT PROVED NO DETERRENT .....

.....

TRANSVAAL GVT DECIDES ON A DRASTIC MEASURE .....

.....

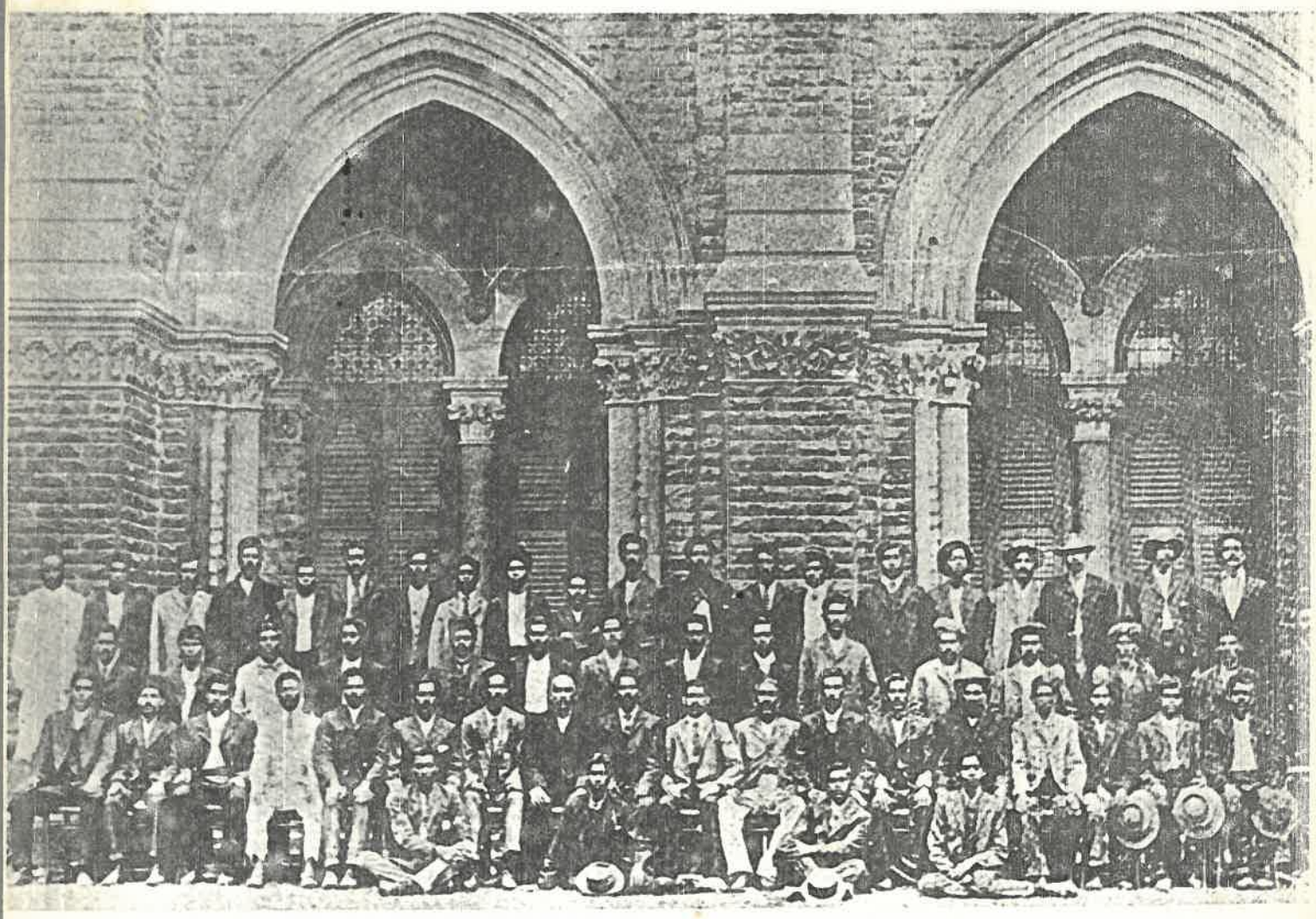
DEPORTATION TO INDIA

Between January 1908 and June 1909 , approx. 2,500 Indians were arrested and imprisoned . Probably over a thousand were deported.....

284

P 24

# Driven from Home



Sixty Indians deported from South Africa to India

See 155/49

16.7.1910 Indian Opi

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
25th November, 1911.

# Transvaal Indian Women's Bazaar



## A Group of Workers and Friends

In the centre of the second row, next to Mr. Gandhi, is the Mayoress, then Mr. and Mrs. Hosken, the Mayor, and Mrs. Ivor Lewis.

જોહાન્સબર્ગ ખાતે ભરાએલા ઓરતો તરફના બજાર માટે કામ કરનારાંઓ તથા બીજા મિત્રો.

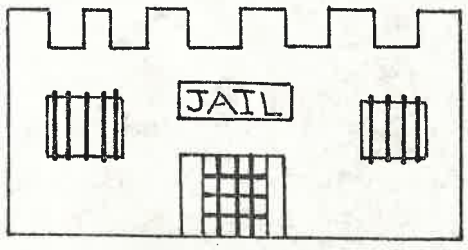
જેમાં વચ્ચેની હારમાં ખુરસીપર બેઠેલાંમાં મી. ગાંધી, અને તેમની બાજુએ મેયરનાં બાનુ.

DEPORTATIONS

85/551

8800

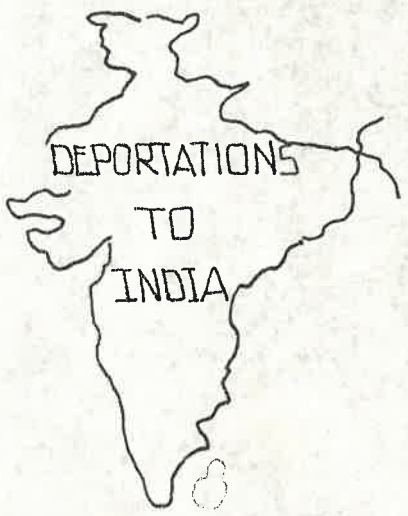





IMPRISONMENT
OF ± 3000 INDIANS



RESENTMENT IN INDIA

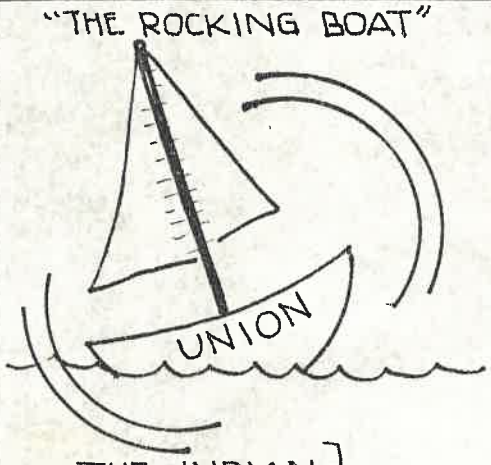





CONCERN IN ENGLAND



POVERTY AMONG
S.A. INDIANS




THE INDIAN?
31 MAY 1910

B/GANDHI

2

# REPSTA

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Scrapbook = 874/285

# SCRAP BOOK

# GANDHI DISPLAY

Repsta

# PROF GOKHALE

26

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THE HON. PROF. G.K. GOKHALE

Member of the Indian Legislative Council and Member of the Viceroy's Council in India . He spends six weeks during 1911 in South Africa, during which time he discusses the Indian problem with the S.A.Government and visits various Indian communities . Gandhi acts as secretary to Gokhale .

GOKHALE'S AIMS :

i) To secure a just and equitable treatment for the 150,000 Indians in South Africa ;
ii) To stop all further Indian immigration to S. A.
iii) His mediation was regarded with mixed feelings by all parties concerned .

---

GOKHALE'S MISSION WAS THE FIRST OF MANY DEPUTATIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA TO PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN .

IN THE MEANTIME ,

i) THE SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT IS SUSPENDED FOR A TEMPORARY PERIOD :
ii) 1911 ; SMUTS INTRODUCES THE IMMIGRANTS'RESTRICTION BILL—WITHDRAWN
iii) 1912 : " " " UNION IMMIGRATION BILL —WITHDRAWN
iv) 1913 : " " " IMMIGRANTS REGULATION ACT

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,
21st December, 1912.

# AN INTERESTING GROUP



*Photo by Aug. Blaettler*

Taken at Heidelburg Station on the occasion of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's visit.

હેડલબરગના સ્ટેશને મી. ગોખલે અને આવકાર આપનાર મંડળીની લેવાયેલી છબી.

P26

26

155/59

# HON. PROF. G. K. GOKHALE, C.I.E., M.A.,

Member of the Imperial Legislative Council of India,



To whom is mainly due the recent action of the Government of India, prohibiting the further recruitment of Indians, under indenture, for South Africa, after June 30 next.

---

## ઑન. પ્રોફે. જી કે. ગોખલે સી. આઈ. ઇ., એમ. એ.

**હીંદનો ધારાસભાના મેમ્બર**

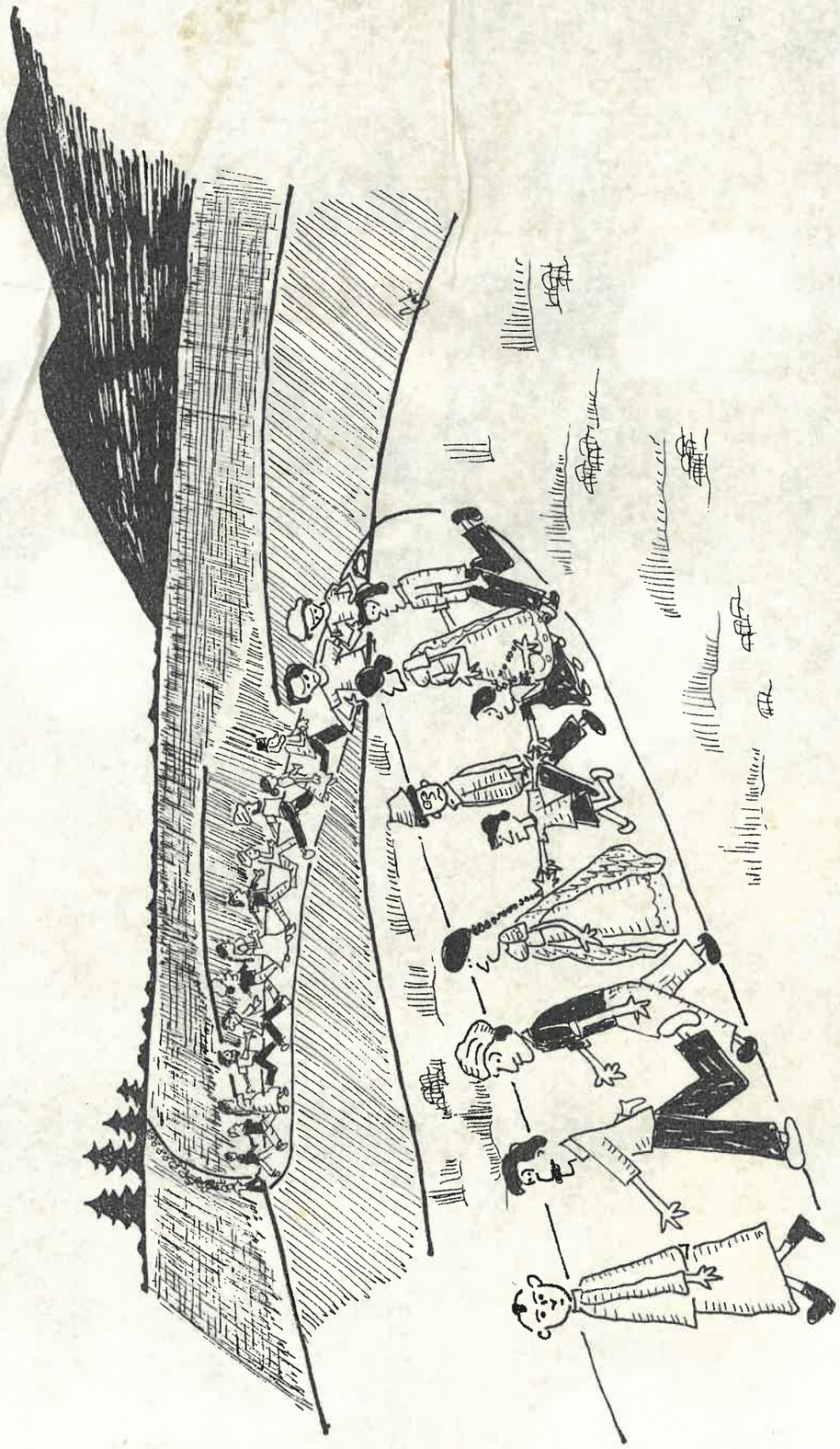
જેમને લીધે ખાસ કરીને, તા. ૩૦ મી જુન પછી દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા માટે ગીરમીટમાં મજુરો આપવાનું બંધ કરવાનું હીંદી સરકારનું પગલું લેવાયું છે.



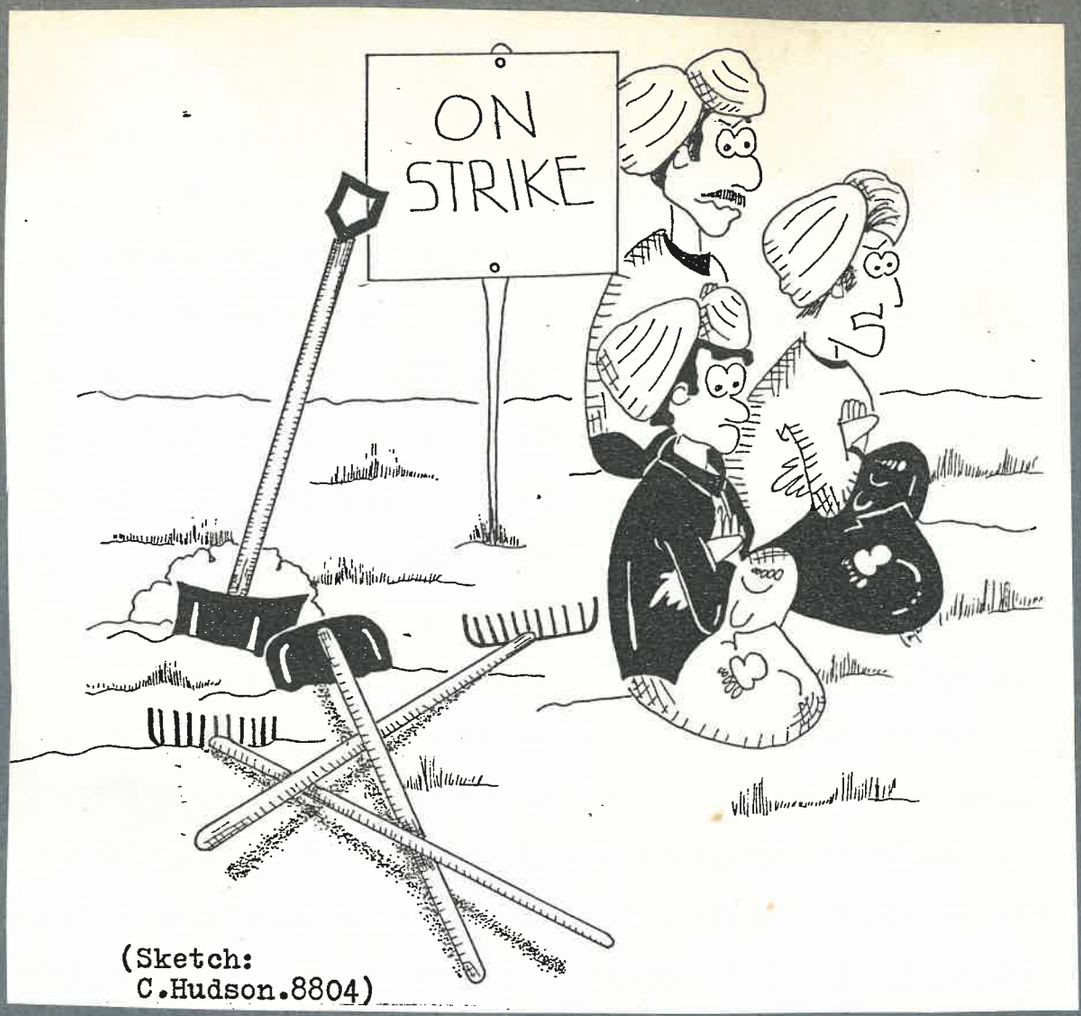

( Sketch: C.Hudson 8805 )

8805

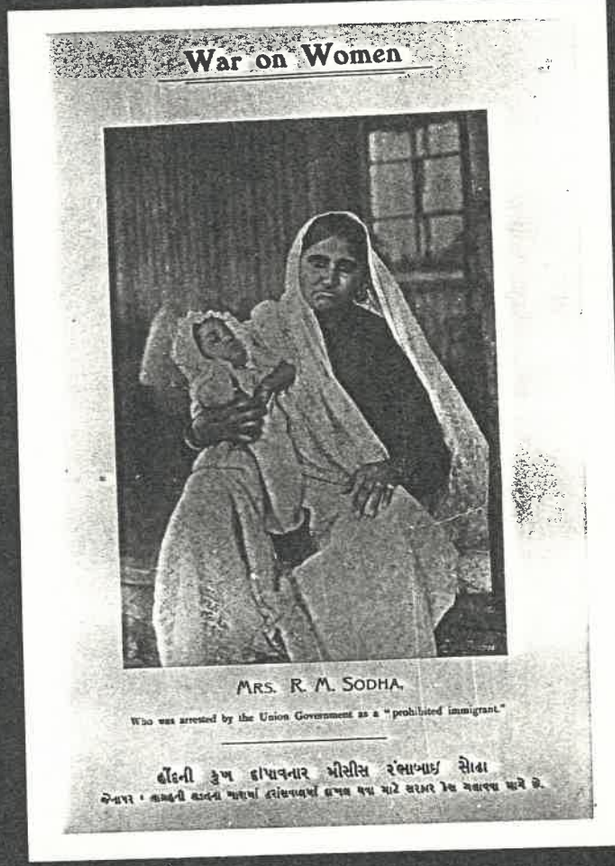
# THE GREAT MARCH



8804




(Sketch:
C.Hudson.8804)

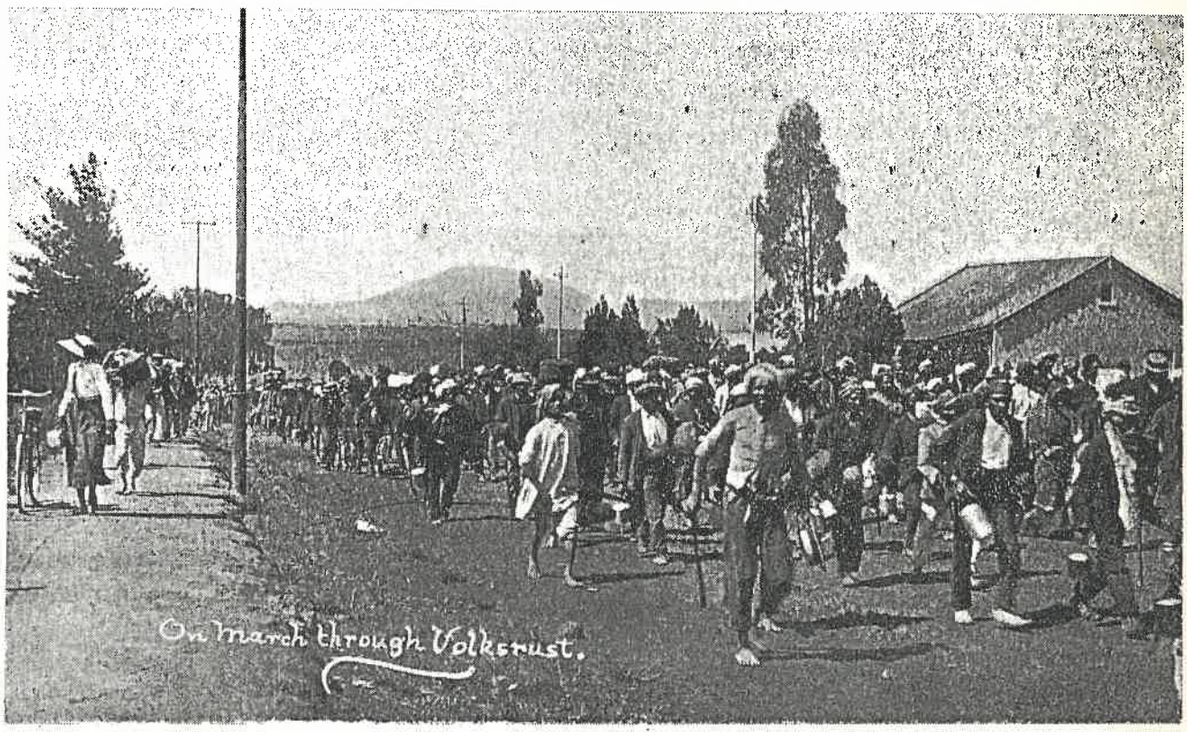

War on Women

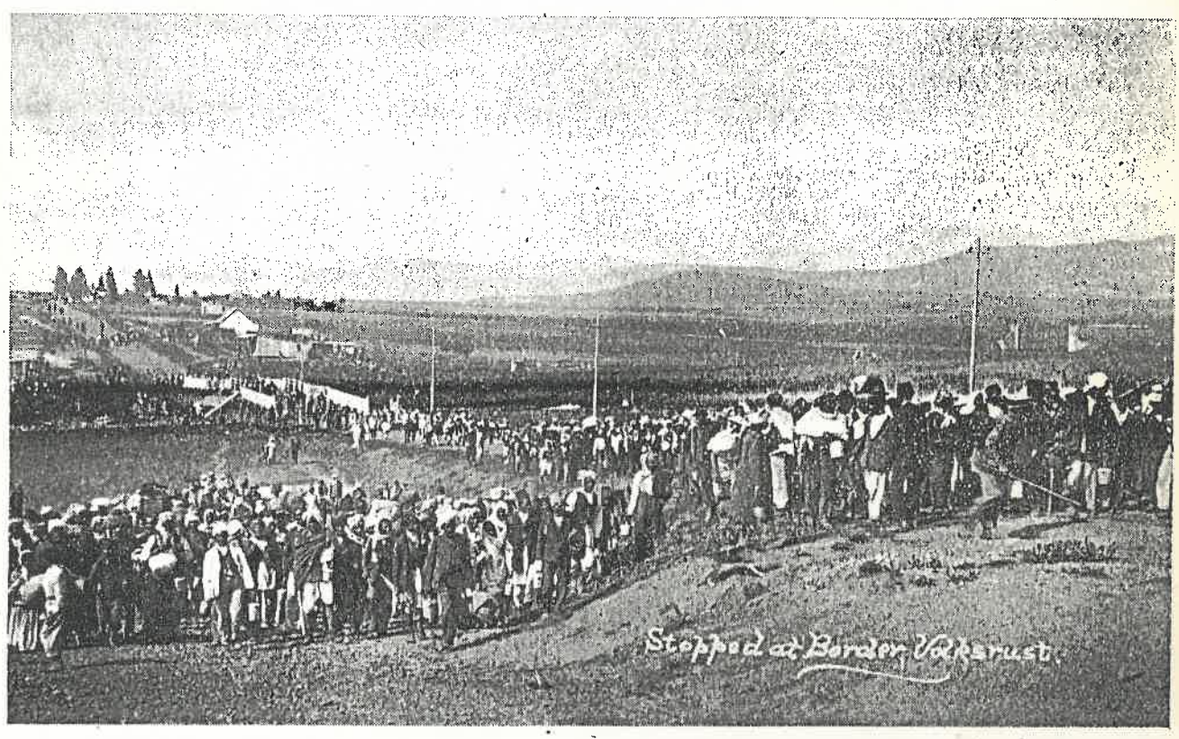
MRS. R. M. SODHA.

Who was arrested by the Union Government as a "prohibited immigrant."

કૉંગ્રેની કુળ કાપવનાર મીસીસ રંભાબાઇ સોઢા

# THE GREAT MARCH TO THE TRANSVAAL.




Photos by] [T. W. Dawes.

1913 S T R I K E ! P A S S I V E R E S I S T A N C E

UNREST ---- DISORDER -- STOPPAGES --- STRIKES

flared up all over : but one particular event caught the eye -

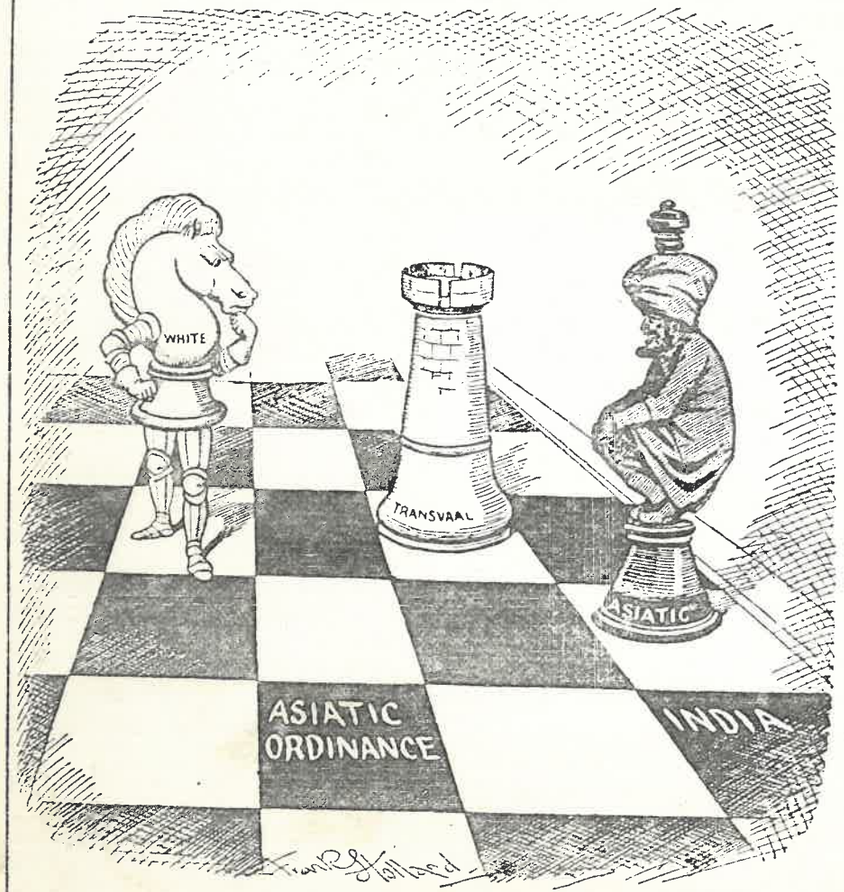
On 28 October 1913, Gandhi organised all the strikers into an "army" and over 2000 men, women and children led by Gandhi, began a march from Newcastle into the Transvaal, with the deliberate object of contravening ACT 22/1913 : arrests and imprisonment followed.....

£50
927

From *The Star* (Johannesburg),
4th May, 1907.

## WHITE TO MOVE AND CHECK.

(A cable from London states that Lord Elgin has advised His Majesty to allow the Asiatic Registration Bill.)

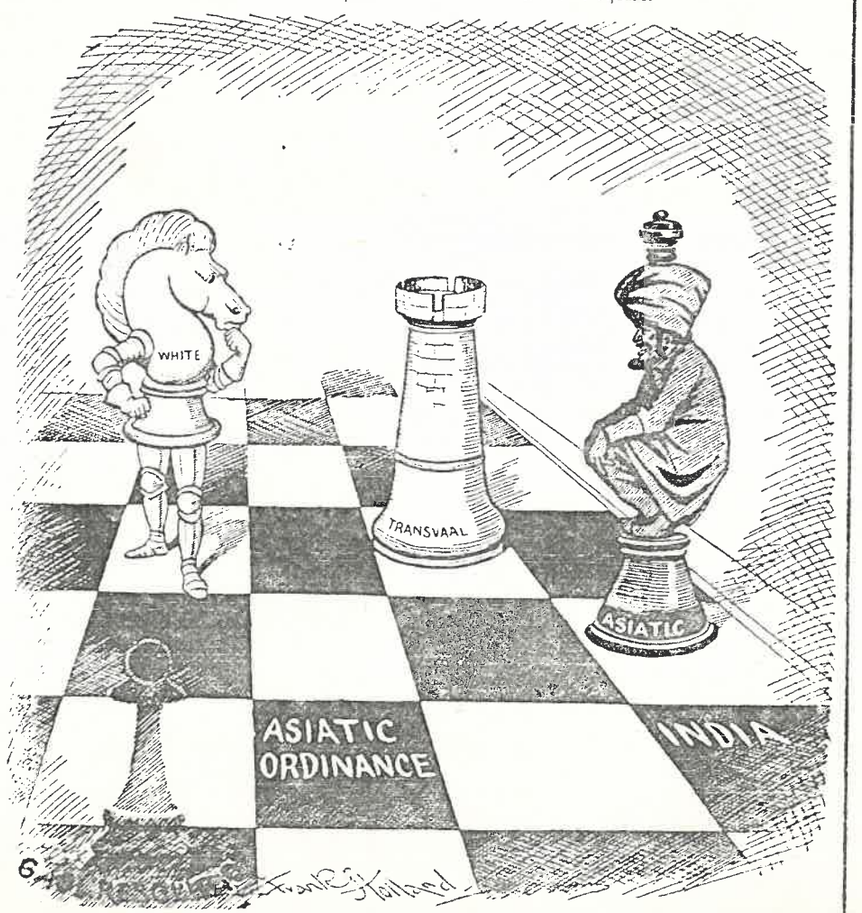



The White Knight will now be able to move into the "Asiatic Ordinance" square and thus save his Castle from the Black King and compel the latter to fall back on "India."

[Reproduced by kind permission.

## REPLY.

NOT YET. The White Knight, in his eagerness to move into the A.O. square, has omitted to notice the little pawn on the Gaol Resolution square.



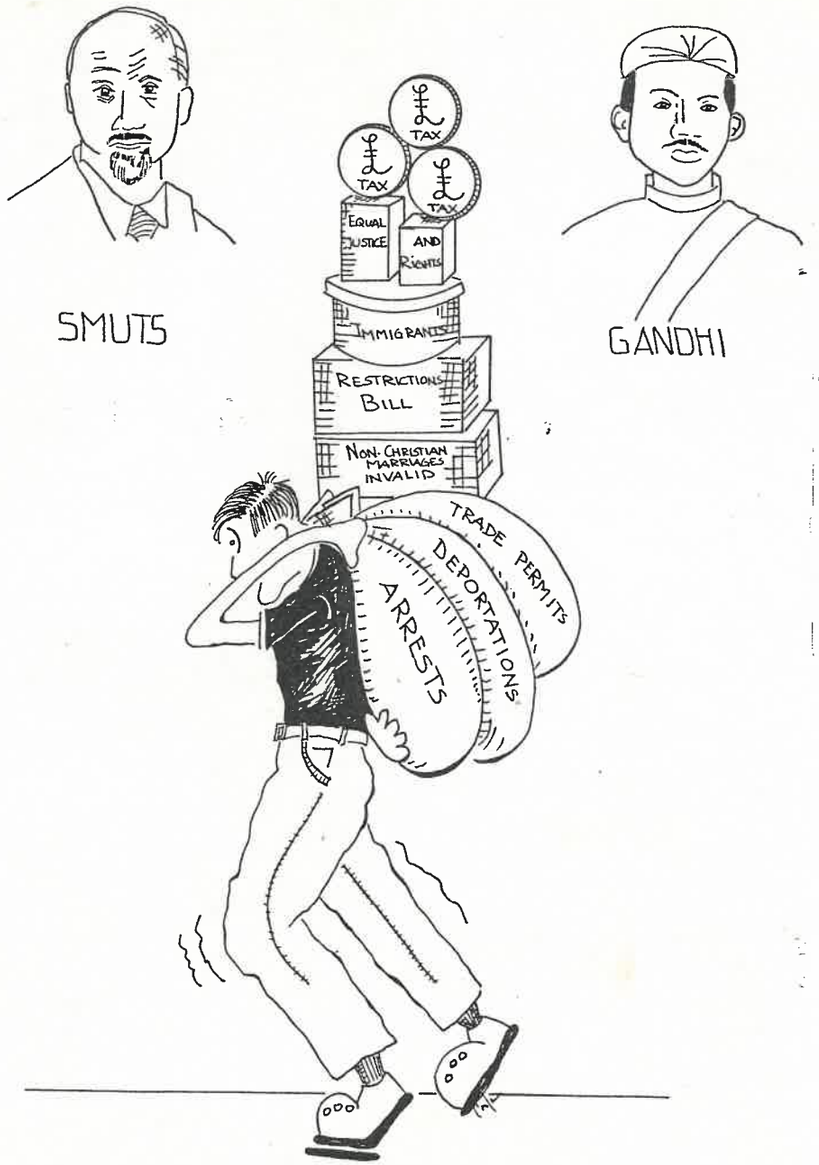

That the White Knight may also, in his blind hurry, have imagined that to be the King which is not, is another story.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE 1913/14
889

THE TWO
PROTAGONISTS :

GANDI REQUESTED
A RELAXATION IN THE
LAWS AFFECTING
INDIANS

SMUTS REFUSED TO
GRANT ANY
CONCESSIONS .....
.....




ANTI - ASIATIC LEGISLATION INCREASES : 1902 -1914

RESULT :

PASSIVE RESISTANCE
MOVEMENT
AND

GANDHI = SMUTS AGREEMENT
(SEE GANDHI DISPLAY)

P29

290 28

# PASSIVE = RESISTANCE 1913/1914

IN 1913 GANDHI INCORPORATED THE INDENTURED AND EX=INDENTURED INDIAN LABOURERS OF NATAL INTO THE PASSIVE=RESISTANCE MOVEMENT . THE OBJECTIONS WERE AIMED AT THE OBNOXIOUS ASPECTS OF ACT 22 of 1913 ( THE IMMIGRANTS REGULATION ACT ).

BY THE THOUSANDS INDIAN LABOURERS THROUGHOUT NATAL WENT ON STRIKE=== WOMEN JOINED THE STRUGGLE.

THE SOLOMON COMMISSION WAS APPOINTED TO INVES= TIGATE AND WITH THE PASSING OF THE INDIAN RELIEF ACT ( NO. 22/1914) :

(i) THE £ 3 TAX WAS WITHDRAWN ,
(ii) INDIAN MARRIAGES WERE LEGALISED ,
(iii) IMMIGRATION REGULATIONS WERE MORE REALISTIC,
(iv) ALL PASSIVE RESISTERS WERE PARDONED .

THE FINAL DETAILS WERE NEGOTIATED IN WHAT IS BETTER KNOWN AS THE CORRESPONDENCE ENTITLED :

" THE SMUTS= GANDHI AGREEMENT "

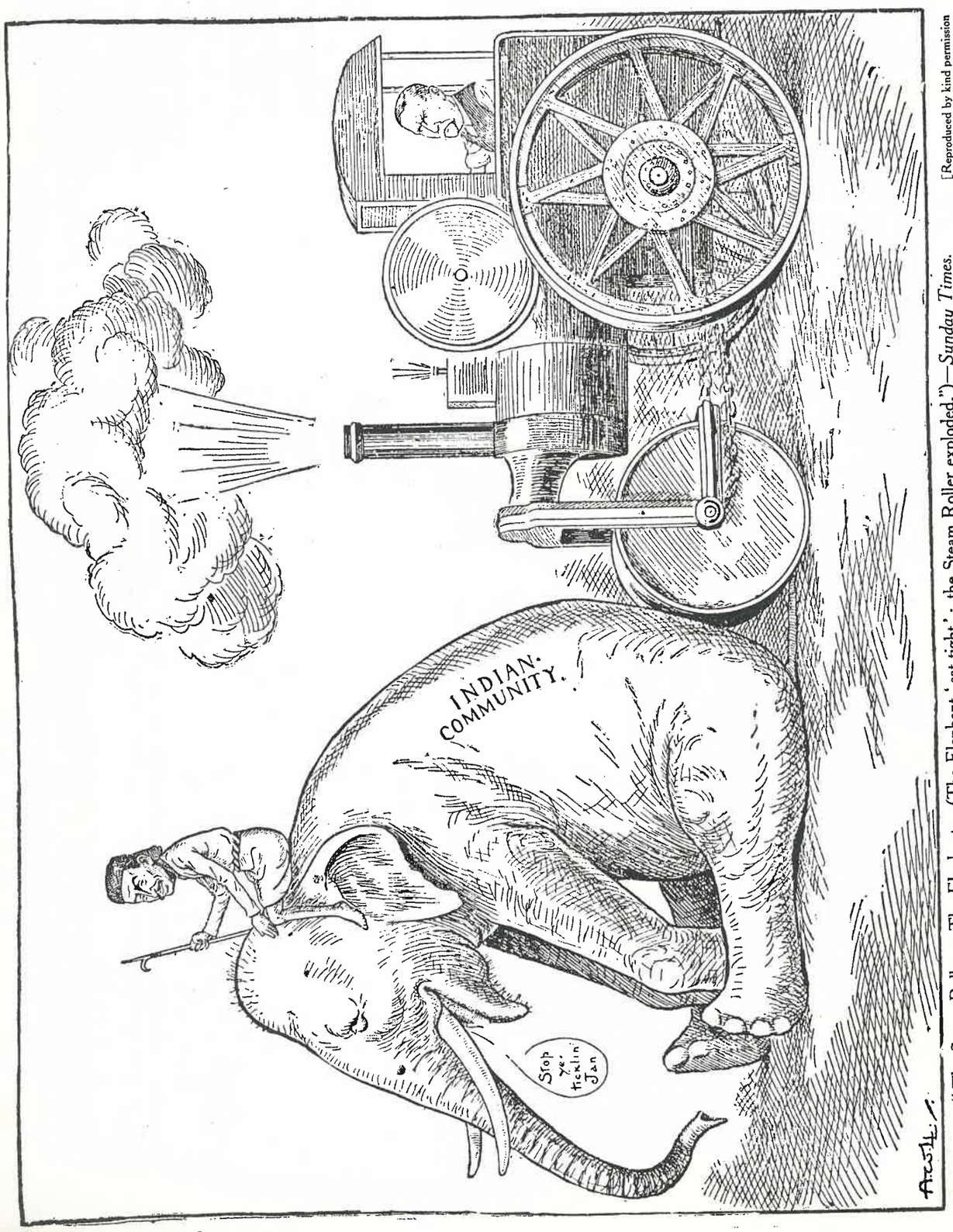
THIS WAS MERELY A TEMPORARY SOLUTION :

TO SUM UP 1913/14 :

a) An organised march in the North ,
b) Disorganised strikes and unrest in the South ,
c) A split in the ranks of the Natal Indian Congress,
d) The formation of the Natal Indian Association ,
e) Gandhi has been criticised for using the labouring classes for political advantage ,
f) The dispute revolved around the two leading personalities, Smuts and Gandhi ,
g) The movement gave Gandhi world-wide publicity and his "South African Experience" proved the ideal nursery for his subsequent political career in India .

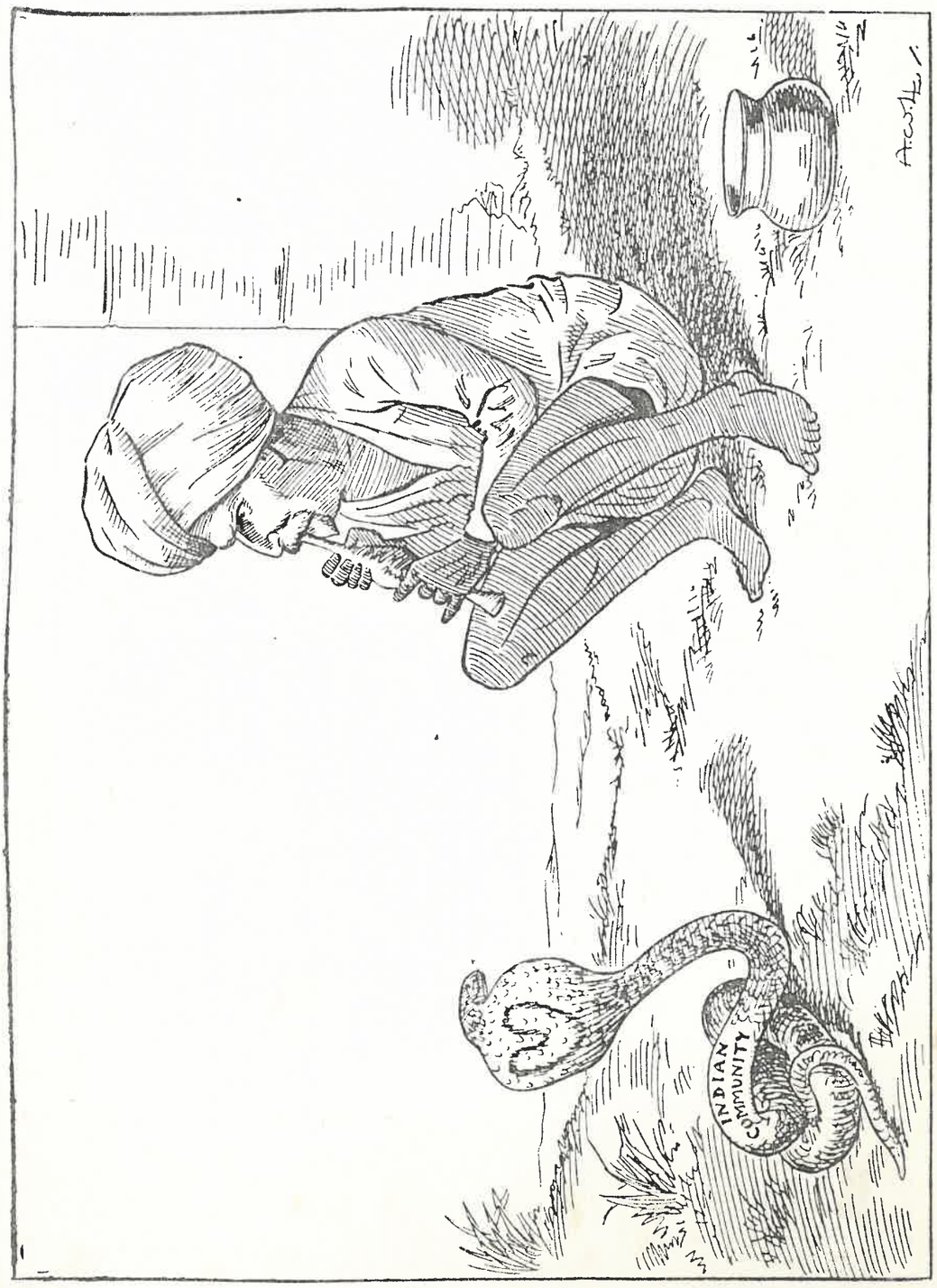
# THE TWO PROTAGONISTS






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

[Reproduced by kind permission




"The Snake Charmer and the Cobra that would not be charmed."—*Rand Daily Mail.*
Reproduced by kind permission.

# VERULAM FAREWELL MEETING



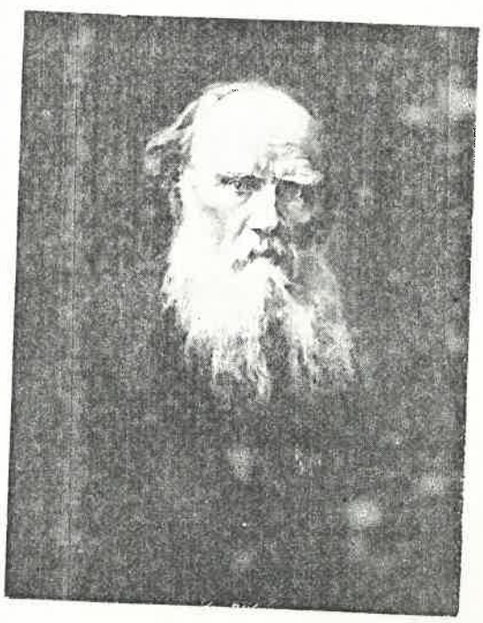
*Photo by*] Mr. Gandhi addressing the Verulam Farewell Meeting—about 5,000 persons present, mostly indentured Indians. [*B. Gabriel*

DEPARTURE



Photo by] B Gabriel

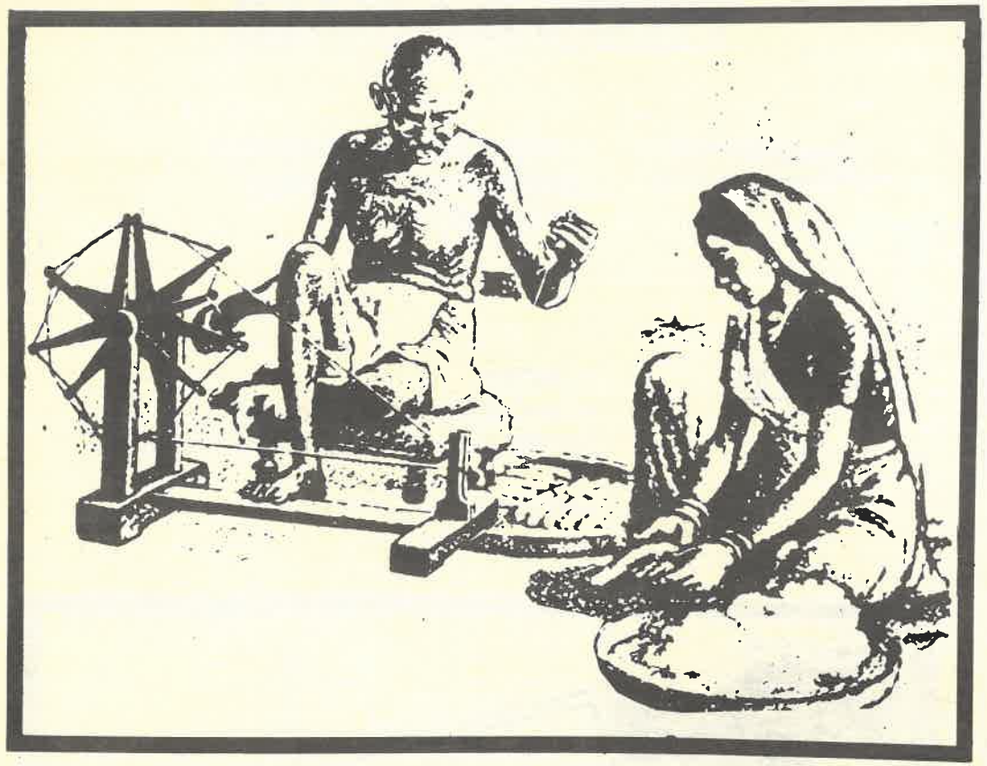
Mr. Gandhi addressing farewell mass meeting at Durban.



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.



Gandhi standing outside his hut at Phoenix Settlement, during the first passive resistance struggle initiated in 1906 to protest against racial discrimination against Indians. Phoenix, together with the Tolstoy Farm in Johannesburg, a donation from Mr. Kallenbach, a European Gandhian compatriot, became the centres for passive resisters. The first Indian newspaper, "Indian Opinion", established in 1903, was published from Phoenix.



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



# Beloved Gandhi

## THE LEGACY OF GANDHI

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

MAY HIS SPIRIT GUIDE US TO THE RIGHT PATH.

603/4

.....a tribute to

# GANDHI



.....by the

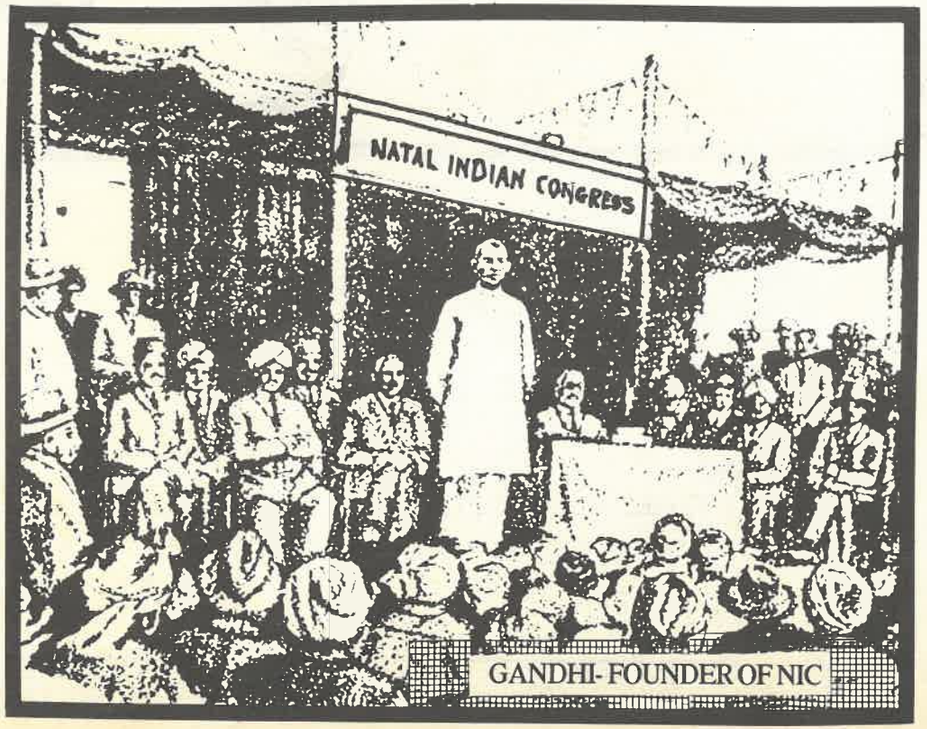
HINDU STUDENTS ASSOCIATION
MEDICAL SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

# PROGRAMME

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

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

1.00 p.m.
L2



1107/180

THE DAILY NEWS, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1986

LETTERS

# The Gandhi philosophy



SIR — I refer to all those articles written against Gandhi which allude to, inter alia flaws in his character as well as his alleged racist attitude.

While I recognise that each of the authors was entitled to his opinion I am compelled to record that nowhere do the apologists for Gandhi declare that he was the perfect human being on earth.

I submit that the title of Mahatma was accorded to him by virtue of the impact he made in striving towards perfection.

In so far as Gandhi the man was concerned, imperfect though he was, his philosophy has had a tremendous impact felt even to this age and it is my belief that to ignore this is criminal as well as reckless in extremity.

Finally is it criminal or wrong to derive inspiration from any person who acknowledged the fickle might of the oppressor and proved the power of ahimsa and satyagraha?

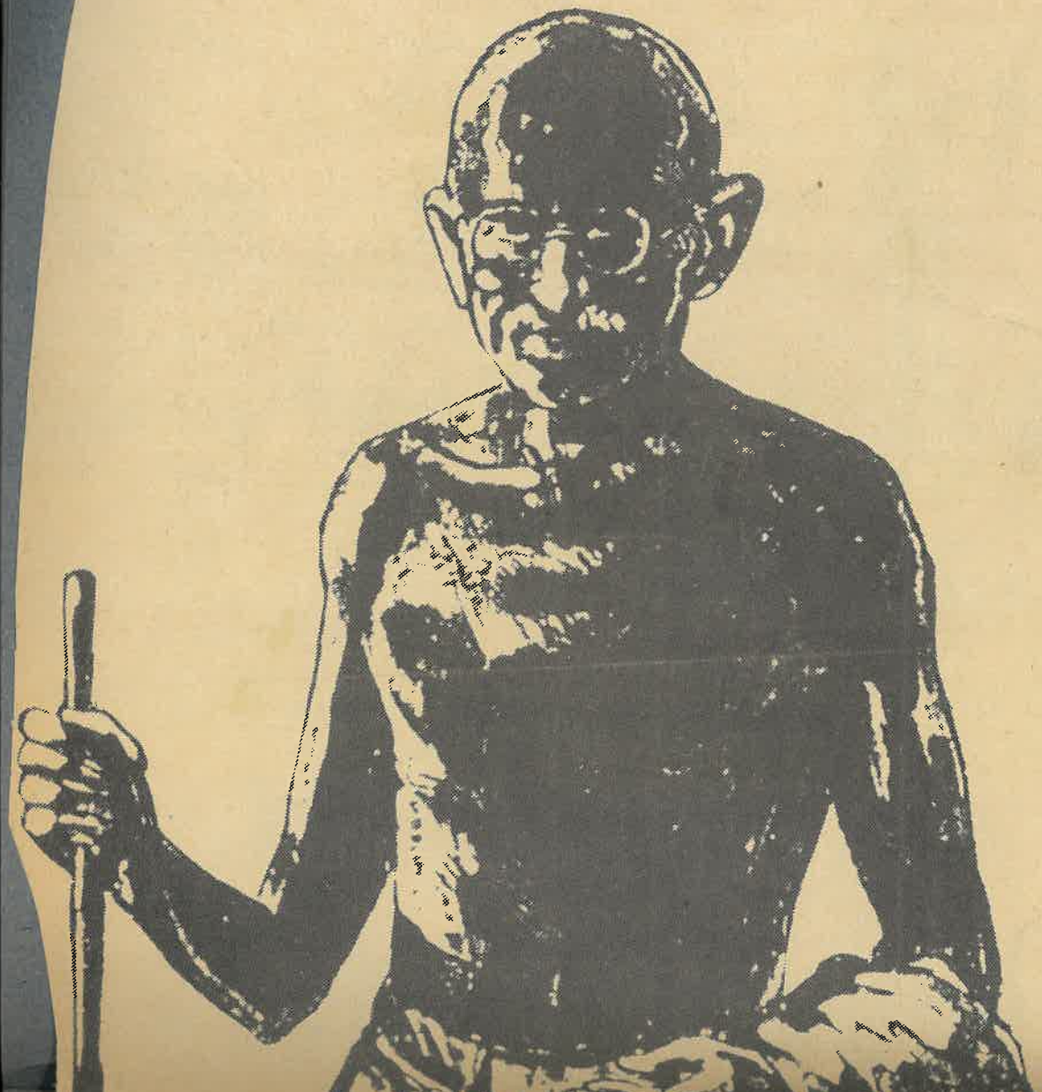
SABER AHMED JAZBHAY

Parlock

957/3092.



# Remembering Mahatma Gandhi



**REFLECTION**
**ON THE OCCASION OF**
**MAHATMA GANDHI'S BIRTHDAY**
**October 2, 1987**

**Let us**
**look at the face**
**of the poorest**
**most deprived**
**and helpless person**
**we can see**



we can see
and ask ourselves
if the step we contemplate
is going to be
of any use to him or her.

Will he or she
be able to gain
anything by it?
Will it restore him or her
to control over
his or her life
and destiny?

In other words
will it lead to liberation and
freedom from hunger
freedom from loneliness
freedom from poverty
freedom from disease —
for the homeless
and the physically
and spiritually
starved millions
of our countrymen?

Then,
we will find our doubts
and ourselves melting away.

Adapted from the writings of M.K. Gandhi



**of our countrymen?**

**Then,**
**we will find our doubts**
**and ourselves melting away.**

**Adapted from the writings of M.K. Gandhi**

★ **2nd October 87 - 5.30pm:** History Museum - Aliwal Street, Durban, Exhibits.

★ **3rd October 87 - 2.30pm:** Pattudeen Theatre, ABH, Arena Park, Gandhi Celebration.

★ **3rd October 87 - 2.30pm:** Satydeva Hall, APS, Carlisle St., Durban Gandhi Film.

★ **4th October 87 - 10.00am:** Phoenix Settlement Workshop: Reconstruction.

★ **4th October 87 - 2.30pm:** Central Methodist Church, Aliwal Street, Durban, Gandhi Celebration Lecture. Guest Speaker Mr Archie Gumede, President U.D.F.

★ **4th October 87 - 6.00pm:** G2 Methodist Church, Kwa Mashu, Gandhi Film.

★ **5th October 87 - 7.00pm:** Gandhi Hall, Lorne St., Durban, Gandhi Celebration.

**Sponsored by:**
**Phoenix Settlement Trust: Diakonia, Natal Organization of Women; CHAC, Natal Indian Congress, Women for Peace, Descom, Catholic Archdiocese of Durban.**

957/3091

# VIOLENCE at Gandhi's place of peace

Story by
Georgina Stevens
Pictures by
John Woodroof

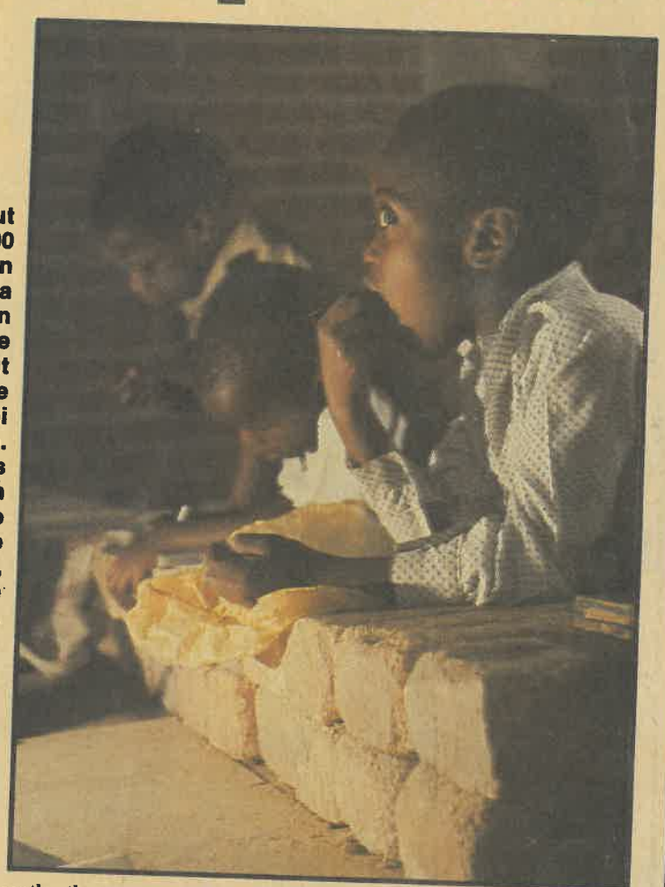
**IN the past six months an estimated 10 000 people have flocked to live in what was once a "place of peace" — Gandhi's Phoenix Settlement — and the area has been racked by violence.**

Clashes between the longer-settled inhabitants of Bambayi and New Farm and those of the newly-colonised area known as Chencele have left five people dead, 80 houses burnt to the ground, and more than 250 people homeless.

The most common reason advanced for the conflict is that of "ethnic rivalry" between Pondo and Zulu-speaking people.

A visit to the area indicates the potential for rivalry exists without any need for reference to divisive ethnic or racial stereotypes. The arrival of 10 000 people in an area ill-equipped for any kind of close settlement is almost sufficient reason in itself. The clashes are more a battle for extremely scarce resources between established and newer residents.

Natal University academics estimate unemployment in Inanda is in the region of 45 percent. Since 1980 its population has more than doubled and is now well over 250 000.



□ About 700 children attend a school in the burnt-out shell of the Gandhi Museum. There is not enough money to pay the teachers, and little equipment. Bricks are used as desks.

Until very recently, the approximately 30 000 people living around the Gandhi Settlement depended for their water on one tap and a stagnant river which was frequently clogged with garbage.

Visi Sibisi, the unofficial "councillor" of Bambayi, said the situation had improved with the installation of six taps by his "friends" from the South African Defence Force.

The Ghandi Clinic is separated from the encroachment of daub and wattle shacks only by a vegetable garden. The matron rapidly instituted a gardening project to maintain a cordon between the brick-and-tile sterility of her domain and the advance of the squatter settlement.

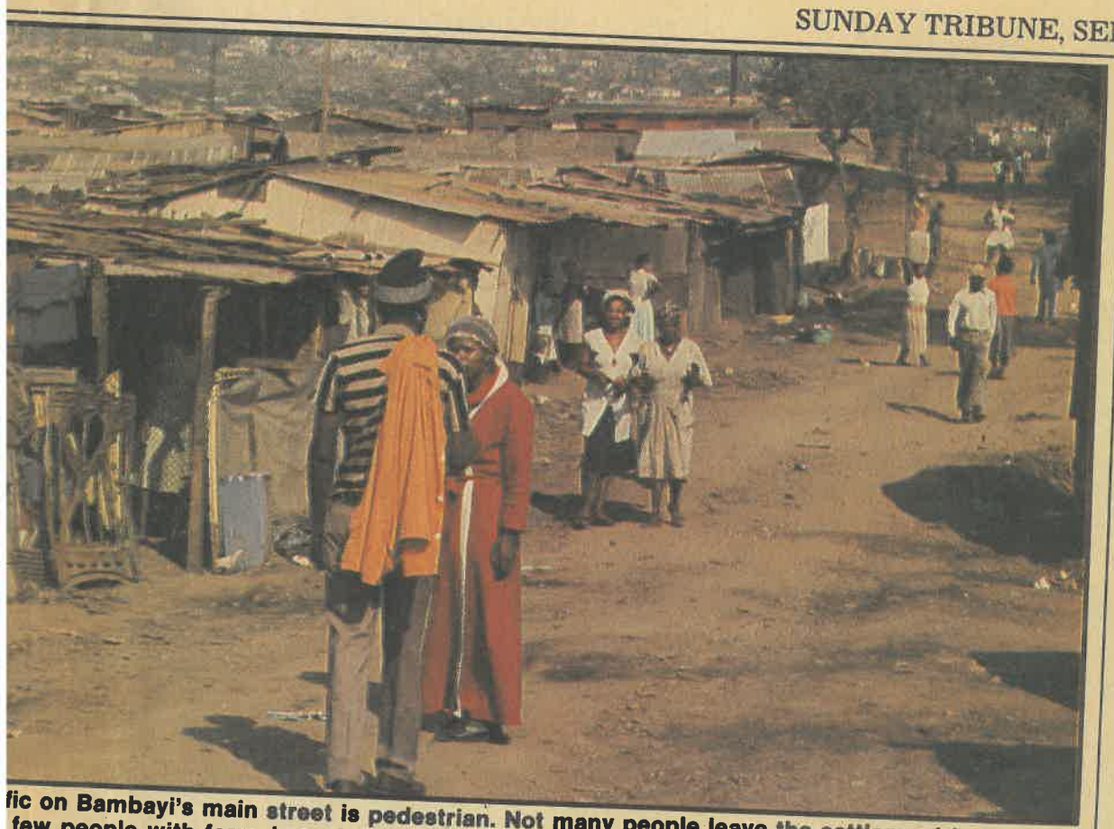
But Mr Sibisi says proudly, "we have our clinic" — a reflection of the fact that Gandhi's settlement, though nominally under the control of the Phoenix Settlement Trust, is now effectively occupied by the new order.

Mr Sibisi denied the conflict had anything to



□ Most of the traff
work — there are





fic on Bambayi's main street is pedestrian. Not many people leave the settlement to go to few people with formal employment — but they go daily to fetch water from a tap a few kilometres from their homes



☐ Left: Visi Sibisi's shop is the hub of life in Bambayi: the nearest place to buy food and the favourite venue for meetings.

☐ Right: A woman takes rubbish to a huge dump on the outskirts of Bambayi



# Emdoti

By Phinda Kuzwayo

IT could be called Emdoti City, if its wretched denizens had the time or inclination to think of names.

Emdoti means "at the rubbish dump", and it is amid the stench and filth of Durban's main refuse dump that a shantytown has sprung up, its 500 or so residents wholly dependent on refuse.

These disillusioned "rubbish dump people", who have lost out in the rat race of society, have built their shacks in the bush that flank the dump in Sydenham.

If one stands on the crest of the ridge on Kennedy Road, which is nearest the dump, one is choked by the acrid stink of the rubbish, a stench the likes of which only a nightsoil collector in townships which like Clermont still have bucket toilets, would find familiar.

Officially, scavengers are not allowed at the dump, where truck after truck offloads rubbish, but men and women, some of them with children on their backs, crawl through the mess, sifting through it in their search for sustenance.

They compete with the tipper trucks that continually pour heaps of soil on the rubbish, which is levelled by a tractor and workmen.

Occasionally, workmen, wielding their spades, chase the scavengers, but even this does not deter them. They are soon back again, despite the danger.

For the squatters living in the shacks near the dump, Durban's cast-offs are a source of food and sundry items they can sell for a paltry sum.

Perhaps the Shozi fam-

do with animosity between Zulus and Pondos.

"There are Pondos in both the older and newer areas of the settlement and everybody is welcome in Bambayi — whites, Indians, coloureds, Pondos, and Zulus alike."

He also denied Inkatha had any particular sway over the area: "The KwaZulu Government wants everybody to be Inkatha but the people don't know which road to take ... there's also the United Democratic Front ..." He preferred to stay in the middle.

Alfred Mzobe, popularly acknowledged as the "chairman" of Bambayi and New Farm, concurred. He identified the worst problems as poverty and unemployment: "Most of these people have nothing. There are lots of old people to look after and even the young ones sometimes can't afford work for years."

In a land of stagnant water, whoever puts in the taps has a good chance of being king.

B/GANDHI

# Gandhi in South Africa: An Interpretation[1]

Andrew Nash

It is surely something of a paradox to begin a series of seminars on "Lives of South African Philosophers" by discussing a historical figure who was neither South African nor, at least in the strict sense, a philosopher. But I want to argue that M. K. Gandhi's years in South Africa—from 1893 to 1914—and his writings of that time provide an indispensable lens through which to view South African intellectual life during the twentieth century.

South African intellectual life today is largely cut off from its past. It may be orientated to a greater or lesser extent toward the problems of South African society. But it looks elsewhere for its philosophical premises and theoretical perspectives—above all to the advanced capitalist societies of Western Europe and North America, with their long-established traditions and well-resourced academic systems.

This is a familiar pattern in colonial and post-colonial societies; a pattern now being given a new twist in South Africa. As intellectual life becomes increasingly specialized and confined to the universities, so the universities are increasingly integrated into the global marketplace, with academics required to orientate their work toward publication in international journals, and the like. That which is distinctive about South African intellectual life over the past century is disappearing before it has been grasped and articulated.

What is distinctive about South African intellectual life is not so much the originality of its philosophical arguments or the influence of its doctrines, but rather the ways in which they have developed in relation to a conflict-ridden history in which philosophical argument has been an embattled and often costly vocation. The ideal of unity of life and thought has been more pressing here than in more stable societies and also harder to achieve.

In this context a distinctive form of philosophical project has provided a way of living out a philosophical vocation.[2] This project has been shared by individuals of diverse philosophical and political persuasions. In this series I'll try to show a similar form in the work of an activist for Indian rights and proponent of nonviolence (Gandhi), an Afrikaner nationalist opponent of imperialism drawing on the philosophy of pragmatism (Tobie Muller), a founder of the ANC Youth League and the leading theorist of Africanism in South Africa (Anton Lembede), a liberal opponent of apartheid working in the idiom of analytical philosophy (Daantjie Oosthuizen), and a Marxist academic much influenced by existentialism (Richard Turner).

The thought of these individuals has in common the rough form: It begins with a critique of the dominant philosophy of history they have encountered as an oppressive force in their context. In developing this critique, they put forward an alternative perspective on the world-historical process that provides a rudimentary philosophy of history with an emancipatory thrust. Finally, they use that philosophy

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1 Paper for seminar of Department of Philosophy, Rhodes University, August 3, 2004; seminar of Department of History, University of KwaZulu-Natal, August 11, 2004.

2 To say that this project is distinctive is not to say that it is unique, nor that it occurs nowhere outside South Africa. However, I do not know of another historical context in which a similar form of philosophical project is as clearly characteristic.



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CLASS No B/GANDHI NAS

of history as a basis on which to establish an ethics capable of being embodied in an individual life and of providing a larger social and political horizon. In each case they themselves lived out their ideas with unusual integrity, sometimes at the cost of their lives. Three of the five died in their thirties; two died by the assassin's bullet.

This form is in some ways closer to the classical conception of philosophy than it is to the conventions of contemporary academic life.[3] But at the same time—in these South African versions—it is a distinctly modernized version of the classical idea of philosophy as an ethical vocation.

Among them, as in all matters of living by your ideas, none was as extreme and relentless as Gandhi. Because the events of his life are so well-known, and because this seminar series begins with him, I will concentrate mainly on his writings—and one text in particular, *Hind Swaraj*. In this way, I hope to set out in more conceptual terms the form of project that provides the theme of my narrative.

## II

For many decades the vast literature on Gandhi focused on his years as an Indian political leader and treated his twenty-one formative years in South Africa as so much colorful background. Judith Brown's biography, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope* (1989) played an important role in changing this image of Gandhi's South African years. Brown argued that, for Gandhi, "the South African experience was a rich and formative one, molding him into a very special kind of public figure, far greater in range and experience than most [Indian] politicians of his day."[4] In her biography, Brown concentrates mainly on the ethnic, religious, and class diversity of Gandhi's South African constituency, and also on the complex divisions of the larger South African society in which he had to seek alliances and form strategies.

In a subsequent essay Brown argued more emphatically that in crucial ways "South Africa made the Indian Gandhi."[5] South African conditions allowed Gandhi to develop in the way he did, and Indian conditions could not have, she argues. Gandhi could not have risen to political prominence in India without patronage, family connections, great wealth, or professional prestige. He could not have done so without aligning himself in some way within India's religious divisions—above all, those between Hindu and Muslim. In the small and heterogeneous Indian community in South Africa he was able to take on the role of the spiritual teacher and political leader at the same time and effectively integrate them. In India it would have been far harder to turn the shame of arrest, imprisonment and conviction in the courts into a badge of honor. Finally, the ideological construct of the equality of all subjects of the British empire, which functioned in India largely as a means of co-option and control, was available in South Africa, where there was less need for co-option and cruder methods of state control, as a basis for mobilization.

Out of his at first scattered responses to these conditions came the fusion that was Gandhi's unique voice. Whether or not we accept that the same trajectory could

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3 Cf. Pierre Hadot, *What is Ancient Philosophy?* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2002).

4 Judith Brown, *Gandhi:Prisoner of Hope* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 57.

5 Judith Brown, "The Making of a Critical Outsider," in Judith M. Brown and Martin Prozesky, ed., *Gandhi and South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996), p. 22.

not have been followed in India (when Gandhi first appeared in an Indian law-court, he was literally speechless), we can recognize in them conditions that apply in varying degrees to many other South Africans. Gandhi's legacy is more conspicuous in such contexts as the passive resistance campaign of the 1950s or in acts of defiance of unjust laws under apartheid. But it is not the only place in which it is felt.

III

Gandhi's major philosophical text *Hind Swaraj*—written while he was returning by sea from an unsuccessful attempt to petition the British government to intervene on behalf of South African Indians—lists the authors whose work has most influenced him. "I have but humbly endeavoured to follow Tolstoy, Ruskin, Thoreau, Emerson and other writers, besides the masters of Indian philosophy."[6]

Even if we take him at his word, we have to recognize that he followed their thought in response to very different conditions from those of his masters. He responded to different issues. His list does not give us a clear idea of the philosophical perspective that he sought to criticize or develop by drawing on these authors.

*Hind Swaraj*, like Gandhi's other South African writings, was largely a response to racial domination and its accumulated burdens. Whether implicitly or explicitly, Gandhi was addressing a peculiar combination of ideas of race and freedom.

Systematic ideologies of race emerged for the first time with the expansion of Europe. Their earliest versions allowed for the recognition of the humanity of black people. Thus, Oliver Cox quotes Gomes Eannes de Azurara's *Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* on the killing and capturing of infidels: "Though their bodies were now brought into subjection, that was a small matter in comparison to their souls, which would now possess true freedom for evermore."[7] As European political thought became more secular, so the justification of slavery increasingly required the exclusion of the enslaved from the realm of humanity. The basic dilemma which racial domination created for bourgeois political thought in the era of slavery is well-captured in Francis Hutcheson's *System of Moral Philosophy* (1755), which condemns slavery as a violation of the principle that "each man is the natural proprietor of his own liberty" while at the same time defending the rights of property of the slave-owner.[8]

The idea that secular freedom was attainable by Africans and Asians—previously excluded from it by nature or history—emerged in response to the struggles of Africans and Asians against colonial domination. But it was for a considerable time a distinctively Western idea, drawing on Christian ideas of the value of the individual, early bourgeois ideas of the transition from a "state of nature" to civil society; the idea of progress which informed industrial capitalism, and all manner of racial stereotypes.

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6 M.K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and other writings*, ed. Anthony J. Parel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 6.

7 H.M. Hunter and S.Y. Abrahams, ed., *Race, Class and the World System: The Sociology of Oliver Cox* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1987), p. 51.

8 Quoted in Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery 1776-1848* (London: Verso, 1988), pp. 48-9.

The historical juncture at which these diverse sources coalesce, and this idea is most clearly embodied in Western political practice, was the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Queen Victoria's proclamation of November 1858 ended the rule of the English East India Company and made India part of the British Empire. It enacted "that so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race and creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge."[9] This formula located the freedom to which Indians could aspire within the restrictive context of service to the deeply-racialized cause of British imperialism, and set British norms of "education, ability and integrity" as the precondition for that freedom. It provided the framework within which Joseph Chamberlain, as colonial secretary at the end of the century, could defend "the traditions of the Empire which makes no distinction in favour of or against race or colour."[10]

A specific philosophy of history was central to this interpretation of the capacity of non-Europeans for freedom. Its central metaphor is set out in the classic text of modern liberalism—John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (1859)—in order to explain the exclusion of two categories of people from the principles of liberty which he defends: His doctrine applies, according to Mill, "only to human beings in the maturity of their faculties," and specifically excludes "children, or young persons below the age which the law may fix as that of manhood or womanhood . . . who are still in a state to require being taken care of by others," and "those backward states of society in which the race itself may be considered as in its nonage." For "despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians, provided the end be their improvement, and the means justified by actually effecting that end."[11]

Just as children are excluded from the realm of freedom until they have reached maturity (or at least a legally-fixed age), so entire societies are excluded from that realm while their "improvement" is undertaken by those who have already reached historical maturity. Until that has happened, they do not have the knowledge to achieve that condition for themselves. "The real causes which determine the prosperity or wretchedness, the improvement or deterioration, of the Hindoos are too far off to be within their ken," Mill writes in *Representative Government* (1861). "They have not the knowledge necessary for suspecting the existence of those causes, much less for judging of their operation."[12]

All the many fallacies contained in theories of the "child races" rested on this complex of ideas: that historical progress followed a gradually ascending line through the centuries, from Greece and Rome to modern Europe; that each "race" had to make its way along that line at whatever pace it was able, although allowance might be made for exceptional individuals who surpassed the racial norm; that freedom could only be achieved through this linear ascent; and that until the "backward" (or less "civilized") races were ready for freedom they should remain under the guardianship

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[9] R.E. Huttenback, "Indians in South Africa, 1860-1914: The British Imperial Philosophy on Trial," *English Historical Review* 81:319 (April 1966), pp. 273, 279.

[10] Huttenback, "Indians in South Africa, 1860-1914," p. 279.

[11] J.S. Mill, *Utilitarianism, Liberty, Representative Government*, ed. H.B. Acton (London: J.M. Dent, 1972), p. 73.

[12] Mill, *Utilitarianism, Liberty, Representative Government*, p. 384.

of the "advanced" (or more "civilized"). This might be described as the linear idea of racial freedom.

## IV

I want to digress briefly in order to point out that it would be mistaken to see Mill's argument as an unfortunate accretion—a concession to the prejudices of the Victorian age—that could in time be removed from the essential principles of liberalism without affecting their character. Liberalism is in large measure a theorization of the freedom that is made possible in the context of capitalism, and liberal acquiescence in racial domination is most clearly seen in this light. At certain stages in its development, either in a specific national context or globally, capitalism requires coercion in order to create a class that depends on the sale of its labour in order to survive. Race often provides a basis for such coercion, whether in the form of slavery or proletarianization. However, to the extent that capitalism establishes the political and economic conditions for its own further development, it becomes possible for it to do away with extra-economic forms of coercion, and rely mainly on the "free" and "equal" contract between capitalist and wage-labourer in order to perpetuate itself. In this context, liberalism can dissociate itself from racial domination to the extent that capitalism has established itself securely in a given context. The precise moment at which this happens is itself a question on which disagreement and debate within the ruling class are often likely.

Indeed, even those seeking the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism initially conceived of it within the context of a linear view of history that overlapped on crucial points with that of Mill. For Marx, Indian history "is but the history of the successive intruders who founded their empires on the passive basis of that unresisting and unchanging society." Their domination and exploitation can be ended only by revolution in the capitalist West: "Then only will human progress cease to resemble that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain."[13]

This conception found formal expression in the doctrine of trusteeship: a doctrine to which Gandhi at one stage gave his support. The Treaty of Versailles provided in 1918 that the "backward peoples" in the former German colonies, who were "not yet able to stand by themselves," were to be treated as a "sacred trust of civilization."[14] But this linear conception of racial freedom was also the starting point for the struggle *against* racial domination in the colonial world.

This was clearly true for the small educated elites, who sought not so much to challenge racial domination itself as to overcome racial barriers to taking up their rightful places within the hierarchy of class society. But it was true as well for those who sought to challenge the global order of racial domination at a more fundamental level. Indeed, it often happened that the more fundamental challenge to racial domination grew out of the frustrated ambitions of a small elite, and never altogether shook off its origins. This is evident in Gandhi's political thought.

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[13] Karl Marx, "The Future Results of British Rule in India," in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *On Colonialism* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1959), pp. 81, 87; cf. Michael Lowy, *The Politics of Combined and Uneven Development* (London: Verso, 1981), pp. 1-29.

[14] R.F. Alfred Hoernle, *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1945), p. 57.

## V

Gandhi's political activism began in South Africa in 1894, and was for many years premised on his loyalty to the British Empire.[15] It was only in the struggle against the Asiatic Laws Amendment Ordinance of 1906, requiring that Indians in the Transvaal register as residents and produce their certificate of registration on demand, that Gandhi developed the strategy of nonviolent resistance that came to be known as *satyagraha*. His account of this development shows how Gandhi both depended on the linear conception of freedom, and at the same time contested its criteria for measuring advancement along its path.

Gandhi describes the draft ordinance as an attempt to lower the prestige of the Indian community, where registration by mutual consent would have increased it. It sought to "humiliate not only ourselves but also the motherland."[16] He protests that he has "never known legislation of this nature being directed against free men in any part of the world." He knows that "indentured Indians in Natal are subject to a drastic system of passes, but these poor fellows can hardly be classed as free men." Their oppression is anyway "a mere fleabite" compared to the potential losses faced by wealthy traders, who could be faced with "utter ruin in virtue of the Ordinance" (p. 137).

This sense of the prestige and honor of "free men" being attacked animated Indian resistance to the measures. This resistance was led initially by the merchant class with whom Gandhi had long been associated. In the years from 1907 to 1909—as Maureen Swan has shown—Gandhi became increasingly less dependent on the support of merchants and traders until he finally turned from them and sought support among the poor instead.[17] But the vocabulary of *satyagraha* was drawn at the outset from this defence of prestige and honor—informed, if not necessarily determined, by factors of class.

Gandhi's proposal to the Transvaal protest meeting of 1906 was centrally concerned with the maintenance of prestige. The meeting decided that rather than submit to the Ordinance, they would suffer the penalties of defying it—including prison, loss of property and deportation. One of the older members of the Indian community proposed that this resolution be accompanied by an oath taken in the name of God. The metaphor of "manhood" is central to Gandhi's explanation of the significance of this step to the meeting: "A man, who deliberately and intelligently takes a pledge and then breaks it, forfeits his manhood"; no one there "can be classed as an infant or as wanting in understanding"; all are "well advanced in age and have seen the world." None can say, "he did not know what he is about when he took the oath" (pp. 143-4).

This idea of demonstrating a degree of manhood that is denied by the oppressor through willing acceptance of suffering is central also to the question of

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[15] Cf. J.H. Stone, "M.K. Gandhi: Some Experiments with Truth," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 16, no. 4 (December 1990), pp. 721-40.

[16] M.K. Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, in S. Narayan, ed., *Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1968), vol. 3, p. 138. Further references are given in brackets in the text.

17 Maureen Swan, Gandhi: The South African Experience (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985), pp. 137-90, especially pp. 144, 167.

how this strategy is to be named. When a sympathetic commentator describes it as "passive resistance, which is a weapon of the weak" (pp. 152-3), Gandhi immediately responds: "If we continue to believe ourselves and let others believe that we are weak and helpless and therefore offer passive resistance, our resistance would never make us strong." In contrast, by "fostering the idea of strength, we grow stronger and stronger every day" (p. 156). In this sense, *satyagraha* was not simply a means of demonstrating the moral capacity of the oppressed, but also a means of increasing that capacity in order genuinely to earn the rewards of their "civilization."

It was essential to Gandhi's strategy that it should not be merely a strategy for winning political gains, but also a moral affirmation of the capacity and willingness of the oppressed to take on the larger civilizational task ascribed to them by the linear conception of racial freedom. Inevitably, this produced an ambiguous relationship to the very idea of civilization.

## VI

A few years later, Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* articulated more fully his conception of civilization. *Hind Swaraj* has been described, in the recent scholarly edition, as "Gandhi's seminal work . . . the seed from which the tree of Gandhian thought has grown to its full stature . . . the norm by which to assess the theoretical significance of his other writings."[18] It is certainly a rich and multifarious text: a dialogue between "editor" (Gandhi) and "reader" (a composite of the Indian anarchist groups he had encountered in London in 1909) on the nature of freedom for India. The term *swaraj* is itself ambiguous, referring both to the constitutional domain of "home-rule" and the spiritual goal of self-mastery. Gandhi exploits this ambiguity to argue against the violent overthrow of British rule in India which, he says, will result in "English rule without the Englishman" (p. 28).[19] Instead he argues that a more fundamental moral transformation of Indian life is necessary, which can be undertaken through *satyagraha*, which in turn will make British rule impossible and establish true freedom in India.

Gandhi's argument rests on a contrast between "modern civilization," on the one hand, and "true civilization," on the other. Modern civilization, according to Gandhi, makes "bodily welfare the object of life" (p. 35). Its technological advances are made at the expense of any underlying moral or political purpose. Gandhi is especially scathing about the British "Mother of Parliaments," which is "like a sterile woman and a prostitute" (p. 30). It produces nothing lasting and final, is always subject to new pressures, its members are hypocritical and selfish and guided by short-term advantage. Turning the metaphor of historical maturity around, Gandhi asks of parliamentary government in Britain: "if it has remained a baby after an existence of seven hundred years, when will it outgrow its babyhood" (p. 32). By contrast, true civilization is "that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty" (p. 67), and that path does not change with the pressures of the moment: "India remains unmovable, and that is her glory" (p.66). Gandhi calls upon Indians to return

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[18] Anthony J. Parel, "Editor's Introduction," in M.K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and other writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. xiii.

[19] M.K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and other writings*, ed. Anthony J. Parel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 28. Further references are given in brackets in the text.

to the ancient simplicity of the village, to the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom, and the unity of rich and poor (p. 109).

In this vein, he develops a sweeping critique of the characteristic institutions of modernity, summed up in this indictment: "Railways, lawyers and doctors have impoverished the country, so much so that, if we do not wake up in time, we shall be ruined" (pp. 47). Railways cause people to "rush from place to place," whereas "man is so made by nature as to require him to restrict his movements as far as his hands and feet will take him" (p. 51; this was written while travelling by ship from London to South Africa). Lawyers "advance quarrels, instead of suppressing them" (p. 59). Hospitals are "institutions for propagating sin" (p. 63), encouraging people to neglect their health in the illusion that medical science can cure their illnesses.

*Hind Swaraj* is an amalgam of linear and cyclical views of history: calling for a return to an ancient and immovable past, ridding that past of its "backward" elements (untouchability, poor sanitation, etc), and motivating the call by the principle that "no nation has risen without suffering" (p. 118). Much of its argument can be interpreted as a kind of protest against the British betrayal of their own ideal of "civilization." Rather than abandoning the ideal, Gandhi relocates it where it is inviolable, in the Indian past. In this conception of world history, India comes to represent moral progress, which is real progress, through its refusal of economic progress as a social goal (pp. 156-63).

Gandhi continued to stand by the arguments of *Hind Swaraj* until the end of his life, to the bemusement of his younger comrade, Jawaharlal Nehru.[20] In his famous "Quit India" speech of 1942, he contrasted his idea of freedom with that of the modern West: "I do not regard England, or for that matter America, as free countries. They are free after their own fashion, free to hold in bondage the colored races of the earth. . . . You shall not limit my concept of freedom. . . . If they will know the real freedom they should come to India" (p. 185).

Long before then, he had accepted that India was "not ripe" for the *swaraj* which he upheld, that this was a goal towards which he strived as an individual, while his "corporate activity is devoted to the attainment of Parliamentary Swaraj in accordance with the wishes of the people of India."[21] The idea of parliamentary swaraj is, however, a denial of the entire argument of *Hind Swaraj*, which indicts British parliamentary government precisely for the systematic hypocrisy it produces, and its erosion of moral self-mastery. By the time of Indian independence, Gandhi had made himself into a unifying symbol of tradition and modernity, and effectively abandoned the quest for that unification to take place within society.

## VII

*Hind Swaraj* provides no more than a rough sketch of a philosophy of history, and I have outlined only its main tendency. But Gandhi did enough to distinguish his position clearly from that of the philosophy of history that justified colonialism and racial domination.

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[20] Gandhi-Nehru letters, in Parel, ed., *Hind Swaraj*, pp. 149-55.

[21] Gandhi, "A Word of Explanation" (1921) in *Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. 4, p. 96.

For Gandhi, developing an alternative philosophy of history was never an end in itself. The purpose of his thought was always to be found in action. His philosophy of history was developed primarily as a basis on which a distinctive conception of ethics could be established—an ethics that was at the same time a practice of politics, as for Gandhi these two fields were completely unified. The task of the *satyagrahi* was to act in accordance with this understanding of the historical process.

A brief account of some features of the ethics that results will enable me to return to the larger argument of this paper concerning the distinctive form taken by philosophy in South Africa.

1. As already noted, Gandhian ethics insisted on nonviolence, in political and personal relations alike. *Satyagraha* is described as "a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms" (p. 90). This is the essential premise of all that follows.

2. This commitment to nonviolence is supported by a rejection of any moral calculus that justified specific actions by the end s they achieved. The editor tells the reader in *Hind Swaraj*, "It is perfectly true that [the English] used brute force, and that it is possible for us to do likewise, but, by using similar means we can only get the same thing they got. You will admit that we do not want that. Your belief that there is no connection between the means and the end is a great mistake. . . . The means may be likened to a seed, and the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree" (p. 81). This rejection rests partly on Gandhi's conception of the ends of political action as the transformation of the agent, rather than any external goal.

3. The element which makes Gandhian nonviolence different from other conceptions of pacifism or civil disobedience, is its insistence both that non-violent resistance be guided by inner conscience, and at the same time that it acknowledge the limits of that conscience—that is, that the *satyagrahi* might be making a mistake, or acting for an unjust rather than a just cause. "It is a bad habit to say that another man's thoughts are bad and only ours are good, and that those holding different views from ours are the enemies of the country" (p. 17).

Also, if nonviolent resistance is used in a cause that is unjust "only the person using it suffers. He does not make others suffer for his mistakes. Men have before now done many things which were subsequently found to have been wrong. No man can claim to be absolutely in the right, or that a particular thing is wrong, because he thinks so, but it is wrong for him so long as that is his deliberate judgement" (p. 91).

4. To some extent Gandhi's argument on the fallibility of our opinions resembles that of classical liberalism—for example, that of Mill's *On Liberty*. Akeel Bilgrami has explored this resemblance in an illuminating recent account of Gandhi's thought that brings the difference between Gandhi's perspective and that of liberalism clearly to the fore.

Bilgrami argues that Gandhi denies the entire western tradition according to which a moral principle must either be followed or its violation subjected to criticism. Put differently, he understands the universality of moral acts in a different way. "He too wants one's acts of conscience to have a universal relevance, so he too thinks he choose for everyone, but he does not see that as meaning that one generates a principle or imperative for everyone. . . . In Gandhi's writings there is an implicit but bold proposal: 'When one chooses for oneself, *one sets an example to everyone.*' That is the role of the satyagrahi. To lead exemplary lives, to set examples to everyone by

their actions. And the concept of the exemplar is intended to provide a wholesale alternative to the concept of principle in moral philosophy."[22]

This captures a central element of what I had in mind in talking, at the beginning of this paper, about the distinctive form of philosophical project in South Africa reasoning from a critique of the dominant philosophy of history to an *embodied* ethics—that is, an ethics that is lived out by the individual thinker, rather than being a matter of abstract argument. Such an ethics is intended to provide a basis for political action and to prefigure the society that a movement seeks to bring into being, rather than being addressed to a philosophical community. Put differently, philosophy has only taken on a truly distinctive form in South Africa insofar as it has been practised in organic connection with larger social movements, rather than seeing its tasks in purely academic terms.

5. Gandhi departs most fully from the characteristic features of this philosophical project in seeking to provide a detailed set of rules and guidelines for individual and community life that make *satyagraha* possible. His starting point is that "nature has implanted in the human breast the ability to cope with any difficulty or suffering that may come to man unprovoked" (p. 98). The fully prepared *satyagrahi*, then, unlike the rest of us, finds it easy and natural to submit without fear or resentment to suffering in a just cause.

But for this the right preparation is needed: "After a great deal of experience," Gandhi writes, "it seems to me that those who want to become passive resisters for the service of their country have to observe perfect chastity, adopt poverty, follow truth, and cultivate fearlessness" (p. 96). Already at Phoenix settlement and Tolstoy Farm he had begun to formulate rules of dress, diet, hygiene and the like that he would continue to elaborate throughout his life and which he saw as an essential part of his experiments with truth.

This aspect of Gandhi's ethics also reveals the limitations of the form of embodied ethics he upheld. For in Gandhi's life and thought, his embodiment of ethics was so *singular* as to depart from the political or to create a political cult.

One of his personal assistants commented to Ved Mehta that it cost huge amounts of money to keep the Mahatma in a condition of poverty.[23] It was not poverty itself—the simple diet, homespun khadi, mud hut, or traditional methods of keeping clean—that was so expensive. What required constant funding from wealthy benefactors was ensuring that his poverty was conspicuous, emblematic, and open to outsiders who wished to share in it. A political strategy of inner moral transformation requires diverse means of signaling that transformation to its constituents. Gandhi embodied that transformation and his body was its icon. Without him, it is hard to see how the gap between individual and collective action was to be bridged.

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22 Akeel Bilgrami, "Gandhi's Integrity: The Philosophy Behind the Politics," *Postcolonial Studies* 5: 1 (2002), p. 86

23 Ved Mehta, *Mahatma Gandhi and His Apostles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), page reference and exact quotation to follow.

# Gandhi on Trusteeship:
## *A Transforming Ethic*

by: Godric Bader

*Godric Bader is Life President of Scott Bader Company, Wellingborough, England. He is the son of Ernest Bader, who founded Scott Bader CO. Ltd. in London in 1920. In 1951 it became on of the few business examples of Gandhi's Trusteeship principle in action. Godric has worked for Scott Bader since 1945, co-founding the Commonwealth that holds in trusteeship this unique corporation. He is a Quaker, educated at the Friends School, Saffron Walden and Queen Mary College, London (evacuated to Kings College, Cambridge, 1943). This article is adapted from a chapter in* Gandhi and the Contemporary World, *to be published by the Indo-British Historical Society, London 1996. [*Editor's note*: Scott Bader Ltd. was described in* Perspectives, Vol. 7 No. 3.*] The following article is taken from,* "World Business Acadamy Perspectives", Barrett-Korhler Publishers, Vol. 9, No. 4, 1995.

It is not widely appreciated that Gandhi's basic commitment to nonviolence, for which he is probably best know, extended well beyond direct conflict resolution to the very root causes of violence that are inherent and endemic in our present economic, social, and industrial systems. He explains this commitment as Ahimsa (non-injury in thought, work, and deed to all forms of life, including nonviolation of another person's essence) together with Satayagraha (militant action with concern for the opponent; truth-force; life force). It consists not only in noncooperating with the social evil, but also in preparing others for that noncooperation, and above all, in effecting a change in the hearts of individuals responsible for that evil. This commitment goes much deeper than just being nonviolent in the sense of pacifism; it sees that war cannot be avoided so long as the seeds of it remain in the human breast and grow and develop in social, political, and economic life.

"Mohandas K. Gandhi sought first to change India, and then through her the world, so that humankind may attain a collective liberation from injustice, inequality, exploitation and war."[1] Gandhi believed change should and would be brought about through the application of his concept of Trusteeship. "Change" is actually much too mild a word for Gandhi's goals; "transformation" is a better word. Gandhi sought to bring about fundamental change by transforming consciousness, changing mind-sets, and raising human awareness.

Trusteeship essentially means having faith and confidence in a process of taking responsibility for assets and social values, and administering their rightful and creative usage for the benefit of others--now, and in coming generations.

Our need for such a transforming ethic as Trusteeship has old roots. The splitting away of economics from moral philosophy was part of the secularization of values that took place at the end of the Middle Ages. The consequent study of economics quite

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[1]"M.M.C." *Sarvodaya*. September 1994. p. 40.

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separately from its original ethical grounding eventually resulted in both capitalist and Marxist economists propounding the existence of immutable scientific economic laws and concepts. We all now live in collapsing ecological and socio-economic systems based on developments since the Industrial Revolution that were motivated largely by gain and power, so it is not surprising that such systems are unable to reflect or sustain our true needs--purpose and identity.

For our further evolution we have an essential need to release the Divine spirit and purpose. Gandhi yearned to provide an environment in which this could be achieved. Influenced by his time and education in the U.K., he gradually developed his ideas on Trusteeship. The primary inspiration for this concept was the unfailing source to which his inner spirituality continually led him back, namely, the Bhagavad Gita. He understood the Gita teaching of nonpossession to mean that those who desire salvation should act like the trustee who, though having control over great possessions, "regards not an iota of them as his own." He was undoubtedly also influenced by his study of British jurisprudence, and by the Christian ethic of stewardship.

Gandhi's understanding of Trusteeship is basically a principle of economic conscience, a dynamic model of the concept of economic organization and moral imperatives. Yet Gandhi was no economic determinist--indeed he was opposed to determinism of all kinds. His Trusteeship does not pretend to provide a prescription of giving the fullest release of human energy in the economic system, nor is it a concrete analysis aiming at optimum economic and social organization, as Marxism and systems of state control, or capitalism, claim to do.

Gandhi felt that his concept of Trusteeship has the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it, that "will survive all other theories" because "no other theory is compatible with Truth and Nonviolence." I see Trusteeship through Gandhi's eyes, as having the greatest ultimate strength and power, because, through its basic spiritual truth, it is able to regenerate such moral and spiritual energy that it will eventually overtake capitalism, socialism, and even such recent developments as "socially responsible capitalism" and "democratic socialism" (both of which are now adopting elements of Trusteeship).

J.D. Sethi wrote, "Trusteeship has been considered the most original of all Gandhi's ideas and concepts. It was also the most tentative since he did not have time to experiment with it on a scale that would match the grandeur of the concept. He did not have time enough even to define it precisely, not to speak of spelling out its full implication in concrete terms. Nevertheless he was laying firmly the principle for achieving something very big, namely, a comprehensive system that could replace both exploitative capitalism and bureaucratic statism.

"Trusteeship rejects both the capitalist and communist systems as practiced today, along with their respective ideologies. It is firmly based on participatory democracy. Trusteeship is a fraternal partnership between all factors of production, with the aim of achieving larger social benefit rather than working toward a narrow economic objective such as profit."[2]

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[2]J.D. Sethi, The Awakening, journal of Lok Sevak Sangh, Vol. 1. No. 2, November 1978.

One of the more significant attempts to promote Trusteeship was the launching of the Trusteeship Foundation in Bombay in early 1973, through the inspiration of Jayaprakash Narayan. "J.P." was a very influential, revered figure throughout India. Originally, a Marxist, he had been convinced by Gandhi to support his views, as a result of which he was jailed by the British. He later worked in Congress with Nehru, and was urged to run for President, but declined; he was later "detained" in house arrest by Indira Gandhi, illustrating how threatening these ideas can appear to the establishment. The principle objective of the Trusteeship Foundation is to propagate the concept and ideal of Trusteeship as advocated by Gandhi. Over the years since its founding, many eminent economists, industrialists, trades union leaders, social workers, and professionals have been associated with the work of this Foundation.

Gandhi is quoted in one of the Trusteeship Foundation publications, "Humanized Society Through Trusteeship," as saying that everything belongs to God and is from God; therefore it is for His people as a whole and not for a particular individual. When an individual has more than his or her proportionate share, he or she becomes a Trustee of that portion for God's people.

Gandhi anticipated that his ideas would be scorned after his death, but predicted that they would be resurrected and seen to be relevant within a few decades. Following independence the forces of the old mindsets rejected and scorned the principles of Trusteeship and Gandhi's hopes of decentralization and restoration of village life. Nehru indeed found these concepts practically and politically impossible to follow. They were finally lost almost entirely through India's adoption of Western industrial practices.

The Trusteeship Foundation organized an international conference in 1979, which resulted in a smaller number of industrial companies endeavoring to live out the Trusteeship concepts. In 1985 a special issue of the magazine *Gandhi Marg* was totally devoted to reporting a three-day seminar on Trusteeship held at the Gandhi Peace Foundation. Commenting on India's mixed economy model of that time, the introduction states: "The Seminar examined at great lengths the philosophical, ideological, and theoretical aspects of Trusteeship as propounded by Gandhi and his colleagues and comrades... [It] threw up a lot of questions and doubts about the practicality of the idea of Trusteeship...It was not left to others to answer them...without losing faith in the idea itself. This is characteristically a Gandhian way of analyzing problems...The overall Gandhian approach is that whatever is good does not have to wait. One step at a time is good enough. If taken by a large number of people it can have great impact...Somebody has to [start. It can be] an individual,...a home, a school, a farm, an ashram, etc,...strengthening [and democratizing] cooperatives, [*or new industrial] management techniques and reforms. Those who believe in Trusteeship have a responsibility to identify the reforms which may ultimately help the transformation of the existing system towards a new one.*" (My italics)

These last two sentences are particularly interesting in that they presage the recognition by such organizations as the World Business Academy and the Social Venture Network of the ability of the business sector to transform the existing system. The World Business Academy takes as its mission to encourage the apparent paradigm shift away from a socio-economic system that takes little account of the people trapped within it, toward a caring, viable, economic, value-driven global society. Its fellow

organizations the Social Venture Network and Businesses for Social Responsibility work at a more immediate level, but with similar long-term objectives.

Gandhi's Trusteeship concept also foreshadowed another current concern of companies, that of social accountability. More and more companies are recognizing the need for some kind of social auditing.[3] One of the Gandhi Peace Foundation publications makes it clear that the Trusteeship concept in fact requires such practices: "Along with this widening participation, another reform needed is the social accountability of the enterprise. The business community has resisted outside inspection but it can no longer escape the challenge of finding a way for establishing and accepting their responsibility to the society as consumers. Otherwise the society can take them over through the state or some other coercive mechanism. Some kind of social auditing is necessary. This will require a large number of honest, dedicated, and competent technical people. This too is not an easy exercise, but once begun, it can generate its own momentum, given the purpose. It is dangerous to believe that there are not enough honest men in society."[4] Society is unlikely now to "take them over," but there are increasingly coercive legal requirements and "regulators" to curb exploitative practices.

In Gandhi's mind, what he called Basic Education was an absolute prerequisite of Trusteeship. By Basic Education Gandhi meant a way of life, a method of learning and living, an art that is to be practiced throughout life. "Workers have to be educated not only about others but about themselves and their trade unions. Without proper education... their participation in management and ownership can become a source of corruption and greed, and [they can] be easily manipulated. Trade union leaders who have developed vested interests in the existing system are bound to resist reforms. That is no reason for postponing the training. Reforms will ultimately come only through the growing consciousness of the workers. If the so-called proletarian consciousness has not developed anywhere according to the Marxist model, it is because the proletariat has not been educated about their responsibility as a class to society and the need to resist vested interests within their own ranks and leaders."[5]

Summing up this need for in-depth, if not "soul-force" education of those with responsibilities over the workforce and the trades union, Sethi continues, "The producers, those who analyze the economic situation (i.e., the economists), those who make policies (directors, managers, pension fund managers, investment/shareholder groups, etc.), and bureaucrats, all have to listen to the voice of the conscience before their self-interest. That is why it was said that the Trusteeship has to be a Satyagraha, or a movement towards invoking the conscience of all those who are involved in the system."

It may not be obvious how Trusteeship could be applied in rural societies. Sethi again: "Gandhi had made it absolutely clear that Trusteeship was a principle of universal application. The commune system of China was in a sense an example of Trusteeship. However, because it was within a dictatorial political system and lacked the voluntary component, it lost its political force as it became an instrument in the hands of the leaders

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[3] *Editor's note:* See, for example, Peter Pruzen, "The Ethical Accounting Statement," *Perspectives,* Vol. 9, No. 2, pp 7-16.

[4] From the Gandhi Peace Foundation Introduction quoted above.

[5] Sethi, *op. cit.*

who held the political monopoly and power. [A similar thing happened in Yugoslavia.] The principle of cooperative farming as against collective farming is... nearest to Trusteeship. Another important principle of Trusteeship is to organize and make the rural society responsible for health, education, and sanitation for which in many localities, no one seems responsible today."

There are many possible manifestations of the Trusteeship principle, both in organizations and communities. Any of these experiments can be started at any place and at any time. The work in particular of the Intermediate Technology Development Group and the Plunkett Foundation (an agricultural cooperative movement started by Sir Horace Plunkett over 70 years ago) has taken this direction, incorporating a more holistic concern for the land.

The formation of the Scott Bader Commonwealth Ltd. in 1951 was such a manifestation. Founded by Ernest Bader and his family, it comprised the restructuring of an industrial manufacturing company towards the realization of Trusteeship principles. Bader was a Swiss emigre who preferred the freedom and wider horizons in England in 1912, and after marrying Dora Scott in 1915 founded Scott Bader Co. to import Swiss celluloid, later expanding into synthetic resins. Bader had become a Quaker and, as a contribution to making a less violent world, stimulated by the influence of Gandhian nonviolence, he and his family gifted the company into a Trusteeship in 1951, forming a cooperative common-ownership company. Two previous attempts to develop a value-driven company had failed, but due in part to the influence of George Goyder, restructuring of the previously privately owned company around the Trusteeship concept was successfully accomplished.

To illustrate the inspiration of Quaker concern, the minutes of Social Witness at the Quakers' London Yearly Meeting in 1944 is illuminating: "Deep in each human soul lies the seed of the eternal divine life....Its flowering to the glory of God is the aim and purpose of man's being....To all men [the resources of the world] are given, to all men in common ownership they belong, and although these resources may be administered by particular individuals, groups or nations, any system which limits their availability for men and women, regardless of color and creed, is hindering Christian fellowship and the divine order....No man is a 'hand' to be kept in or thrown out of the economic life of the community as suits the need of any system. The community is a system wherein each man and woman should find a place of significant service and creative living. All are members, all share in the duty and should enjoy the right of helping to determine its policies, whether political or economic, industrial or social. For its foundations rest on the brotherhood of man and drawing its reality from the Fatherhood of God."

Some of Gandhi's thinking and wording appear in the Scott Bader Commonwealth constitution: "We must ask ourselves to what extent violence resides in the demands we make upon the earth's resources by reason of our self-indulgent existence, and what is to be our own personal contribution to the realization of peace."

Hopefully, more Trusteed companies will develop. In our current predatory industrial society, these courageous attempts to challenge present practice are under intense pressure to conform with conventional industry, and they need the encouragement of other new Trusteeships. Gandhi was aware of this risk and for this reason considered Basic Education to be a fundamental building block.

The Mondragon Cooperatives in Spain can be considered to be practicing Trusteeship principles.[6] Mondragon has been helped by its early schooling through the founder Father Garizmendi, who started a training college. Scott Bader Commonwealth has not set up a formal learning center, but continually attempts to raise awareness of its members to their responsibilities and Commonwealth purposes.

"Learning organizations" are now the vogue, an attempt by "leading edge" companies to deal with the highly turbulent pressures in commercial life. In general, these have not yet developed Trusteeship principles, but they are at least becoming aware of their wider "stakeholder" responsibilities.

What, realistically, are the prospects of seeing the world's resources held in common for the people's of our planet? We find ourselves in the closing of the decade of the 20th century in great need of remotivation by ethical principle. Trusteeship provides just such an ethic, and it is vitally necessary that those who are aware of Gandhi's principle strive to pursue his unfinished task.

Apart from India, where there are many stalwart workers, consciences are being stirred around the world. Ethics is being taught in business schools. Marketing economics, currency speculation, soil vitality, air pollution, the destruction of historic social cultures and marginalization of human relationships are all under intense discussion in the media and elsewhere. The continuing violence to the human condition and its environment is being challenged, but often the answer is to apply further violence as a restraint.

Possibly even more insidious, as Gandhi would have seen it, is the violence that results from the pressure for more intensive growth via capitalism and the many forms of privatization. The real fact of economic life is that the world's resources (notably fossil fuels, minerals, and the land, dependent on sun, rain, and wind) are the seed-corn of the future, which must be husbanded, recycled, and replaced, as one conserves capital, not expended, as income. This worldwide headlong rush for economic gain by many businesspeople still blinded to these facts is sadly also being pursued in India, and the likelihood of change sufficient to introduce Trusteeship now looks increasingly distant. The forces of multinational businesses are rapacious in forest destruction, decimation of fish stocks, and the earth's raw material resources in India as much as elsewhere on this planet. Nonetheless, if human life is to continue and become sustainable, the irreversible violation and degradation of our water, soil, flora, and fauna, has to stop, and the adoption of the Trusteeship principle on a local basis has to be urgently inaugurated on a global scale.

Every country is now involved. I believe that Trusteeship is the only way that is able to provide a viable way out of these impasses for either the developed or developing countries on any kind of sustainable basis. Quakers and Gandhi agree that to base an economic system on self-interest is fundamentally contrary to the teachings of all the great spiritual leaders of the world.

It is now abundantly demonstrated that neither the capitalist nor the state socialist economies can create viable conditions for the people of the world, nor have they been

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[6]*Editor's note:* See Terry Mollner,"Mondragon: Archtype of Future Business?" *Perspectives,* Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 7-16.

able to help developing countries to determine their own destinies. Clearly both systems are a far cry from giving material expression to the paramount need of the working out of the Divine Spirit in man. Currently it is seen that capitalism is on top in creating worldly goods and services, but only by undermining future resources, creating increasing pollution, widening the gap between rich and poor, and unhealthily concentrating the wealth and power in fewer hands. The statement "living off the future inheritance of our children" sums it up. Endeavors through "regulatory" forces, or wider shareholding in ever larger corporations, are largely ineffective. In many quarters a strong, morally driven legal system is requested, but sadly is lacking in formulation. Until the moral motivation becomes one of holding man-made assets and world resources "in trust," exploitations of man by man and of planet Earth generation by generation will continue. Trusteeship can provide a way to avoid not just violence between humans but also between humans and their environment, and has to be the ethic for the next century.

Some developments involving the U.N. have been of a Trusteeship sort. Treatment of Antarctica as a commons has had such a concept vaguely in the background. The Law of the Sea Conference was likewise motivated, and there have been proposals that space, atmosphere, and the mineral wealth of the sea bed should be seen as the common heritage of man.

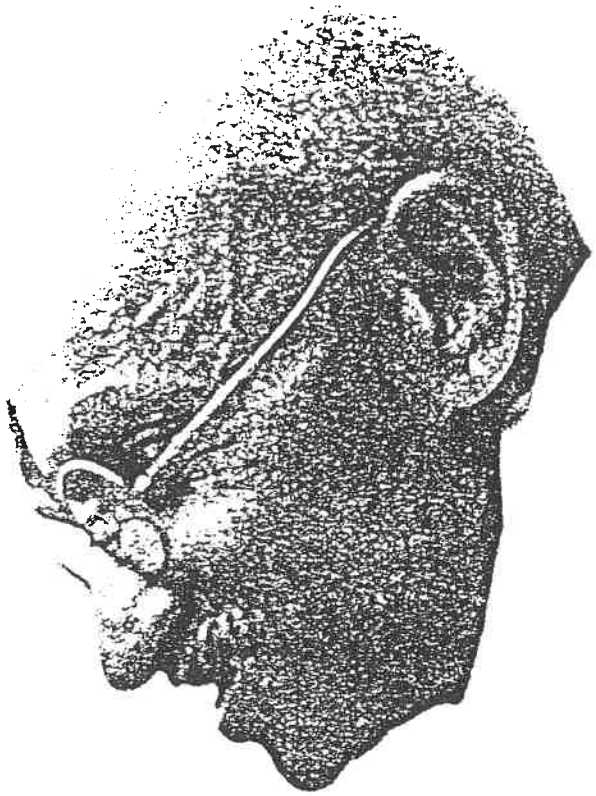
Where will the motivation come from, and how can that motivation become a social force able to transform society. The pioneering and pathfinding efforts will come from idealist "outsiders" whose passion in life is to bring about a more sensible, ethical, and satisfying economic order. It was the intervention of the outsiders (Marx, Engels, Lenin, and others) that initially lifted up a mere struggle for better wages and conditions of work to a theory and practice of social revolution on international scale. Lenin himself had pointed out that "the working class left to itself could not have gone beyond trade unionism."

There seems to be no one focus on progressing Trusteeship, even of the world's major resources. However, since the early 1970s environmental awareness, phrases such as "spaceship earth," the work of the Baha'i (insisting "The earth is but one country and mankind its citizens"), and the World Citizen's Movement are all moving in the right direction; space exploration giving us visual images of "one world," the work of the Club of Rome, the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio, the work of Karl-Hendrick Robert have highlighted how all our planetary life depends on the sun and the green cells; awareness is growing in schools where Agenda 21 and its follow-up involves the development of global thinking in young school children (almost the kind of Basic Education Gandhi has in mind).

Robert Muller, former Assistant Secretary-General of the U.N. and now Chancellor of the University for Peace in Costa Rica, has described a "world core curriculum," convinced by his U.N. experience of the crucially urgent need to establish a universal educational curriculum designed to "help the birth of a peaceful, happy, and fulfilled human civilization." The curriculum is centered on the belief that "some cosmic force, or law, or God, or Creator in the Universe has put on the human species certain objectives, functions, expectations, and destinations." Clearly here are the deep echoes of Basic Education, which had at its core the purpose of raising a motivating awareness of

spiritual forces within each individual. It is heartening to note that this curriculum has been adopted in places as disparate as Texas, Mexico, and Russia.

We do not yet know what combination of social forces brought down the Berlin Wall, and de-legitimized communist structures in Eastern Block countries. Maybe similar forces will de-legitimize the unacceptable faces of capitalism and exploitation. I would like to believe forces developing Trusteeship principles will be paramount in transforming industrial society in the next century.



# Grandfather Gandhi, Peace Was His Way

ARUN GANDHI

*Fifty years ago, as a ten-year-old, I was growing up on a hundred-acre farm amid a sea of sugar cane fields in South Africa. Apartheid, the government policy of racial discrimination, had already burned its ugly brand across this fertile land. We lived on Phoenix, established by my grandfather who his followers insisted on calling Mahatma (Great Soul) Gandhi. He set up Phoenix in 1903 as the first Institute for Nonviolence. Now he was locked up in an Indian palace, where my grandmother died while in prison.*

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Phoenix was the only island of sanity in a color-crazed South Africa. All prejudices, hate, anger, and discrimination were left outside its borders. Fifteen miles away in Durban, all these feelings were unleashed in gale force.

On this Saturday afternoon in Durban, while others enjoyed a siesta, I walked to a little Ma and Pa store to spend the sixpence Dad had given me for candy. As I chewed on my candy, I ventured around another block. Behind me someone was whistling a lilting tune. It was a young Zulu, probably domestic help in a nearby home. Despite grinding prejudices and poverty, he was in a gay mood.

Up ahead three white men, probably university students, loitered on the curbside. As I drew even with them, they decided to have some fun and excitement. They blocked my way and one grabbed my collar.

"How dare you whistle in a white neighborhood, you m'kule," a derogatory corruption of coolie they called Indians, one shouted. Still whistling the Zulu passed us by. He seemed to derive some satisfaction out of my predicament.

"I didn't whistle," I sputtered. "You lying m'kule," one spat out as he smashed his fist into my nose. All three pounced on me. Blows came from all sides. When I fell they kicked me in the ribs. Suddenly they stopped, looked around, and ran. I struggled up and ran in the opposite direction. Blood covered my face and shirt. I was bruised and my clothes were torn.

This was my first encounter with the physical violence of apartheid. It filled me with tremendous rage. To suffer discrimination because one is considered black is bad enough. Suffering a beating for something I didn't do was worse.

"Do you know," he went on, "that anger is like electricity?" When I asked what he meant, he told me, "Anger can be as powerful and destructive as electricity. Do you know what happens if a bolt of lightning falls somewhere or if you touch a live electric wire?"

A few months later in another part of the city, I was stopped by several Zulus on a street corner. As I tried to pass, one of them tripped me. When I stumbled and fell, he kicked me in the ribs. Everyone was laughing.

The wounds of humiliation from both blacks and whites would not heal. I joined a health club, subscribed to Charles Atlas' body-building program, and worked to become big and strong. My anger manifested itself in other ways. I became an introvert and collected stones and a brass "knuckle-buster" to protect myself.

By then Grandfather was out of prison. It had been a long time since we visited the family in India, and my parents decided it was time to go. Although he was world famous, he lived simply in a place called Seva Gram (Service Village). All the homes were made of mud and bamboo, with thatched roofs.

Many well-known political figures of the day, including Lord Mountbatten and Jawahalal Nehru, who was to become India's first prime minister, traveled nearly five hundred miles from Bombay to confer with him. In August 1917 his dream of a free India came to pass. He was deeply troubled by the violence between Hindus and Moslems which accompanied setting up the new nations of India and Pakistan. He had just ended a five-day fast dramatizing the need for friendship between these religious groups when he was shot to death by a Hindu assassin.

Grandfather was very much alive when we arrived from South Africa. One of the first things he did was to ask me to describe the circumstances of the beatings I had suffered. He listened intently as he put his arms around me in a gesture of love and comfort.

"I can understand your anger," he said. "But do you know they acted out of ignorance? They do not know what they are doing."

"Do you know," he went on, "that anger is like electricity?" When I asked what he meant, he told me, "Anger can be as powerful and destructive as electricity. Do you know what happens if a bolt of lightning falls somewhere or if you touch a live electric wire?"

"Yes," I said. "It destroys or kills."

"Well, anger is the same. If you don't harness your anger as we harness electricity then anger, too, will destroy and kill. Anger should be used the same way we use electricity."

He encouraged me to write an anger diary. He said every time you feel the surge of anger, write your feelings in a diary. Writing will give you an outlet for your anger and it will also be a record of your feelings. When you are calm, you can read the diary and decide how you should have used the anger positively rather than negatively.

At the end of my eighteen months visit with Grandfather, I understood much of the concept of peace that he taught and lived. He reserved an hour each day for me, irregardless of other events in his life.

Grandfather was convinced relationships must be built on unconditional love beginning at home. Those who believed and followed him practiced this nonviolent approach to life.

In our home when we misbehaved, my parents took the punishment upon themselves. I remember on several occasions my mother or father, or sometimes both, skipped a meal because I had misbehaved. This punishment was so effective I would never do it again.

At age sixteen, while living in South Africa, Dad asked me to drive him to Durban so he could attend a day-long conference. I had to do a few chores and get the car serviced before picking him up at a prearranged intersection. Being an avid fan of Hollywood films, I spent the afternoon in a theater. I was so absorbed in the movie that I did not realize it was past five.

"There is only one God. We human beings have given God different names and found different ways of worship. If we are all going to the dining room, does it matter which direction we come from?"

When I got out it was almost 5:30. I ran to the garage and drove as quickly as I could to where Dad was waiting. He was worried. I could see the relief on his face when he saw me drive up.

"What happened?" he asked in a concerned tone. There was no anger. I felt ashamed to say I was watching a movie and so I lied. "The car was not ready." Father looked at me with hurt in his eyes. "That is not true," he said. "I called them and they said the car was ready long ago."

"Please stop here," Father said and when I did, he added in a voice of anguish, "There has to be something wrong in me that you felt you had to lie to me. There must be some fault in the way I brought you up. As penance for this, I am going to walk home."

Father got out and started walking. I did not know what to do. I cursed myself for having lied. I could not leave Father behind and drive home. Most of the way Father would have to walk through farm lands at night. I crept along behind him for four and a half hours. After that experience, I was determined never to lie again. My father had learned this from the man the world knew as Mahatma Gandhi. I learned many important lessons from this man, too.

He called himself a Universalist (respecting all religions of the world). He spent hours studying the Bible and the life of Christ. He particularly liked the philosophy Christ expounded in his Sermon on the Mount.

He had many Christian friends. When they asked him why he didn't become a Christian since he admired the Sermon the Mount so much, he answered, "When you can convince me that Christians live by it, I will be the first to become a Christian."

On one occasion Grandfather said to me, "There is only one God. We human beings have given God different names and found different ways of worship. If we are all going to the dining room, does it matter which direction we come from?"

Later he said we must learn to respect the right of every individual to seek God in the way he or she feels comfortable. To show the oneness of all human endeavors to seek salvation, we should learn about each other's ways and respect them.

He believed, as I am trying to teach through the M.K. Gandhi Institute for Nonviolence at Christian Brothers University in Memphis, that it is worthless to study the scriptures if we cannot use them in our daily living.•

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INDIAN OPINION

20 APRIL 1956

MANILAH GANDHI

MEMORIAL NO.

INDIAN OPINION 20 April 1956



# A GLORY DEPARTED

By ARUN GANDHI

I WRITE as a heart-broken son impelled to share in this special and direct way my grief and thoughts with my fellow-beings. The darkness that has descended upon us makes me feel blinded, both physically and metaphorically, since the morning of Thursday, 5th April.

During the last twelve days ... at home it was our ... nurse him ourselves. ...emed to be well on the ... to recovery and everyday ... renewed vigour and vitality ...ould try to walk, with the ...e that one day he will be able ... walk as he did previously ...as! that was never to happ... n.

Recalling bits of his conversa...ons with us it would seem that ...e was aware of what was ulti...nately going to happen to him. ... vividly remember a conversa...ion which took place a few days ...efore he suffered his first pa...alysis. It was just after supper. ...y parents, sister and I were ...laying a game as we ...sually did. Suddenly my father ...pped the game and said: "I ... to ask you all a very serious ...stion."

As all of us were anxious to ...ow what had happened we sat in ...nce, expectantly waiting for ... to continue. Then in his ... drawling manner he began. ... seek your permission to ... to fast for twenty-one ... remove all the poison ...

This came as a bolt from the blue and for a while we all sat speechless. As we recovered from the shock we objected on the grounds that his age would not be able to withstand such a gruelling experience, to which he replied: "Then, would you rather see me bedridden suffering from a stroke?"

That conversation was followed by a long period of illness. For a man of action to lie in bed without being able to move or speak, is a pitiful state. But that was how God had willed it. On many occasions his condition was critical. Nobody knew on which side of the fence he was going to fall.

He was discharged from the McCord hospital, where he was treated with gentle care and thoughtfulness for two months, on Sunday, March 25. He would not believe us when we told him that he was being taken home. On his arrival he was extremely happy and cheerful to be back home after such a long time. He remained thus until he passed on.

The morning of the tragic day arrived. The sun was just coming over the hills in the horizon and its warm rays were piercing the cool dawn into wakefulness. I was called by my mother to help her give my father the bed-pan, thereafter he was given his breakfast. As usual he was his normal self. At precisely nine o'clock I was asked to shave him which I did with great pleasure after which I assisted my mother in sponging him. On completion of this duty I carried him to his chair. This was the beginning of the end. Suddenly his eyes began to roll back and he became delirious. I was distressed over this sudden development and so I hurriedly called for the doctor. Thereafter I went and put him back to bed. All this time my father was in agony and he kept saying "Ram...Ram..." To add to our anxiety his feet and hands began to get cold. When the doctor ... not come after a wait of ... minutes, I went in search of him, but alas! five minutes after I left, the end came and father was no more.

The most unbearably poignant moment for all of us was when we undressed father to bathe the body in fulfilment of the religious rite.

It was also very difficult to resist suggestions to prolong the funeral until the following day to allow everybody to pay their homage, but Hindu sentiments would not allow it and it would have been contrary to the wishes of my father.

The present is very dark. But the future should be bright if we work for the ideals for which both, Mahatmaji and father, lived and died. We are now thrown on our own resources and must depend on our own initia...ve. Those of us who are grief-stricken should not waste time or emotion in fruitless sorrow over God's will. Father is in Bliss. We no longer have his physical presence, but his spirit will guide and help us. With a little effort we may dispel the dark clouds only to discover a glorious dawn.



Father And Son

# TRIBUTE BY C. K. HILL

MY wife and I read with deep regret of the passing of Mr. Manilal Gandhi and we should appreciate your conveying to his family and to all concerned with 'Indian Opinion' our sincere sympathy. We mourn his loss not only as a friend but also of the work which he was doing. No doubt others more qualified than myself will pay tribute to his championship of the non-European cause in South Africa. I should like here to place on record my especial appreciation for his work as an editor, for although your newspaper was founded by his illustrious father, it has been under Mr. Gandhi's guidance for so many years that to praise it is to pay tribute to him, and I wish to do the latter by briefly describing those features of 'Indian Opinion' which seem to me to be of particular value.

Firstly it is a serious newspaper which never descends to reporting the sordid for its sensational value. Secondly it provides a forum where discussion goes deep and does not seek to solve difficult problems by means of shallow slogans and catchword problems ultimately of human weakness and sinfulness which cannot be solved by shallow means. Thirdly despite its name 'Indian Opinion' is not primarily aligned to any nationalistic group and is not the vehicle of any racialistic propaganda. Of course its pages are full of the ... problems which spring from our multi-racial structure, but its contributors are men of good will seeking the right solutions to our problems *together*, although themselves coming from different sections of our people. I find the way in which quotations of great thinkers of many ages and lands are displayed on the front page particularly refreshing and stimulating, and characteristic of the depth and universality of approach.

Nor, indeed, can even such a confirmed internationalist as myself take exception to the special place which the affairs of India hold in the pages of 'Indian Opinion.' For the reports from India are of more than Indian importance, not only because India is a great power but, even more important, because they give us the inside story of how India is grappling with grave problems which in the last analysis are world wide. Surely the whole world should be interested in the story of, for example, the Bhoodan Movement of Vinobe Bhave?. I should also therefore like to pay tribute to those who have kept 'Indian Opinion, going during Mr. Gandhi's sad illness, and to wish them every success in continuing and extending its mission in the manner he would have liked.

# Messages

## Prof. Leo And Dr. Hilda Kuper, University Of Natal

.....We mourn with you the loss of Manilal Gandhi, a man of outstanding sincerity, sweetness and unassuming courage. He imbibed the principles of virtue expressed by his father, and he struggled to put these into practice in his own life. His task was not easy, yet he remained unembittered, patient and with faith.

Our hearts go out in sympathy to Mrs. Gandhi, whose rare spirit supported him in his brave struggles, and to his children who are carrying on the Gandhi tradition. It falls to us to continue his work, and to keep alive 'Indian Opinion, which meant so much to him and to all its readers.

—o—

## Julius Lewin Esq., Senior Lecturer in African studies in the University of the Witwatersrand

.....The death of Manilal Gandhi has robbed South Africa of one of the few remaining champions of racial freedom. Mr. Gandhi gave the common cause all that he could give and more. At an age when most men would have relaxed their efforts, he continued the unending struggle. Through all these years he battled to keep alive this historic journal founded by his saintly father. His example of personal devotion to the public interest was outstanding; and I hope that it will continue to inspire with the will to carry on.

—o—

## H. Nattrass Esq., Principal Of the M. L. Sultan Technical College

.....The passing of Mr. Manilal Gandhi came as a great shock to all who knew him.

His personal interest in our educational work, for his son and daughter are students of the M. L. Sultan Technical College, was a source of deep encouragement to us. The intimate knowledge of scholastic work which he possessed, the vision of an educational centre of broad scope to be established at Phoenix, the practical application of his experience in the school which he conducted, the part-time classes he organised and the amazing cultural and memorial centre he built away from the city marked him as an outstanding personality in his own right.

His idealism transcended normal considerations of conduct and in the light of that idealism we look upon his passing with sadness and a sense of great personal loss.

We joy in the fact that his son will carry on the good work of education which his father has so firmly founded in the settlement established by the grandfather, the Mahatma!

—o—

## Sir Maharaj Singh, Ex-Governor Of Bombay

.....My wife and I are very grieved to learn that your husband has passed away. I was under the impression that he was improving and I had written to him only a few weeks ago but God disposed otherwise and we must bow to His will.

I first met Manilal 24 years ago and admired his selflessness and high principles. His demise will be a great loss to the Indians in South Africa.

Please accept for yourself and your children our deep sympathies in your sorrow.

## P. Kodanda Rao Esq., Servants Of India Society

.....Mrs. Rao and I offer you our profound sympathy in the great bereavement that you and the family have suffered in the passing away of our good friend, Manilal. It is a bereavement not only to you but to the Indians as well as to non-racialists in South Africa and in the world. He fought racial segregation as befitting the son of Mahatma Gandhi.

—o—

## Prabhavati—Jayaprakash Narayan

.....Deeply mourn with you and offer heartfelt condolences. Mother India has lost a devoted son and the oppressed people of the world a relentless fighter.

—o—

## Dr. Lavina Scott, Principal of Inanda Seminary

.....I am grateful for the opportunity to pay tribute to our good friend and neighbour, Mr. Manilal Gandhi. To many people throughout the world the name Gandhi denotes genius, brilliance—a spiritual and political leadership of a high order. Those of us who have known the son instead of the Mahatma think rather of gentleness, faithful devotion to an inherited task, and simple goodness. Courage, self discipline, and a sense of mission there were too, in the son as in the father.

It has been a privilege to know Mr. Gandhi,—to see him in his home with his wife and family and usually a number of friends; to meet him along the road on one of his many-mile walks; to read his paper and note the high idealism of his editorship; to see his pride of achievement when the fine school founded by himself and his wife was dedicated, in an impressive ceremony, to the memory of his mother and to the service of his people—in short, to catch glimpses in the life of one of God's noblemen.

—o—

## Brihad Bharatiya Samaj: Bombay

S. K. Patil President and Members of the Brihad Bharatiya Samaj convey to you and bereaved family their heartfelt sympathy in your irreparable loss of our dear Manilal whose death has removed doughty champion of Indian cause in South Africa and deprived India of experienced adviser.

—o—

## Officials & Members United Hindu Association

.....Officials and Members of the United Hindu Association Capetown express deepest sympathy in great loss to humanity. Physical death is the birth of Spritual life.

—o—

## Gandhi Seva Samaj, Bombay

.....The Chairman, Goshiben Captain, Managing Committee and Members Gandhi Seva Samaj, Bombay, send sincere sympathy to you in your great loss. The country has lost one of the bravest fighters in the cause of depressed humanity.

# A Letter From A Father To His Son

*[Following is a letter written by the late Mahatma Gandhi to his son the late Mr. Manilal Gandhi, from the prison in Pretoria, on the 25th of March, 1909. This letter contains some advice which could be very useful to us.—Publishers.]*

Pretoria Prison,
25th March, 1909.

Master Manilal Gandhi,
c/o Indian Opinion,
Phoenix,
Natal.

My dear Son,

I have a right to write one letter per month and receive also one letter per month. It became a question to me as to whom I should write. I thought of Mr. Ritch, Mr. Polak and you. I chose you, as you have been nearest my thoughts in all my reading.

As for myself I must not. I am not allowed to say much. I am quite at peace and none need worry about me.

I hope mother is now quite well. I know several letters from you have been received but they have not been given to me. The Deputy Governor, was good enough to tell me that she was getting on well. Does she now walk about freely? I hope she and all of you would continue to take sago and milk in the morning.

And now about yourself. How are you? Although I think you are well able to bear all the burden I have placed on your shoulders and that you are doing it quite cheerfully, I have often felt that you required greater personal guidance than I have been able to give you. I know too that you have sometimes felt that your education was being neglected. Now I have read a great deal in the prison. I have been reading Emerson, Ruskin and Mazzini. I have also been reading the Upanishads. All confirm the view that education does not mean a knowledge of letters but it means character building. It means a knowledge of duty. Our own word literally means training. If this be the true view and it is to my mind the only true view, you are receiving the best education—training—possible. What can be better than that you should have the opportunity of nursing mother and cheerfully bearing her ill temper, or than looking after Chanchi (she was the wife of the late Mr. Manilal Gandhi's eldest brother who was in jail with Mahatmaji) and anticipating her wants and behaving to her so as not to make her feel the want of Harilal or again than being guardian to Ramdas and Devadas? If you succeed in doing this well, you have received more than half your education. I was much struck by one passage in Nathuramji's introduction to the Upanishads. He says that the Brahmacharya stage—i.e. the first stage is like the last i.e. the sanyasim stage. This is true. Amusement only continues during the age of innocence i.e. up to twelve years only. As soon as a boy reaches the age of discretion he is taught to realise his responsibility. Every boy from such age onwards should practise continence in thought and deed, truth likewise and the not taking of any life. This to him must not be an irksome learning and practice but it should be natural to him—it should be his enjoyment. I can recall to my mind several such boys in Rajkot. Let me tell you that when I was younger than you are my keenest enjoyment was to nurse my father. Of amusement, after I was twelve I had little or none. If you practise the three virtues, if they become part of your life, so far as I am concerned, you will have completed your education—your training. Armed with them, believe me you will earn your bread in any part of the world and you will have paved the way to acquire a true knowledge of the soul, yourself and God. This does not mean that you should not receive instructions in letters. That you should and you are doing. But it is a thing over which you need not fret yourself. You have plenty of time for it and after all you are to receive such instruction in order that your training may be of use to the others.

Remember please that henceforth our lot is poverty. The more I think of it the more I feel that it is more blessed to be poor than to be rich. The uses of poverty are sweeter than those of riches.

You have taken the sacred thread. I want you to live up to it. It appears that leaving one's bed before sunrise is almost indispensable for proper worship. Do therefore try to keep regular hours. I have thought much over it and read something also. I respectfully disagree with the Swamiji in his propaganda. I think that the adoption of the sacred thread by those who have for ages given it up is a mistake. As it is we have too much of the false division between Shudras and others. The sacred thread is therefore today rather a hindrance than a help. I should like to elaborate this view but I cannot for the present. I am aware that I am expressing these views before one who has made a life-long study of the subject. Yet I thought that I would pass on to the Swamiji what I have been thinking over. I have studied the Gayatri. I like the words. I have also studied the book the Swamiji gave me. I have derived much benefit from its perusal. It makes me more inquisitive about the life of Swami Dayanand. I see that the meaning given by Swami Dayanand to the Gayatri and several mantras of the Vajasaneya Upanishad is totally different from that given by the orthodox school. Now which meaning is correct? I do not know. I hesitate straightaway to accept the revolutionary method of interpretation suggested by Swami Dayananda. I would much like to learn all this through the Swamiji's lips. I hope he will not leave before I am out but if he does leave he will kindly leave all the literature he can or send it from India? I should also like to know what the orthodox school has said about Swami Dayanand's teaching. Please thank the Swamiji for the hand-made socks and gloves he has sent me. And get his address in India. Show the whole of this letter to the Swamiji and let me know what he says.

Do give ample work to gardening, actual digging, hoeing etc. We have to live upon it in future. And you should be the expert gardener of the family. Keep your tools in their respective places and absolutely clean. In your lessons you should give a great deal of attention to mathematics and sanskrit. The latter is absolutely necessary for you. Both these studies are difficult in after life. You will not neglect your music. You should make a selection of all the good passages, hymns and verses, whether in English, Gujarati or Hindi and write them out in your best hand in a book. The collection at the end of the year will be most valuable. All these things you can do easily if you are methodical. Never get agitated and think you have too much to do and then worry over what to do first. This you will find in practice if you are patient and take care of your virtues. I hope you are keeping an accurate account as it should be kept of every penny spent for the household.

Please tell Maganlalbhai that I would advise him to read Emerson's Essays. Those essays are worth studying. He should read them and mark the important passages and then finally copy them out in a note book. The essays to my mind contain the teaching of Indian wisdom in a western guide. It is refreshing to see our own sometimes differently fashioned. He should also try to read Tolstoy's "Kingdom of God is Within You." The English of the translation is very simple—what is more Tolstoy practises what he preaches.

I hope the evening service continues and that you attend the Sunday service at the Wests.

As soon as you have read and understood my letter you may commence writing your reply. Let it be as long as you want to make it.

And now I close with love to all.

From Father.

## LAMENT

*We who are left, how shall we*
*look again*
*Happily on the sun or feel the*
*rain*
*Without remembering how they*
*who went*
*Ungrudgingly, and spent*
*Their all for us, loved, too, the*
*sun and rain?*
*A bird among the rain-wet lilac*
*sings—*
*But we, how shall we turn to*
*little things*
*And listen to the birds and winds*
*and streams*
*Made holy by their dreams,*
*Nor feel the heart-break in the*
*heart of things*

—Wilfred Wilson

# Mr. Gell's Tribute To Manilal Gandhi

MANILAL was a personal friend. As such all who knew him will remember him for the generosity and sincerity of his feelings, his personal humility and his sense of mission. For he was much more than a friend. He was absolutely devoted to the cause of a decent human society in this unhappy and benighted country; determined that the change should come, if God so willed and man was worthy, through love and non-violence, not hate; always willing to offer himself and his comfort in the pursuit of this ideal.

In this spirit he joined the Defiance Campaign—the last of several voluntary breaches of the laws that divide man from man. He fretted during the months owing to the decision of others, his case was held up in appeal against the validity of certain regulations. And when the appeal was withdrawn as he had always prayed it would be, he went thankfully and even joyfully to jail to serve the longest single sentence of the campaign. When he emerged, he exposed conditions under which non-white prisoners are too often kept in prison, and the indictment went home because his personal integrity was unchallengeable.

In all this he was a true son of India and of his illustrious father; as he was also a loving servant of the new South Africa which; please God, some of us living will yet see built.

Now, for a while he has gone from us back to God. But we know that in all our future endeavours his soul and that of Father Huddleston, his great friend now withdrawn to England —will be with with us, his heart in ours, his purpose working in our will sustaining us when we are weary.

I remember once asking him, when he found the editorial task rather too exacting, whether he was begining to feel the urge to to withdraw a little from the world into the stage of his *asrama dharma* (*vanaprasttia*), Laughingly he replied: "No, my father knew only the way of works (*karma marga*) and I aspire no higher."

So we will not now wish his soul rest; for he would assuredly reply that that it cannot do until the victory is won that he sought in South Africa. In that unfinished fight, wherever Manilal is, he will be with us until the end. And we shall be stronger for his presence.

# Manilal Gandhi—An Appreciation

**By Peter Brown**

ON behalf of the Liberal Party of South Africa I should like to add my few and inadequate words of appreciation to the many which will appear in this memorial edition of 'Indian Opinion.'

I was only lucky enough to know Manilal during the last few years of his life, particularly in the time during which he was a member of the Liberal Party. During that time I came to value his friendship and to respect his qualities and his opinions greatly. The most valuable part of a friendship with Manilal was, perhaps, that it gave each of those who knew him a yard-stick against which to measure themselves. His standards were the highest, and he set the rest of us a target at which to aim. Of his personal qualities I think the one which impressed me most was his courage. To those who were not familiar with him his quietness and calmness might well have been mistaken for timidity. What a mistake that would have been!

Like his father before him Manilal Gandhi banished fear from his being. He had rid himself of bitterness. During the days which lie ahead in South Africa there will be much food for both fear and bitterness to thrive on. Manilal leaves behind him the challenge to transcend these fruitless emotions and to reach out beyond them to attain those ideals of love and friendship for which he stood.

South Africa can ill afford the loss of Manilal Gandhi today. He is deeply mourned by his friends in the Liberal Party in all parts of his country.

# The Late Mr. Manilal Gandhi

**By. H. S. L. POLAK**

THE news of Manilal's passing away after his long illness came as a shock to us all, so soon after we had heard of his increasingly happy recovery and his expected immediate return to Phoenix. We send our warmest sympathy to his wife and family, and to the South African Indian community in the tragic loss that they have sustained.

We all had the happiest memories of Manilal from his very early days when we knew him in his Johannesburg home with his dear father and mother and his two younger brothers. He was always cheerful and affectionate. He did excellent work later, during the Passive Resistance struggle both at Phoenix and at Tolstoy Farm.

His work as Editor of 'Indian Opinion', in which capacity he succeeded me after my departure from South Africa, was a very onerous and responsible task, and he carried it on with great courage and devotion, notwithstanding the many difficulties with which he was constantly faced. I earnestly trust that his passing will not too seriously affect the continuance of the publicatian of this remarkable paper with which the Mahatma's name has for so long been intimately associated.

In his duties towards his fellow-countrymen in South Africa, during the several emergencies through which they have been suffering during the last 30 years and more, Manilal sought to bring into practice his revered father's principles and methods, and no sacrifice was too great for him. His work to bring together the various non-white communities deserves to be commemorated. My wife and I trust that the memory of his life and example will remain with the younger generation, and will encourage them to continue Manilal's good work in the same spirit.

# Manilal Gandhi

**By Patrick Duncan**

MANILAL GANDHI'S death removes from our political scene one of its truest, sincerest and best figures.

Our materialistic country needed his insistence that the spiritual was paramount, that our struggle is best seen under the glaring lights of eternity, that the divine is served, not only in private by individuals, but in public by groups.

And if our country is bereaved, how much more is our struggle bereaved? The struggle to put an end to vicious race arrogance has lost one of its finest soldiers.

I always looked on him as his father's vice-gerent in South Africa. The greatest man of our times, Mahatma Gandhi, was in many ways a South African. His invention of *Satyagraha* on our soil ensures to our little country a page in the history of the world in ages to come. When a larger campaign claimed the Mahatma he could not altogether break his link with this country, and Manilal was his chosen representative. How faithfully Manilal lived out this assignment!

If our public loss is heavy, I feel even more the private loss. Ever since I came to believe that our country must tread the same sort of road has trod I have been in touch with Manilal. He has been a wonderful guide and travelling companion. His compassion for all who deserve to be pitied (and not least in this class is our present government), his gentleness, his wit and humour, have made it a continuing pleasure to him.

His experience in the hard school of prisons and *Satyagraha* has made him a valued guide. In our trial in 1953 at the time of the Defiance Campaign he differed with his seven co-accused over several matters. In all of those I am now sure that he was right and we were wrong.

His humility and selfless courage were shown in the Defiance Campaign as well as when he went alone to attend the 1951 conference of the ANC at Bloemfontein—forbidden territory for an Indian. I went to meet his train at Modderpoort, and shall not forget the contrast between his short figure and the huge Zulu and White members of the Special Branch Police which an alarmed Government had sent along with him. When he saw them edging near us on the platform to try to hear what was said he was no less amused than I was.

His untimely death leaves us all—his family, friends, and country—the poorer. This is one of the hardest farewells I have ever made.

# Manilal Gandhi's Life

## A Moral Lesson For Our Times

**By Mary-Louise Hooper**

WHEN a great man dies, attempts are always made to assess the meaning of his life for the world in which he has lived. To me, who knew Manilal Gandhi only in this last year of his life, but who nevertheless through kinship of spirit came to love him well, this message to the world, like that of his great father's is essentially moral and spiritual—a message eminently suited to—and needed by! this troublous time in South Africa.

In my friendship with Manilal Gandhi I was particularly impressed by three characteristics which with him were outstanding and which in general are so lacking in our world as to make his life a moral lesson for our times.

The first of these characteristics which struck me so forcibly was his personal independence, living as we do in an age of "conformists." With Manilal it was never a question of "What is 'being done'?" but rather,' "What should I do?" Like his great father he initiated fasts, when he believed that the occasion warranted them—and stopped fasting when he felt that he should. He frequently committed individual acts of defiance against various unjust laws, without support from any group or organization. He was that rarest of all "moderns" a true individualist!

In the second place, Manilal Gandhi had personal courage, which is another race quality in this cowardly age of ours. Conformism, the "herd instinct" and moral laziness are fast turning our Western society into a polite association of cowards, who fear to face the sharp sunlight of reality and who shrink from suffering for almost any cause, however noble. One needs, unfortunately, only to look at the equivocal attitude of the Christian Church in South Africa to prove my point. Manilal Gandhi, however, had a simple, forthrlght courage which "counted not his life dear unto himself," as he indeed demonstrated in the 1952-3 Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign, when he, father of a family and much older than most of the "defiers," went of his own free will to jail for the Cause in which he believed.

The third—and most unusual—characteristic, in this materialistic world of ours, was the way in which his e hical outlook governed his whole life. He had, like many of us, high standards of morality and justi.e, but with Manilal, unlike most of us, these standards were not only beautiful ideals but the measure by which he lived. What a man is, not what he does, was for Gandhi the final criterion of his worth. This was not the viewpoint of a "practical politician," as critics of Manilal have often remarked. Perhaps not, but then neither was Christ a "practical politician." While we may not all feel that we can carry our personal moral scruples as far into our every-day lives as did Manilal Gandhi, even here I feel that he has an essential message for just our times, which tend to minimize personal integrity and honour, and to put a premium on opportunism and "adaptability," as we often euphoniously call a deplorable lack of firmness of character.

To the question of "justice" Manilal Gandhi had again a logically ethical and, to my mind, also a politically sound approach. Here in South Africa, where many well-meaning "Liberals" resist and combat an unjust piece of legislation only up to the point at which it becomes law, thereafter regretfully declaring: Now that it is the law, we as good citizens must obey it," Manilal Gandhi had a clearer moral insight. In his writing and in his living he always maintained that if a law were evil or unjust, the moral duty of the citizens was to disobey it. Once again we must acknowledge that, like his father, Manilal Gandhi, Hindu, was often a better practicing "Christian" than those of us who have been brought up from childhood in that faith. For, "Is it not better to obey God, rather than man?"

There is so much more one could say about Manilal Gandhi: tell of his untiring energy, his tolerance, his interest in all things, great or small, his unfailing courtesy and simple friendliness—the sweetness and purity and serenity which surrounded him like an aura of goodness. For us who knew and loved him, however briefly, his going is an irreplacable loss. For South Africa, his beloved country and home, it is, particularly in these tense days, a greater loss than most will realise.

In this Memorial Edition of the newspaper founded by his father, the Mahatma, and so ably carried on by him, we, his friends, salute Manilal Gandhi—writer, patriot, friend, and great human being!

# In The Footsteps Of His Distinguished Father

**By P. S. Joshi**

TO most of the sons of great world figures have fallen the hard lot of being misunderstood at times, undervalued and sharply criticized, at the hands of people automatically expecting heroics of them on the identical standards set by their fathers. Mr. Manilal Gandhi, the second son of the greatest man of the age, did not escape this ordeal.

Mr. Manilal Gandhi whom I was privileged to know and study at close quarters, to work continuously for 'Indian Opinion' for over twenty years, and to respect and admire, was the son of Mahatma Gandhi, not Mahatma Gandhi himself. It would be asking too much of him to repeat his father's history in South Africa. But I could say without any hesitation that he did not besmirch the sacred name of his illustrious father, nor did he fall far short of the expectations of the people among whom he lived and worked.

The 5th of April, 1956 brought us the most shocking news of the year. Nobody had expected that Mr. Manilal Gandhi, who was a picture of health before his recent illness, who never knew mental or physical fatigue, to whom a walk of 15 miles from Phoenix to Durban was not a novelty, would depart so unexpectedly from amongst us. His life was unquestionably a TAPASYA for the welfare of his countrymen, a life of relentless service for the non-European people of South Africa in general. In serving the suffering humanity, he sought pleasure. To him sacrifice was an object of love, imprisonment an object of courage. He stood for human justice and freedom. His soul revolted at the suppression of rights by lawless laws. He passed days and nights in the contemplation of action to resist the forces of evil. At times his conscience spurred him to action and he made a one-man protest. He fasted. He courted imprisonment

When the Indian struggle for freedom sounded a clarion call, he left for India. He enlisted himself as a volunteer in his father's famous Dandi March to break the salt Laws in 1930. At Dharasana he faced the lathi charges of the police. He willingly courted imprisonment. It could be safely said of him that his sacrifice in the interests of Indian liberation and the South African Indian community has hardly been surpassed by anybody in the sub-continent. It would have been considerably greater, had the methods of the struggle in South Africa been more in conformity with his ideals.

To Mr. Manilal Gandhi, 'Indian Opinion,' started by his father in 1903, was dearest to the heart. To maintain it in his best traditions was his firm resolve. In an age of glamour for sensational news, amid periods of despair and disappointment, he never deviated from the fixed goal, and won the admiration and respect of many well-known figures in the public life of India, South Africa and England. Although educated only in the life of experience, without any academic qualifiications to his credit, thought-provoking articles were eagerly read by the thinkers of the world.

I see in Mr. Manilal Gandhi's death a great national loss. A hero of hundred struggles, a valiant passive resister, a journalist of considerable merit, and an idealist to the core, his name will be ever enshrined in the memory of the suffering humanity in South Africa.

# Memory Of A Devoted Friend

**Arthur W. Blaxall**
**Chairman, S.A. Fellowship Of Reconciliation**

★ ★ ★

IF singleness of heart and mind is another name for purity it may indeed be said of Manilal Gandhi: "Blest are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

Under no circumstances could he contemplate anything but clear-cut opposition to what he believed to be wrong. This uncompromising spirit was probably born in him as a youth when, still in his teens, he shared with his illustrious father the early days of the struggle against racial discrimination in our land. The spirit born then never waxed cold, although there is no doubt that in later years he was a frustrated, disappointed man.

Although Manilal Gandhi refrained from public criticism of those whose methods he deplored, in his own soul he was especially distressed because so few, if any, of those whose personal liberty was restricted found themselves able to flaunt the ban and endure the consequence; this he regarded as failure to resist to the uttermost. He could not see that different situations call for varying techniques.

Even to his closest friends he did not hold back rebuke. Many is the time he has said to me: "But how can you think like that, Arthur?" when the British tendency to compromise was struggling within me as a possible means of avoiding suffering. Never again will I hear the soft, determined voice, but I know that as long as I live he will always be with me in spirit; when times come for searching decision I shall find myself asking, "And what would you do, Manilal?" And surely a voice will speak within: "Under such circumstances my father would have....."

The last time we travelled together was from Durban to Kliptown in June last year. He had not been entirely happy about the proposed Congress, but as we shared sandwiches within the enclosure he was most generous in his praise of everything. We left together a couple of hours after the police raid had started, but he was not satisfied. All the way to Johannesburg he was regretting that we had left before the end. He left me in the city to go to church; later I learned that he immediately told his driver to turn and went back to Kliptown in case he should be needed.

Farewell, dear friend. Your utterly devoted spirit is free at last. May we who remain be worthy of your love.

# In Loving Memory

**By Wilfred Wellock**

I AM taking the liberty of writing to you to express our deep sorrow at the passing of your dear husband, Manilal, which has come as a great shock to us.

We were very much disturbed to learn of the affliction which overtook him, and each week we looked for the latest report of his condition in 'Indian Opinion,' and we were waiting for the promised emergence from his comotose condition in order to greet him and stimulate him with our congratulations and affectionate good wishes.

Now we realise that our expectations were unjustified,

It was in India, in 1949, that I met Manilal in the flesh. We slept in the same tent during the period of ahe World Pacifist Conference which was held at Santiniketan. It was our close contact on that occasion which enabled and taught me to appreciate his worth, his wonderful spirit, his gentle, kindly habits, his strong character, and his firm will whenever a conviction seized him, body and soul, as occasionally it did.

In those memorable days I developed a deep affection for Manilal which will always remain, for I shall continue to love him in memory, and to do so will strengthen me in carrying on the work that has fallen to me. I count it one of my great privileges that I secured the knowledge and friendship of your late husband.

For some time your loss will be overwhelming. But later on, when the shock weakens, you will feel Manilal's helpful presence incessantly and increasingly stimulating and sustaining your mind and life. His firm but gentle spirit will never forsake you.

My wife and I, and many others here send you our deep sympathy and condolances, also our hope that his spiritual "return" will be sure and abiding.

# The Late Mr. Manilal Gandhi

**By The Rt. Rev Bishop Ferguson-Davies**

IN the year 1929 on the advice of the late Rev. C. F. Andrews I came to South Africa where my home has been ever since. As I had spent about ten years in India, mostly in connection with work among Indians and had been connected with Indians in Malaya for eighteen years, I naturally hoped to learn about Indians in South Africa and to do what I could for them.

From the beginning of my time here I have been a regular reader of 'Indian Opinion' and I can therefore realise what a great deal Mr. Manilal Gandhi's work as Editor of that paper must have meant to Indians in South Africa. The paper has put forward the feelings of Indians in this country, and is therefore useful not only for Indians, but also for Europeans who wish to know what Indians in South Africa think on political matters and what they want. I am told that a number of Europeans read it. Considering what Indians have done in time past, particularly in establishing the Sugar Industry in Natal, that is very important.

In addition to his work as Editor of 'Indian Opinion' Mr. Manilal Gandhi at various times gave much work on political action. Sometimes this involved his going to gaol. And though most Europeans would criticise him for breaking the law, they would admire him for being ready to suffer for his principles.

One can only hope that one effect of his life will be to induce Indians to consider what they can do for their community, and not only for their private advantage One of the greatest factors in the action of England in promising in 1917 to work towards Home Rule for India and in eventually granting it was the fact that in the first World War India enlisted for the Empire forces a million and a half persons, and in the second World War two and a half million persons.

Perhaps Mr. Manilal Gandhi's hopes for Indians in South Africa will be achieved when Indians here think of what they can do *for South Africa*. Even if that involved sacrifice and unpopularity it might result in the fulfilment of Mr. Manilal's hopes for Indians in this country.

# Messages

**The Hon. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru,**
**Prime Minister of the Republic of India**

.....Deeply grieved at Manilal's death. Please accept my sincere sympathy and condolence.

—o—

**The Hon. Madam Amrit Kaur,**
**Minister of Health, Republic Of India**

.....Deeply grieved. Loving sympathy.

—o—

**Swaminathan, President Indian Congress, Rangoon**

.....Our condolences demise of Manilalji. We consider his loss not only to Indians in South Africa but also to Indians abroad.

—o—

**Muriel Lester**

.....Just heard of the sorrowful news. I thank God for Manilal's devotion, his strength and his gentleness.

—o—

**R. Smith Simpson Esq.,**
**American Consulate General**

.....The sad news has reached me of the death of your husband and I hasten to express to you and your son my sincere condolences. The pleasure of meeting you all and having lunch in your home a year ago, on my way to the United States, was the realization of a long cherished desire to visit Phoenix and I shall always remember the kindness of you and your family on that occasion.

The passing of your husband will be a very great loss not only to you and your son and to the Indian community in the Union of South Africa, but to the cause of peace and justice which he so courageously upheld. I hope you and your son may be consoled by the sympathy which all the world extends in your bereavement.

—o—

**K. K. Patel Esq., Hon. Asst. Secretary,**
**The Indian Association, Mombasa**

.....On behalf of the Indians in Mombasa and as Joint Secretary of the Mombasa Indian Association, I convey the deep sorrow felt by the Indian community in Mombasa at the sad demise of your late husband.

The death of your late husband has been a great loss to India and particularly to Indians in Africa especially at this critical moment. May God grant you the strength to bear the loss. May his soul rest in peace.

**Maurice Webb, Esq., University Of Natal**

.....May I offer you and your family my sincere sympathies in the loss you have sustained by the death of Manilal?

Although his illness had been prolonged I had hoped he would recover and was grieved to know that death had come.

I knew Manilal for many years as friend and colleague and always admired his courage and his disinterested pursuit of what he believed to be right.

Your loss is a close and personal one but the loss is also that of the whole Indian community and of our South Africa which greatly needs people of such steadfastness.

—o—

**Mrs. Margaret Ballinger M.P.**
**House Of Parliament, Capetown**

.....Please record my sincere admiration for the life and character of Manilal Gandhi, and the deep sense of loss his death means to liberal thought and action in South Africa.

—o—

**J. Cachalia Esq.**

.....The death of Manilal Gandhi, the second son of Mahatmaji and the Editor of 'Indian Opinion' is a great shock. As an ardent Satyagrahi he was never found wanting in time of need. His brave and courageous action during the Defiance Campaign will be remembered by all the people of our land.

Now that Manilal is no more we shall miss his untiring efforts for the maintenance of 'Indian Opinion. The Phoenix Settlement, a living monument to the life and teaching of the immortal Mahatma, to which Manilal devoted his life, must continue to inspire the people along the road of truth, self-sacrifice and resistance.

—o—

**The Principal, Staff And Pupils Of Kasturba Gandhi Govt. Aided Indian School**

.....We, the principal, staff and pupils of the Kasturba Gandhi Govt. Aided Indian School record with the deepest sorrow the death of Mr. Manilal Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi was the founder and grantee of our school, and our contact with him over the years has helped greatly to inculcate in us those high human values which make life richer and happier—brotherhood, tolerance, humbleness and sincerity. Mr. Gandhi was the epitone of all these virtues, and now that he is gone, we shall try to the best of our ability to carry on the torch which he had lit. He has left behind a wonderful legacy for us to inherit.....

To Mrs. Gandhi and her children go our profound sympathies. We share with them these moments of trial.

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# TRIBUTE BY CANON COLLINS

MY visit to the Phoenix Settlement in 1954 to see Manilal Gandhi remains in my memory an outstanding and happy event in my brief stay in South Africa, I arrived tired and somewhat depressed; but a few hours in his friendly home quickly restored me and gave me renewed vision and hope.

Manilal Gandhi had a clear understanding of the facts in the intolerable racial situation in South Africa and of the basic factors which underline the facts. And his attractive personality, with a deep underlying power of friendship, enabled him to inspire others with a desire to get at the truth and with a will to end oppression. In company with him I found it impossible to escape looking the facts in the face, however black they might be; but also he passed on to me his own faith in the triumph of good over evil, and I left him with renewed hope and increased purpose to do all in my power to help in the struggle against oppression by white South Africa of the non-whites.

Manilal Gandhi was a man whose good life and intense desire for justice and goodwill were rooted in a vital religious faith. He, more than anyone I have met, understood and appreciated the full depth and significance of his father's convictions and way of life. He knew that purity of heart; the most important factor in the struggle to defeat evil; and he gave himself without stint to bring to the non-European resistance that element which he believed essential. For him non-violence was not only a useful expedient in resistance; it was the very heart of the matter, a non-violence made story by the purity of heart of those engaged in the struggle.

# Manilal Mohandas Gandhi

## "A MAN OF UNFALTERING FAITH"

BY. S R. NAIDOO

Manilal Mohandas Gandhi was our colleague in public work. There were times when he was against us as regards the manner and method of attacking problems that faced our community from time to time and at times he would oppose our method tooth and nail even by separating from us. Nothing would shake him from his belief and conviction. He was tolerant to the views of others, and yet he would be intolerant to change his views to meet a particular situation in the life of our community.

He was outspoken and would mince no words. Many instances of these incidents could be quoted. One, for example, was his bitter opposition to Indian participation in an enquiry into the Colonization scheme of 1933 initiated by the Union Government and acquiesced by the Government of India. The setting up of this enquiry arose out of the Second Round Table Conference of 1932 between South Africa and India. The South African Indian Congress agreed to participate in the enquiry and nominated me, at the request of the Union Government, as a member of that Commission. Manilal Gandhi with others opposed our participation in the Commission. The community was split from top to bottom and never was there such an upheaval in the life of our community resulting in bitter feelings among our people and among our leaders.

Happily the result of the Enquiry brought no ill results to the community as was anticipated by those who opposed the Enquiry.

To a keen observer Manilal Gandhi appeared to be a man of unfaltering faith in his own conviction. He would come to a conclusion and would act on it irrespective of consequences even if they affected him personally. Courting imprisonment and serving sentence and fasting for a cause he espoused was a feature of his life. In this, as in many other respects, he tried to follow the hard and difficult path which his illustrious father — Mahatma Gandhi — chose. From boyhood he was close to his father at Phoenix and eventually when his father left South Africa in 1914 the management of Phoenix and the conduct of "Indian Opinion" ultimately fell into his hands. He was a firm believer in Satyagraha — non-violence — and practised it on many an occasion.

The name he bore and the sanctity of early ame after the Mahatma remain be w bore heavily on his responsibility to his countrymen, for there were visible signs that he wanted to live up to the tradition of the family name of Gandhi. That he maintained this tradition, as far as possible, goes without saying. His main desire was to keep the Phoenix Settlement as a sanctum sanctorum to all who believed in the Gandhian philosophy.

The death of Manilal Gandhi, much deplored and grieved, has broken another link with the imperishable name of Gandhi in South Africa. Whatever course history may take in the future in this country, the name of Gandhi will be an inspiration to our people, now and after, to follow even to a small extent, the ideals of selfless service, practised and preached by Mahatmaji.

# A Tribute By Mr. P. R. Pather

The death of Mr. Manilal Mohandas Gandhi is a severe blow to the Indian community of South Africa. It is a blow that would be left by us for many years to come. I have been associated with him since 1920, and throughout this period our friendship has been constant though both of us have differed on many an issue. There was one trait in his character and in his make up — a trait which I have always admired. I refer to his outspokenness. He stood for certain ideals inherited from his illustrious and world renowned father and in pursuing these ideals he faltered not one iota.

Mahatma Gandhi left these shores in 1914 and the Indian people of South Africa felt that his leaving would mean the creation of a vacuum. For in public life, Mahatma Gandhi had set up such a high standard of sacrifice and integrity that it was thought that it would be well nigh impossible to follow in his footsteps. But they had not reckoned on the ability of Manilal Mohandas Gandhi. Of course, he was young then. Many of us would remember that Mr. A. H. West continued editing the "Indian Opinion" for some years after the departure of Mahatma Gandhi. When Mr. West relinquished his duties as the Editor, it fell to Manilal Gandhi to step in the breach. Since then he had carried out his duties as an Editor uninterruptedly until November last when he fell ill. During his absence I have had the privilege of writing the leading articles for the "Indian Opinion" on many occasions.

The editing of the "Indian Opinion" demanded the utmost from Manilal Gandhi for in writing the leading articles he had to maintain the principles for which his father fought and spent years of his life in gaol. And what is more, Manilal had to live those principles. To preach and practice at the same time is indeed difficult but like Mahatma Gandhi, he preached and suffered and suffered for his preaching. Thus it was that time and again he found himself in South African gaols. Not content in submitting himself to punishment for the sale of his principles, he travelled to India to suffer with the masses, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, for the sake of freedom. Such was the character of the man that we have lost.

His outspoken criticism of those who failed to conform to the high ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, brought forth many an enemy but he cared not for their opinions. He had chalked out his path along the lines dictated by his conscience and he kept to that path. He did not spare even his intimate friends if he found they were wrong.

He lived to develop Phoenix Settlement as a Shrine where every person of importance travelled to drink from the Fountain of Sacrifice. Manilal was there to tell of the noble sayings of the Mahatma and to interpret them as only he could have interpreted. He lived a full life of service to the people of South Africa. That life of service will be remembered by the present generation and the generations to come.

May God bless his Soul.

### The Moral Quality

*"A man is but a little thing in the midst of the objects of nature, yet, by the moral quality radiating from his countenance he may abolish all considerations of magnitude, and in his manners equal the majesty of the world— calm, serious, and fit to stand the gaze of millions."*

**—Ralph Waldo Emerson**

'NEW YORK TIMES'
5—4—56.

# Manilal Gandhi, Newsman, Dead

## Editor In S.A. Was Son Of Indian Leader Fought Segregation

Manilal Mohandas Gandhi, son of the late Mohandas K. Gandhi, died today at Phoenix in Natal Province after a long illness. He was 64 years old.

Mr. Gandhi, who was born in India, was editor of "Indian Opinion, a Natal periodical established by his father. He also led passive resistance demonstrations against South African laws that discriminate against this country's 400,000 Indians.

Mr. Gandhi worked especially against laws banning Natal Indians from the Transvaal and Orange Free State Provinces. Most South African Indians live in Natal. For these activities he was arrested and sentenced to jail several times.

Surviving are his widow, a son and two daughters.

Mr. Gandhi was a meek-looking, mild-mannered man, a vegetarian who neither drank nor smoked.

Deeply religious, he was a true son of his father, emulating his father; he led passive resistance in South Africa's racial segregation policy. He fasted and courted imprisonment to dramatize his cause.

In 1952, after fasting for three weeks, Mr. Gandhi entered an African location at Germiston, near Johannesburg, without a permit in defiance of the segregation law. The next year, he served thirty-eight days in prison for this offence.

In 1951 he protested enactment of the group areas law, designed to set aside separate areas for different racial groups, with a fourteen-day fast. He criticised South Africa's "actions against the non-European population of all races."

Mr. Gandhi said his fast was a fast of purification before setting out "in the name of God" to break deliberately the Government's apartheid (segregation) laws. In Durban he entered the Municipal Free Library (for whites only) to violate apartheid.

Next he went to Durban's main railroad station and sat on a bench marked "For Europeans Only." A patrolman asked his name and said a summons would be issued. Thus he began a campaign of civil disobedience to the anti-Indian and anti-Negro laws.

### Warning to Malan

Earlier, Mr. Gandhi had warned Prime Minister Daniel Malan that the Government's apartheid policy would "drive one to communism, whether one wishes it or not."

But Mr. Gandhi did not have the father's influence. He tried to interest the Natal Indian Congress, founded by his father in 1894, but the Congress ignored him and, led by Communists, spent time denouncing American intervention in Korea.

Mr. Gandhi visited the United States in 1949 to attend a United Nations session as a newspaper man.

Two month's after his father's assassination in 1948 he led a march of Indians from Natal to Transvaal to protest the South African law forbidding Indians to cross provincial boundaries. Eight members of this group were arrested, but he was allowed to continue his journey.

His father had led a march of Indians from Natal into Transvaal in 1912 in protest of the poll tax levied against Indians. The poll tax was removed.

Mr. Gandhi was born in Porbandar, West India, and was taken as a child by his father to South Africa, where he was reared in an eighty-acre "back-to-nature" settlement.

# The Loss Of A Prominent Leader

**By The Hon. Dr. Rajendra Prasad**
**President of the Republic of India**

INDIANS in South Africa have lost a prominent leader on account of the premature passing away of Shri Manilal Gandhi. The whole Indian community has been passing through very difficult times and needed the help, co-operation and guidance of men of his type with their experience and knowledge of the background of affairs there. He was in the forefront of the struggle and trying to conduct it in consonance with the lines laid down by Mahatma Gandhi. His loss at such a time is therefore bound to be all the more poignantly felt. In India,, those who had come in close contact with him, knew how strong he was in his adherence to principles and how valiantly he had been trying to walk in the foot-steps of his illustrious father.

I send my sympathies to his wife and children to whom the loss is irreparable: but they can have the consolation that their sorrow is shared by many friends not only in South Africa but also in India.

# The Late Mr. Manilal Gandhi

**By E. M. Moolla**
**Comm. of Oaths, District of Lower Tugela and Councillor Borough of Stanger**

The death of Mr. Manilal Gandhi has severed a direct link with the illustrious name of his father, the immortal Mahatma of History in South Africa and India.

As a close friend of Mr. Manilal Gandhi for many years, I can say that he was a man of steadfast principles, for which he was prepared to suffer.

Though naturally overshadowed by the mighty name of his father, he exhibited to a very high degree the same stubborn adherence to what he conceived to be right; the same meticulous regard for what he believed to be true and just.

I recall to mind an incident personally witnessed by a friend of mine, of the Mahatma's strict observance of ethics down to the smallest and least of occasions.

It appears that at the height of the "Passive Resistance" movement in Natal; over 40 years ago, my friend happened to travel by train from P.M. Burg to Durban. There was a large crowd of people at the Station to greet the Mahatma who was on board the train on his way to Durban.

After some hours of travelling the train pulled up at the junction. Looking out of the window, my friend observed that the Mahatma was striding along the platform looking apparently for another non-European compartment. Noticing my friend at the window, the Mahatma stopped, opened the door, and entering the compartment, made straight for the privy. When he came out, the train was already in motion. Silently he stood by the window. The other passengers rose and offered him a seat. While thanking them, he firmly declined to sit, with the simple explanation that "I have no right to sit in a Second Class Compartment, with a Third Class ticket."

Thus he stood, until the train stopped at another station, when he briskly got out and sought his own third class seat! What a lesson in humility for us all.

I have recited this incident in detail to illustrate a rigid trait of character possessed by both father and son in full measure.

The knowledge that the late Mr. Manilal Gandhi was held in high esteem by people of all shades of opinion will, I hope assuage the grief of his sorrowing wife and family.

# Glimpses From The Life Of The Late Mr. Manilal Gandhi

**by Homer A. Jack**

*(Dr. Jack, an American writer, visited Manilal Gandhi in South Africa in 1952 and has been in close touch with him since. Dr. Jack is the editor of the new anthology, "The Gandhi Reader", recently published in America by Indiana University Press)*

MANILAL GANDHI was born on October 28, 1892, in Porbundar. The second son of Mohandas K. Gandhi, he was born less than a year before his father made his first trip to South Africa. As a child of four he went to Durban with his parents and his eight-year-old brother, Harilal. His father was mobbed when they disembarked. Manilal returned to India in 1901 with his parents and three brothers. The next year, in Bombay, he suffered an attack of typhoid complicated by pneumonia. A Parsi physician prescribed eggs and chicken broth. Gandhiji, a strict vegetarian, refused this cure for his son, telling the doctor: "Even for life itself we may not do certain things." He gave Manilal instead hydropathic treatments and a three-day fast with only orange juice mixed with water. After forty days Manilal was nursed back to health. His father recalled the event twenty years later in a whole chapter in his Autobiography and commented: "Today Manilal is the healthiest of my boys. Who can say whether his recovery was due to God's grace, or to hydropathy, or to careful dietary and nursing?"

Manilal returned to South Africa with his mother and brothers. His father was practising law in Johannesburg and they lived in a big house at 112 Albemarle Street. In visiting this house fifty years later, Manilal pointed out the places "where father and mother slept" and how the house had not really changed much. This was the house in which Gandhiji first put into practice some of the ideas on simplicity which he received after reading John Ruskin. Manilal pointed to the alcove off the kitchen where the handmill stood and where "Mr. Polak, father, and I would grind our own flour." He told how the living room was used for a reception for Mr. Polak's marriage.

Ruskin's book led Gandhiji to establish Phoenix Farm, near Durban, and Manilal and the whole family moved there in 1904. Gandhiji was never lenient with his four sons, especially during those years. Manilal told his father in 1945–6: "Bapu, you have vastly changed from the time we were under you. You never pampered us. You were very severe with us. I remember how you made us to do laundry work and chop wood; how you made us to take the pick and shovel in the bitterly cold mornings and dig the garden, to cook, and to walk miles." Later Manilal reflected: "Though father was severe with us, never was there a me when we felt his severity, . . . I do not remember having felt bitter over his punishment at any time."



**As a Budding Journalist**

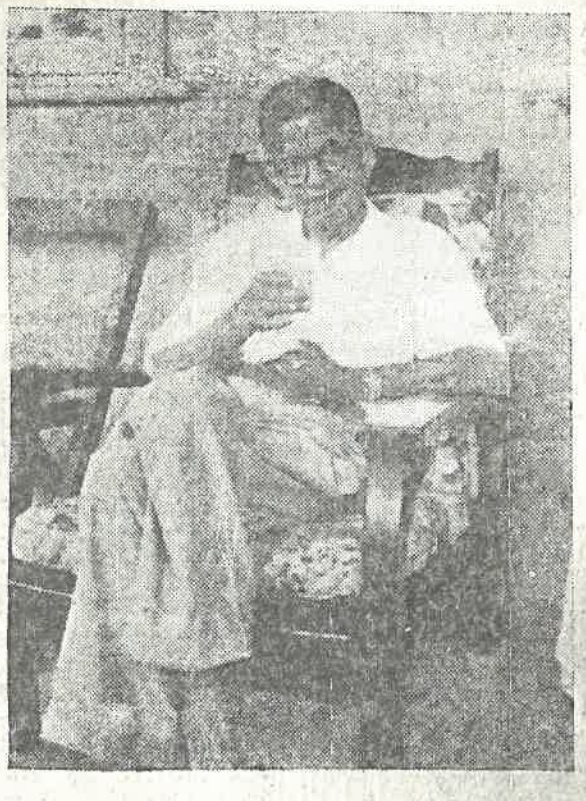
In 1909, Manilal received a long letter from his father, who was then in Pretoria prison for civil disobedience. Manilal, aged 17, was worrying at Phoenix about his future as well as his responsibilities at the settlement. In part, Gandhiji wrote: "Although I think that you are well able to bear all the burden I have placed on your shoulders and that you are doing it quite cheerfully, I have often felt that you required greater personal guidance than I have been able to give you. I know too that you have sometimes felt that your education was being neglected. . . . Education does not mean a knowledge of letters but it means character building. It means a knowledge of duty. . . . You are receiving the best education-training possible. . . . Every boy . . . should practise continence in thought and deed, truth likewise and the not-taking of any life. . . . If you practise the three virtues, if they become part of your life, so far as I am concerned you will have completed your education—your training. Armed with them, believe me, you will earn your bread in any part of the world and you will have paved the way to acquire a true knowledge of the soul, yourself and God. . . . Remember, please, that henceforth our lot is poverty." It was armed with this advice, and during this period, that Manilal himself went to jail as part of the Indian demonstrations. When he was 18 years old, in 1910, he was arrested in Johannesburg as part of his father's Satyagraha campaign. He was given ten days in prison, broke the law again, was re-arrested, and spent another ten days in prison. In 1913 he crossed the Natal-Transvaal border at Volksrust and was imprisoned for three months.

When Gandhiji left South Africa forever, in 1914, Manilal and the other children returned to India. When the Satyagraha Ashram was organized in 1915 at Kochrab, across the Sabarmati River from Ahmedabad, Manilal lived there. In 1916 he left the ashram, worked for several months as an apprentice in hand-spinning and hand-weaving in Madras, and then went to work for G. A. Natesan, the publisher. Later in 1916 he was asked by his father to return to South Africa to look after the Phoenix settlement, including the editing of Indian Opinion. Except for short trips, he remained in South Africa until his death.

He returned to India in 1927 and married. Manilal and Sushila Gandhi had three children: Sita, now aged 27, Arun, now aged 23 and editing Indian Opinion, and Ela, now 17. In 1929 Manilal returned to India and participated in the famous Salt March. On May 21, 1930, he was in the raid of the Dharasana salt depot 150 miles north of Bombay. His father was in jail, but Manilal was in front of the 2,000 volunteers as they moved toward the salt pans guarded by four hundred Surat police and half a dozen British officials. Many hundred Indians were injured and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Manilal were among those arrested. He was sentenced to a year in prison and thereafter returned to Phoenix.

Manilal saw his mother, Kasturba, for the last time in India in 1939, five years before she died in detention in 1944. He returned to India to be with his father in 1945 and part of 1946. He felt he got to know his father best at that time, although those were difficult days during partition and the communal riots. He went with his father on lengthy tours of Bengal and Madras. He later wrote of this experience: "Though I seemed to be encroaching upon the preserves of others, father lovingly gave me as much opportunity as was possible in the circumstances to be with him. We had many free and frank discussions on various matters, including his own surroundings and his own attitude, which had so vastly changed since the time we were under him in our childhood." He returned to Phoenix in 1946 and was there on January 30th, 1948, when his father was assassinated.

Manilal described the occasion shortly afterwards: "I have not yet recovered from the stunning blow I received at about 3 p.m. on Friday, January 30, when some friends came to me whilst I was marketing in Durban and asked me whether the rumour about Mahatmaji was true. 'What rumour?' I asked. Hesitantly and almost tearfully they said that he was shot. I laughed at the very idea and said, 'What nonsense!' As I went out of the market with parcels of fruits in my hand I was surrounded by another crowd of friends looking at me sympathetically, who put to me the same question. With the parcels almost dropping from my hands and with a coldness creeping into my whole being, I said 'I have not heard anything.' 'But,' they said, 'news has just come from Congress office.' . . . I rushed immediately



**Breaking Of The 21 Days' Fast**

to Phoenix, where my wife was all alone and in a state of collapse, the shocking news being conveyed to her during my absence over the 'phone." Later Manilal wrote: "I bless those days with loving memory of my dear father, whose gentleness had no bounds and yet could be as hard as steel. I thank him for what he has given me and pray that his spirit may guide me in the right path."

In 1949 Manilal went to America briefly to observe the United Nations organization as a journalist. The South African government refused him a passport in 1954 to go to a peace conference in Japan, or even to go to Mozambique and the Rhodesias to increase the circulation of **Indian Opinion.** Manilal also applied for permission to go to India and for his son to study agricultural engineering in India, since there were no facilities for him in South Africa. Permission was not granted in either case.

In 1953 Mrs. Manilal Gandhi helped start a small school for the children of the Indian workers in the Settlement. Two classrooms were set up in the original Gandhiji home. Soon the school population increased to 200 Indian children. A six-room brick and stone schoolhouse was built honouring his mother, Kasturba. (The original house of Gandhiji now contains a Mahatma Gandhi Museum.) This school was dedicated on June 26, 1954, which coincided with the golden jubilee of the founding of Phoenix Settlement. Special ceremonies were held, attended by D. G. Shepstone, Administrator of Natal, who was a good friend of Gandhiji four decades earlier.

"To Phoenix over the years have come a parade of pilgrims and journalists, to pay homage to this shrine and to interview Manilal on current South African tensions. Such journalists as Robert St. John, Reginald Reynolds, John Gunther, and Alexander Campbell have written about Phoenix and Manilal in **Through Malan's Africa, Cairo to Cape Town, Inside Africa,** and **The Heart of Africa.** A number of itinerant pacifists have also visited Phoenix, such as Prof. Douglas Steere of the Religious Society of Friends, George Houser of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and others.

Throughout all these events, and since 1917, Manilal continued to edit **Indian Opinion** for its 3,000 subscribers, mostly in South Africa, but some scattered throughout the world. Toward the end he questioned the wisdom of continuing the paper, wondering whether it shouldn't be stopped or else started afresh with a new, broader name in an effort to appeal more to the larger group of Africans. When Manilal became sick in the autumn of 1955, his son, Arun, took over editorship of the paper, continuing its policies, and running short bulletins on his father's health. **Indian Opinion** remained the most important, non-communist source of articles against apartheid published in South Africa today.

* * * *

Manilal Gandhi was not a mere executor of his father's estate in South Africa. He became a strong personality in his own right in opposing racial injustice. More than keeping alive the Gandhi name in South Africa, he gave it current relevancy in the battle against apartheid. He persistently tried to break the apartheid laws against Indians, Africans, and Coloureds. He entered the reading room of the City Hall in Durban which was restricted to persons of European ancestry. A police sergeant escorted him out, taking his name "for reference to a higher authority". He was not, however, arrested at that time. Later Manilal went to the Durban railway station, where he sat on a seat reserved "for Europeans only". He quietly declined to move when ordered to do so by a police official. He told reporters: "Statutory segregation is most objectionable to all who have respect for the dignity of man." He indicated he planned to go on breaking the segregation laws.

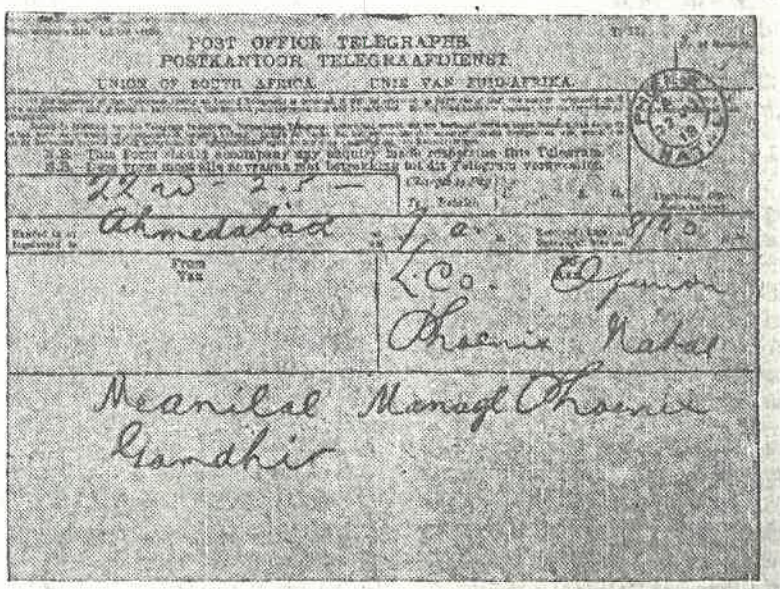
Once father and daughter, Sita, went on a double-decker bus in Durban. They sat on the lower level which was prohibited to Indians and Africans. The conductor urged them to go upstairs, but they refused. Finally, the bus stopped, and a telephone call was made to headquarters. Instructions were received not to arrest Manilal and his daughter. Apparently the city of Durban didn't want another Gandhi on its hands! In 1948 Manilal led a march of Indians from Natal into the Transvaal—as his father did before him—to protest the law forbidding Indians from crossing provincial boundaries. Eight members of his party were arrested, but Manilal was allowed to continue his journey.

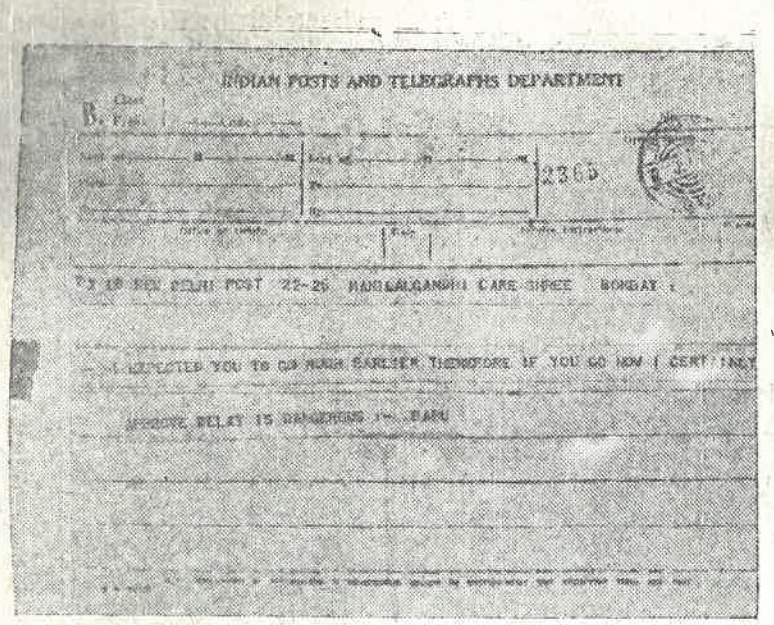
Like his father, Manilal knew the uses of fasts. He undertook several seven-day fasts in his youth. Then in 1951 he went on a 14-day fast to protest against the group areas act. He said he was fasting for purification before setting out "in the name of God" to break the apartheid laws. In 1952 he underwent a 21-day fast in sympathy with the protest of the Africans against apartheid laws. He said the fast would help prepare him for the part he would take in the forthcoming defiance campaign.

He was not exempt from prison in his later years. In 1946 he spent one month in jail as part of an Indian **Satyagraha** in Durban. His final jail term was in 1953. In the autumn of 1952 Manilal, together with Patrick Duncan (son of the former Governor-General of the Union) and several others, purposely violated the pass laws and entered the Germiston location near Johannesburg. They were arrested and he was given the choice of a fifty pound fine or fifty days in jail. He chose jail and spent 15 days in Germiston prison, losing a pound a day, and then was transferred to Pretoria prison for the remainder of his sentence, some 23 days. This was probably the same prison in which his father was incarcerated half a century before. He later wrote of these prison experiences in 1953: "I was immediately taken in the open yard and stripped naked and was told to put my clothes and other belongings in a kit bag. I was then given clothes which consisted of a pair of shorts, a red shirt and a white jacket, usually worn by non-European convicts, and ordered to put them on. I was shocked to see how filthy they were. . . . Then my spectacles, which I had been wearing since I was 12 years of age, were also taken away from me and I was told that I could have them if the doctor, who was to come the following morning, would allow me to do so. So, half blinded and with half of my body exposed, and barefooted, I was made to sit in the cold wind for nearly three hours. . . . On the second day I was locked up for the night in a cell, which measured about 16 by 21, overcrowded with hardened criminal Africans. We were twenty-four in all and had to sleep almost on top of one another."

Manilal also effectively opposed apartheid weekly through the editorial and news columns of **Indian Opinion.** He travelled much around South Africa, gathering news and attending conferences. He was anything but gullible toward the South African communists, who first tried to use him and his name and later learned to avoid him. He initially remained aloof from the defiance campaign of 1952–3 because what he feared was disastrous communist infiltration. When he did participate in it, he regretted the communists whom he saw in the movement. He wrote: "These people are really doing harm to an otherwise un-

**Mahatmaji's Telegram To Manilal Gandhi Sent In 1918**




INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

*A telegram sent by Mahatmaji in 1946 when Mr. Manilal Gandhi left India suddenly to join the Passive Resistance Struggle in South Africa.*

challengable cause." A few months after the defiance campaign had all but ended, Manilal felt that the Africans didn't "seem to realize that mere going to jail is not enough." He felt that "the communist leaders are not teaching them that, but are just rousing their emotional feelings." Elsewhere he commented privately that the communists in South Africa "are doing more harm than good to a very righteous struggle. Truth and non-violence are not in their dictionary. They are just exploiting them for their own ends. There is no knowing when they will betray the people."

Manilal's analysis of apartheid in recent years showed a courage, calm, and religiousness in the face of evil that was worthy of his father. Below are short excerpts from nine letters which I received in America from Manilal in South Africa during 1953 and 1954. These are not confidential and I am sure he would want me to share his estimate of African apartheid with the world:—

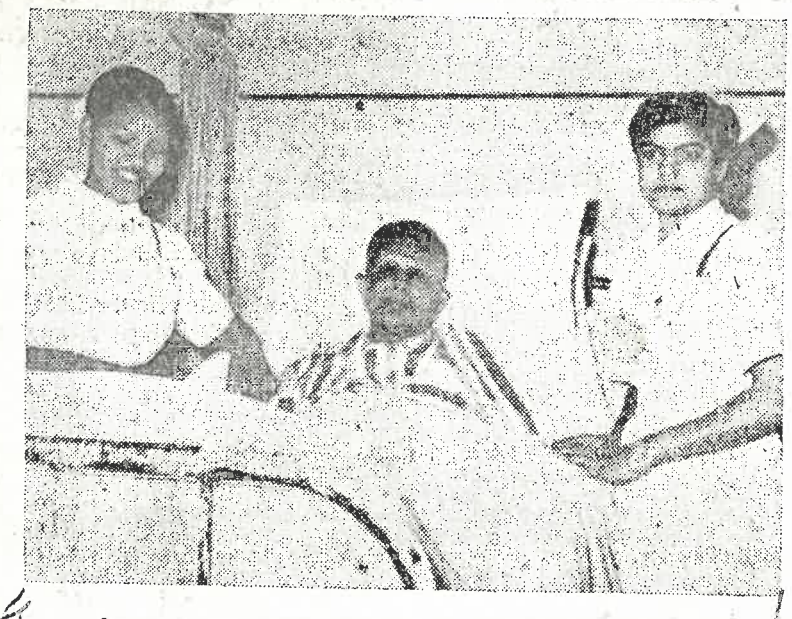
January, 1953: "I am a bit dubious about the future. A great achievement is possible only if we have an outstanding leader like father, whose presence we all sorely miss. But his spirit is there to guide us. May we deserve that guidance by living a pure life as he did. Without the grace of God we shall never win. To get that grace, we have to deserve it."

January, 1953: "We have to fight against very heavy odds. We might be completely blacked out from the outside world. Then our only reliance will be God. If still we do not lack faith in Him, victory is ours without doubt. May He bless us with that strength and courage. This is my constant prayer. . . ."

April, 1953: "Woe be to South Africa if the Nationalists come again into power, and it is almost certain that they will. We shall have a repetition of what happened in Hitler's Germany, perhaps in a much worse form. All seem to be terrified. It is a sign how we have forgotten God. . . ."

June, 1953: "The provocation from the government side is so great that it will be amazing if the Africans will be able to keep their heads amidst it all. The people seem to be terribly fear-stricken. Some courageous step will have to be taken. . . . My mind is rather upset at all the recent happenings and I am seeking God's guidance. I am sure it will come in its time, provided I have faith and am sincere. I hope I am not lacking in that."

November, 1953: "I was not allowed to get any letters in



**Last days of his illness at McCord Hospital**

prison except, by special permission, from one of my closest relatives. This is a rule for all short-term prisoners. Indeed, it was the grace of God and the blessings of friends . . . that sustained me. Conditions in prison are too bad, especially for the Africans, who are treated just like beasts.

. . . The recent trouble between Indians and Africans was a sad affair, but it was not as bad as the newspapers made it appear. Of course, behind it all were the mischief-mongers who want these things to happen. If the police took prompt measures, these things would never happen. They like these things to happen and so they look on until the situation gets worse. The worst culprits are the unscrupulous police. . . ."

January, 1954: "Yesterday was January 30th. How fresh the whole affair appears to be! We spent the whole day thinking of Father and in doing something connected with him. . . ."

April, 1954: "I feel more and more sure that . . . the face of South Africa will have completely changed within the next decade. . . . With violence or non-violence remains to be seen. The forces of violence seem at present to be in the ascendency. God help us all."

July, 1954: "The Government is just trying to provoke the people to resort to Mau Mau methods. I am afraid it will be suicidal if they do. God forbid it. It is a great blessing that we have in this country friends like Father Huddleston and the Bishop of Johannesburg and a few other fearless Europeans. Their presence is saving the situation. . . ."

September, 1954: "Things are very gloomy here. The Nationalist Government, since its victory in the Provincial elections, has become strong and has consequently become more ruthless both in word and deed. God knows what our fate will be, or rather, of South Africa will be. Let us hope and pray for the best."

* * * *

Manilal Gandhi died on April 5th, after a lingering illness, in his 64th year. **Indian Opinion** might soon die also, for back in October Manilal wrote that he was thinking "whether the time has not come when we should close down the paper." Navajivan Publishing House announced that **Harijan**—an Asian successor to **Indian Opinion**—ceased publication in March because of financial losses. Does this mean the collapse of Gandhism in South Africa if not in India? By no means!

The memory of Manilal, as Mohandas, will remain very much alive in South Africa, in India, in America, around the world. Those who knew Manilal will mourn deeply, because his work had not come to fruition in Africa as his father's did in Africa and India. Yet there remain the image and inspiration of Manilal, going through the sugar fields of Phoenix in his Dodge, down to Durban to court arrest, to serve a prison term, or to meet some pilgrim. Manilal's memory and world-wide inspiration will remain.

We found in Manilal Gandhi a deeply religious, a deeply courageous spirit in his own right, undeniably in the shadow of incomparable greatness, but living outside the shadow and giving leadership in a regime ever as cruel as his father faced in Africa or Asia.

We found in Manilal a sweet exterior, but a determined interior, a man trying to conserve the past — for the Gandhi tradition is worth conserving — but trying also to strike out boldly to make a new world for all South Africans.

We found in Manilal a world mind, concerned about South Africa, but vitally interested in all Africa, India, all Asia, all peoples everywhere.

We found in Manilal a world religion, deeply Hindu, but appreciative of Islam, Christianity, all religions everywhere.

We found in Manilal a universal understanding, a willingness to love the evil doer but not to be taken in by the evil whether apartheid or communism.

Then suddenly, the terse announcement in the newspapers and even on television that "the second son of Gandhi has died."

Manilal has gone to the ages. A light has gone out in Phoenix as truly as that light went out only eight years before in New Delhi.

The day will yet come when the name of Gandhi will be honoured in all South Africa as it now is in all the world. No longer secretly remembered, the name of Gandhi will be openly honoured. Parks, streets, whole cities in South Africa will arise in the Gandhi name. And Gandhi will symbolize Manilal as well as Mohandas, son as father, both for giving courageous, loving leadership against the evil of division when most South Africans just watched and waited.

# LAST HOMAGE

THE funeral of the late Mr. Manilal Gandhi was held at the Cato Manor Indian Crematorium on Thursday, 5th April, 1956 at 6.30 p.m. The late Mr. Manilal passed away peacefully at 10.45 a.m. of the same day at his home in Phoenix. The news of his death was conveyed to the people of Durban who had, notwithstanding the suddenness of the sad tidings, attended the funeral to pay their last respects to one who had meant so much to the Indian community and whose presence during his lifetime was a sourse of spiritual strength.



*Courtesy : Na al Daily News.*

**Last Homage At The Crematorium**

Elsewhere in this issue are tributes paid to the deceased and to the members of his bereaved family by those who had attended the cemetery where his remains were cremated and, others who were not present at the cremation.

Solemn tributes were paid at the crematorium by Messrs. P. R. Pather, H. Nattrass, A. S. Kajee, Govan Mani, S. L. Singh, Dr. Don M'Timkulu, M. B. Naidoo and Sorabjee Rustomjee.

The late Mr. Manilal leaves behind a wife, a son and two daughters, to mourn their irreparable loss.

With several others, we the Trustees of the Phoenix Settlement, Manager and Staff of 'Indian Opinion,' extend our heartfelt sympathies to the bereaved family, and pray that God will give them courage to bear their irreparable loss, and Peace to the departed Soul.

## DEATH BE NOT PROUD

*Death be not proud, though some have called thee*
*Mighty and dreadful, for thou art not so,*
*For those whom thou think'st thou dost overthrow,*
*Die not, poor death; nor yet canst thou kill me.*
*From Rest and Sleep, which but thy picture be,*
*Much pleasure, then from thee much more must flow;*
*And soonest our best men with thee do go—*
*Rest of their bones and souls' delivery!*
*Thou'rt slave to fate, chance, kings, and desperate men,*
*And dost with poison, war, and sickness dwell;*
*And poppy or charms can make us sleep as well*
*And better than thy stroke. Why swell's thou then?*
*One short sleep past, we wake eternally,*
*And Death shall be no more; Death, thou shalt die!*

**—John Donne, "Holy Sonnets."**

# MRS. MANILAL GANDHI'S THANKS

I WISH to thank all friends who went out of their way to help us during my husband's illness. Their loving kindness and concern have gone a long way in lessening the grief felt by my husband's demise. I have been requested not to print the names of these people. I hope they will read my sincere thanks for all that they have done.

It is very saddening that despite the loving care and devotion that my husband received, I have lost him. I still cherish the hope that the spirit of Mahatmaji and the spirit of my husband will guide me and my children to the right path and that their spiritual presence will give us the strength to pursue that path.

Before I conclude I wish to thank Dr. Taylor, the Matron, Doctors and the nursing staff of the McCord Hospital, from the bottom of my heart, for all that they did to make my husband's stay at the hospital as comfortable as was possible. I also wish to thank Dr. Christopherson for continuing to allow us the privileges extended to us by Dr. Taylor during the latters absence overseas.

Thank you very much for the kind messages of sympathy received by way of telegraph, telephone, cables and letters.

During the illness of Manilal, the publishing of 'Indian Opinion' would have been practically impossible, if our friends had not come to our rescue, to them also, my sincere thanks.

Many friends have urged us to continue to print the newspaper 'Indian Opinion' but at this stage, neither my son, Arun nor I are in a state to decide about anything, but we assure you that until we reach a decision the paper will continue to be printed as in the past. I pray that with the blessings of both Mahatmaji and Manilal the task of printing the paper will be lightened.

## Drop Thy Burden And Thy Care

*Ere thou sleepest, gently lay*
*Every troubled thought away.*
*Put off worry and distress*
*As thou puttest off thy dress.*
*Drop thy burden and thy care*
*In the quiet arms of prayer.*

*Lord, thou knowest how I live*
*All I've done amiss, forgive.*
*All the good I've tried to do,*
*Strengthen, bless and carry through.*
*All I love in safety keep*
*While in Thee I fall asleep.*

**—Henry Van Dyke.**

# A Tribute

By M. B. NAIDOO

SOUTH African Indians wherever they be, will mourn the passing of a distinguished and revered personality and so will the many African, European and Coloured peoples by whom the late Mr. Manilal was esteemed for his political leadership.

No one who had known him intimately would doubt for a moment his honesty and integrity and no one who had visited the Settlement at Phoenix could remain unmoved by the presence of him whose spirit now breathes through the hills and groves of the Settlement.

As a man, Manilal was fearless and outspoken with a deep and sympathetic understanding of human nature. As a friend, he was cordial in the extreme and regarded his associates with a candour and a sincerity that were touching. To him the inequality of man was a social evil which he fought valiantly and silently. He recognised in every individual the dignity of man and when news of his passing spread over the countryside, his African neighbours mourned his loss with obvious sincerity.

His political struggles for the emancipation of his people had been inspired by the examples of his late father whose success as the protagonist of non-violence had ushered a new ideology in human relations. The late Manilal Gandhi had in the latter years of his life disciplined himself with ascetic rigour for that spiritual and physical perfection so necessary for the redemption of his people. He continued his struggles with the same zeal and devotion to service that characterised the actions of the illustrious Mahatma; neither did he falter in the pursuit of his cherished ideals. Phoenix was to him the embodiment of the spirit of the Master and sacred unto posterity will be the scattered dust on which he walked. The lone hills around the Settlement will no longer resound the steps of one who frequently trod the countryside before dawn, but somewhere in the many retreats of the Settlement his spirit will linger in nostalgic attachment to his beloved countryside where the murmur of the foliage is never still.

But like the rest of the great men of the past, Manilal Gandhi has ceased to exist and in the lengthening shadows of eventide we shall sing the anthem of his great Release, for, "he hath gone to a bourne whence no traveller returns."

countries and climes and our hearts are heavy with grief over his separation owing to our attachment with the physical which is mortal—transitory.

But his real being is never away from us. He shall ever live and be with us in spirit, advising us, encouraging and strengthening us in our endeavours and pursuits for the ideals and principles which our departed brother propagated and practised and all movements and causes he espoused to the very end of his life on the earth.

It will be well with the people who are struggling against tyranny, totalitarianism, racial discrimination, injustice, if they would adhere to Truth and Non-violence embodied in the "Satyagraha" according to Mahatma Gandhi for the vindication of their legimate human rights.

Manilal Gandhi's personality and his work for international understanding, goodwill and friendship and for world peace should be an inspiration and impetus to us. We must not rest. We must not slacken our efforts but keep marching on with weapons of truth and non-violence to win ultimate victory over evil and establish love, peace, harmony, friendship and a spirit of co-operation amongst peoples of the world.

Our friend, Manilal obeyed the Will of God, the Divine Father, and walked in the footsteps of his and our Bapu, Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, the enunciator of of Satyagraha and the redeemer of mankind.

Truly the two Fathers will pronounce on our departed brother, Manilal Gandhi, their benediction, "Well done, our faithful and beloved son."

# The Late Mr. Manilal Gandhi

By DHANI RAM SAGGAR

MANILAL GANDHI has been recalled by the Divine Power. His earthly ministry has come to an end. His physical part has merged into the elements but his sprit triumphant and free from bodily bondage and limitations has transcended to other realms to commence service in accordance with God's Will, Plan and Command.

It was our privilege and good fortune that God in His mercy and benevolence granted us the friendship, association, knowledge and wise leadership of such a sanctified soul as that of our beloved and noble friend—brother Manilal Gandhi.

His life and example will ever shine, guiding, inspiring and encouraging us mortals during our earthly existence, on our path till we reach our goal of Divine Bliss, Realisation and Redemption.

Our brother's pursuits for achievement of altruistic ideals, spirit of sacrifice and re[illegible]lation for truth and righteousness and his complete surrender to the will of God, will serve us as fountains from which we will receive nourishment and elevation of our moral and spiritual beings.

It is for us to carry on the torch left behind for us by our dear friend. We can cherish and perpetuate his sacred memory by purifying our lives and dedicating ourselves to the mission and work which were so close and dear to his heart and for which he strove unsparingly and whole-heartedly and ultimately laid down his life.

Manilal's life was spent in the service of the down trodden, the ill-treated, the oppressed, the subjugated and the humiliated humanity and his meritorious endeavours for emancipation of his fellow-human beings were carried out in a spirit of devotion, gentleness, faith in God and full surrender to His Will.

At this juncture, shadows of sorrow enshroud his dear wife, children, associates and friends —known and unknown—in all

# As I Knew Him

By ALPHA NGCOBO

**(Mr. Alpha Ngcobo is a very old and respected member of our staff. He began working for 'Indian Opinion' in 1920)**

MY acquaintance with the late Mr. Manilal Gandhi, whose sad and sudden death took place at his home on Thursday, 5th April, dates back from the year 1920 when he first agreed to engage me as one of his employees in the Press where he conducted and edited the famous journal 'Indian Opinion,' which was founded by his revered father, Mahatma Gandhi, in the year 1903.

For many years I have watched Mr. Manilal working with the staff during day and night with amazing zeal and interest till the paper was out—sometimes at midnight. It was his belief that if you want to become an honest leader of your people, you should serve them yourself. And so whatever he preached he always tried to put into practice.

He endeavoured at all times to maintain the journal's high standard, and was determined to continue with its publication in spite of the numerous difficulties which he often found himself faced with. On numerous occasions he would go out to the Cape and the Transvaal to collect subscriptions. Besides doing this he had the additional burden of writing and sending the Editorial from there and also other important matter for publication. What a strain it has all along been! All this for the sake of his fellowmen for, 'Indian Opinion' was and is their "Mouthpiece!" To him it was a labour of love!

Although over-burdened with work at the Phoenix Settlement, Mr. Gandhi did not lag behind in other important activities. He took a very keen interest in public affairs and held a responsible position as a leader of the non-European people and as a defender of the cause of justice. He was a firm believer in the doctrine of Truth and Non-violence. He had a deep faith in the power of prayer. In the battle for Freedom he was a brave lieutenant. Lovers of freedom throughout the world have acclaimed him "A Fearless Leader!"

The late Mr. Manilal Gandhi was of an amiable disposition and was ever ready and willing to give a sympathetic hearing to anyone who came to him with a reasonable request. He had won the affection and esteem of all those who had had the privilege of coming into contact with him, and he showed deep respect for people of all races—young and old—rich and poor.

Deeply touched by his large-heartedness, the African people who live close to the Phoenix Settlement had learned to honour him by the name "Nkosana"—"Son of a Great Man"—by which name they all called him till the day he breathed his last.

The huge crowd of mourners which attended the funeral servi[illegible] at the Cato Manor Hindu Cre[illegible]torium, and the high tributes by the speakers representi[illegible] communinities, bore eloqu[illegible]mony to the esteem and [illegible] in which the deceased

May his soul r[illegible] Peace!

# Farewell—My Friend

By Joseph Sadony

IN the United States of America as in other countries there are many people who have followed the career of Manilal Gandhi as they did that of his father before him with sympathetic interest in his cause of intellectual and personal liberty, spiritual and racial equality and universal fraternity. Many of these unseen friends are my friends also, and readers of a daily column which I have written for the press during thirty years.

In behalf of these I would like to express to the family and friends of Manilal Gandhi our heartfelt sympathy in the personal loss of his recent passing. To this I would add a personal conviction of his immortality and the assurance on the part of his many distant friends of a continued interest in the cause he served.

From childhood I have been endowed with a sensitivity which has caused me to share the physical or mental suffering of others. If I would shake hands with a man who was suffering physical pain I would feel that pain in my own body and be able to describe its locality though I had not been informed of it. One day, in a moment of meditation, I thought I heard a shot, and felt immediately a stab of pain that caused me to clutch my breast and stagger on my feet because I was standing, looking out of a window with my mind beyond the horizon in far-away India. My wife rushed to me, alarmed, and asked me what was the matter; but I could not account for the experience because I could not conceive, until I was the next day informed of it, that Gandhiji had been shot. I had foreseen and predicted before witnesses his untimely end, but not the method of it.

And so, too, in the case of Manilal Gandhi, his final illness was known to me before I heard of it, as also the fact that he would not recover from it because his constitution had been weakened by earlier fasting; and this grieved me because he is no less a martyr to the cause of justice than his father was. On April 5, while talking with two friends, I felt the hand of death upon my heart and told them that we would hear of the death of a good friend who was a far greater man than even those who knew him realised. The next day we heard of it.

To the co-workers of Manilal Gandhi I have this to say: The situation in South Africa is one that is, in varying degrees of sharpness, common to all the world to-day: a catastrophe-breeding self-conscious racial feeling that is based on a false premise. The race-myth was an artificial mechanism deliberately devised and indoctrinated by propaganda to strengthen a political substitute for religion: the all-pervading force of nationalism which became a dominant force in history in the 19th and 20th century.

To-day the most intelligent people realise that mankind is biologically one species. No comparison or division of justice is possible on the basis of colour. There is more difference between two individual white men or between two individual men of colour than there is between two "races" biologically or sociologically from the scientific view. The source of difference is cultural background. And all this has been proved on the world's battlefields. What shatters human families is when members have no longer the same interest, goal or God.

But tolerance is still the unwritten law of all human culture. Without culture we are barbarians without the ability to think; and without the ability to think, creeds have no value nor meaning worth hating or fighting for. If the world's truly "elect," the men of universal spiritual culture could be gathered into one organisation, you wouyd find them of every colour, nationality and degree of education and development. And you would find there the true foundations of human brotherhood, with fraternal love an dthe "Golden Rule" as natural fruits of mutual understanding and respect.

Through the influence of men like Manilal Gandhi, who did his best to follow in his father's footsteps, the opsonic index of hunanity has been raised by the nurture of universal spiritual culture which will survive and ultimately gain the goal for which they lived and died.

# Manilal Gandhi

By Ashwin Choudree

There is sadness in our hearts, an emptiness which will continue for many a year—a personal loss which many of us who were associated with Manilalbhai will feel deeply. My wife and I have lost a dear friend.

Manilal Gandhi, however, was a public figure and it is in that context I think I should make some comment. He is so close to us that no assessment of this human personality can to-day be made adequately. To cover the field of his political activity and his life of social service would be to deal with the Indian struggle for rights in this country almost from the beginning. His part in South African politics, his contribution to the Indian cause in this country, nay, even further in the establishment of a rich human way of life for all in South Africa, history will no doubt record in the years that lie ahead.

The mind in retrospect is, however, struck by one or two outstanding aspects of this man, who often appeared to some as a stormy petrel in the South African, Indian political scene. Truth, as he saw it, was basic to his character. Nothing that was expedient had any place in life for him. Everything became a matter of principle. Manilal's life was a continuing grapple with his conscience. No man suffered inwardly more when a decision had to be made. Through all the years I have known him I found this to be the source of his sertngth and his greatness.

He was not a party politician; he was wedded to no political dogma, nor did he subscribe to any definite political creed. Like his illustrious and saintly father, he was above all that. Whenever any issue arose, Manilal spent days debating with his conscience where he must cast his lot and where his duty lay. Once this was resolved in his mind, he pursued it steadfastly and resolutely and no loyalty to friends or political associates influenced or conditioned him. It is this characteristic that in his own way made him tower over all his contemporaries in this country. It is this unbending great quality in his make-up that made him misunderstood among his fellows.

Against overwhelming odds, he has kept alive the message of Bapujee in this land. The spirit of Mahatma Gandhi still pervades the calm, seren atmosphere of the Settlement. To no little extent have Manilalbhai and Sushilaben contributed to kindle and ever keep alive the rich philosophy of one of India's greatest sons. Sushilaben and Aroon will now have to continue alone. The school he established, the social services he carried on, the "Indian Opinion" which he conducted, are his legacies to the community. Let us all resolve to stand with them in this hour of their need: let us in spirit try and become part of the Settlement and do all things to further its services and message.

Manilalbhai was a rich soul, a kindly man: a loving family man. He sought no favours; he played to no gallery; he lived life simply and austerely, a soic to the last; an existence of selfless enduring service to his fellow-beings. That is the impression of him in my mind. That is how I shall always remember him.

# The Late Mr. Manilal Gandhi

By D. G. S. M'Timkulu

I AM happy to avail myself of this opportunity, through the courtesy and invitation of the Editor of 'Indian Opinion', to pay my humble tribute to that great man who has now passed to his reward—Manilal Gandhi.

What impressed one most about Mr. Gandhi was his humility and his humanity. He encompassed within his love all men—of all colours and all creeds. And this interest in the welfare of all was shown with such utter humility that one never felt ill at ease in his presence. He was one of whom it might be said truly, he "walked with Kings" but did "not lose the common touch."

One felt a great admiration for his sincerity and courage in following his high principles, even though, sometimes, these led him along lonely paths.

Our world can ill-afford to lose such men, and we are much the poorer for his passing. [illegible] example, will long [illegible] shine as a light wh[illegible] gathers round [illegible]

# S.A. Indians Have Lost A Relentless Fighter

**By. A Christopher**

THE death of Manilal Mohandas Gandhi has come as a shock in particular to the South Africsn Indian community. He was not in good health for some time but he did not give up his activities while he could act. And it was hoped that he would in the course of time recover.

Manilal, the second son of Mahatma Gandhi, like his brothers, was thrown on his own to fend for himself and he grew on his own strength and of character and determination.

With his younger brother Ramdass he returned to the Phoenix Settlement, which is a few miles from the City of Durban, to carry on the work of the Settlement. His father had founded Phoenix Settlement for the leading of a simple life for those who like himself believed in the simple life and lived it.

It was after taking part in the great Passive Resistance Movement started in India by his father which won Independence for India that Manilal and Ramdas returned to South Africa. Manilal was young and inexperienced and had to manage at first with Ramdas who however soon made up his mind to return to India and thus left Manilal alone to carry on. He got friends to edit 'Indian Opinion' until he was able to do so himself.

'Indian Opinion' was founded by his father who followed the teachings of Tolstoy, Ruskin, Thoreau and the religions.

The policy of the paper was to exclude competitive matters and advertisements and certain pictures so that the paper published news and helpful criticism.

And Manilal followed the policy set by his father and such a paper is financially run with difficulties. But with such help he got from the public and friends he during many years has been conducting the paper. The paper has been fearlessly conducted in the cause of freedom, and has been a source of strength to the community. It stands for all races.

Not only was he engaged in keeping his father's paper and his ideas going, but he entered in the struggle to win freedom. He was a Resister with others in this country when Passive Resistance was being carried on but also was a Passive Resister on his own when there was no general Passive Resistance in the country.

In the days when a Commission was set up by the Union Government to explore Colonies outside India and South Africa to settle South African born Indians and Indians domiciled in South Africa, he threw himself heart and soul in the opposition to the idea that Indians should be expatriated from South Africa.

Never did he undertake any action whether as a Passive Resister or otherwise before he had fasted and prayed and purified himself: relying always on God, He walked miles everyday in the country-side communing with his Creator and nature. He has answered the great call: But his name will live among those who gave up thair lives in the cause of freedom.

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# Prayers At Sevagram Ashram

THE news of Mr. Manilal Gandhi's demise reached Sevagram Ashram (Mahatmaji's Ashram) at 9 p.m. on Thursday. The news was relayed to the inmates of the Ashram by Mr. Ramdas Gandhi and a prayer meeting was organised instantly.

All the people who were within reach were called and prayers were said on the ground where Mahatmaji held his prayer meetings. At this meeting Mahatmaji's seat was placed in its usual place and the inmates sat around it singing hymns that were the favourites of both Mahatmaji and the late Mr. Manilal Gandhi.a

A resolution was passed at this prayet meeting and later posted to Mrs. Sushila Gandhi, by Madam Ashadevi. Owing to lack of space the resolution will be printed in a later issue.

# My Childhood Companion

**By Sorabjee Rustomjee**

ALTHOUGH we know that birth and death is the way of Nature, even great people are at times very deeply grieved at the loss of a near and dear one. When I think back upon our childhood days, when Manilal was 5 years old and I was 3 years old I am overcome by a nostalgic feeling and tears begin to stream down my face.

People in this world are not born great, but they become great. To become great one has to make great sacrifices for the sake of Truth.

The late Manilal derived happiness from a life of fearlessness, self control, fasting and courting arrest as a Satyagrahi.

He showed much courage and fortitude in clinging to the high ideals and principles of his world-renowned and saintly father, Mahatmaji, in everything he did.

Mahatmaji's associates and comrades are, one by one, passing on.

The late Manilal had cherished the hope of making Phoenix, which was foudded by Mahatmaji, an ideal memorial to his father and mother. If we can fulfil his dreams, by starting from where he left, then his soul will rest in peace and with that knowledge his wife, Sushila, and the children will be comforted in these dark days.

If anyone has a suitable suggestion to make, I invite them to write to me at the address of this newspaper.

# A Friend And Colleague

**Albert John Luthuli**

I HEARD with deep regret, the passing away of my beloved friend and colleague in the struggle for Freedom in South Africa, your late husband.

I wish, on behalf of myself and the African National Congress, to express our deepest sympathy in, and condolence to you and your family at the great and irreparable loss you have sustained.

It is humanly difficult to be serene and composed at such moments. We would ask you in your moments of grief and despondency to derive sustenance from the fact that your late husband stood for the highest things in life and was always associated with noble causes whose objects were to enrich humanity, and not self.

He tried his best to be a faithful disciple of his illustrious father, the Mahatma. That attempt alone, to be like his father entitles your late husband to be ranked as one of the noble sons, not just of South Africa, but of the world.

May his memory be an urge to you all to emulate him with whatever strength the Almighty may give you. Your loss is our loss. For our part, we shall also try to sustain ourselves by the inspiration of his life.

# An Irreparable loss

**By "Pardesi"**

TRAGEDY struck the pretty little hamlet of Phoenix last Thursday morning when one of South Africa's most ardent campaigners for non-European emancipation in this country, Mr. Manilal Gandhi, passed away after prolonged illness at his home, "Kasturba Bhuvan."

At a time when the future of the black people here looks so bleak and there are few sincere leaders to tide us over the trying period, Mr. Gandhi's death is an irreparable loss.

Soon after Mahatmaji's assassination, Pandit Nehru said: "Mahatmaji is gone, and the great light is extinguished. Darkness of sorrow and distress surrounds us all. I have no doubt he will continue to guide us from the borders of the Great Beyond."

A great light has also been extinguished in South Africa. The same sentiments expressed by Pandit Nehru we echo here for the son of the Mahatma.....

# General Newspaper References

## Official Reports

—INDIA NEWS (London), April 7, 1956

Mr. Manilal Gandhi, son of Mahatma Gandhi, died at his home in Phoenix, north coast of Natal, near Durban, on April 6. He had been suffering for some time from cerebral thrombosis.

Mr Gandhi was editor of the Durban newspaper "Indian Opinion," and an active opponent of the South African Government's racial segregation policy.

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—INDIAGRAM (London), April 6, 1956.

Mr. Manilal Gandhi, son of Mahatma Gandhi, died at his home in Phoenix, on the north coast of Natal, near Durban, on April 5. He was 64 and had been suffering for some time from cerebral thrombosis. Mr. Gandhi was editor of Durban newspaper "Indian Opinion" and an active opponent of the South African Government's racial segregation policy.

Born at Porbandar, in Western India, Mr. Gandhi went to South Africa in 1897.

In April, 1951, immediately after the Group Areas Act, setting aside separate areas for different racial groups, came into force he conducted a 14-days fast, declaring that its purpose was "to purify my body, mind and soul. Having survived this, I shall in the name of God defy the Government's apartheid policy by committing a breach of it, and shall submit without the slighest protest to the penalty." He committed several technical breaches of the law, but the authorities did not take action. In February, 1953, however, he was found guilty after taking part in a procession into the Germiston African location and was sentenced to 50 days' imprisonment.

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—THE TIMES, April 6.

Reuter reports the death at his home at Phoenix, on the north coast of Natal, yesterday of Mr. Manilal Gandhi, the second son of Mahatma Gandhi. He was 64, and had been ill for some time.

He was an uncompromising opponent of the South African Government's policy of apartheid, and was a believer, like his father, in the efficacy of passive resistance and fasting as a means of protest.

Born at Porbandar, in Western India, he went to South Africa in 1897 with his brother Ramdas, and settled in the Indian community at Phoenix, Natal, which had been established by his father in 1901. He became editor of the weekly newspaper "Indian Opinion" and a leader of his fellow-Indians in the Union. In April, 1951, immediately after the Group Areas Act, setting aside separate areas for different racial groups, came into force he conducted a 14-day fast, declaring that its purpose was "to purify my body, mind and soul. Having survived this, I shall in the name of God defy the Government's apartheid policy by committing a breach of it, and shall submit without the slighest protest to the penalty." Several technical breaches of the law followed, but not at that time any penalties, since the authorities did not take action. In February, 1953, however, he was found guilty of behaving in a manner calculated to cause Africans to break the law after taking part in a procession into the Germiston African location. He was sentenced to 50 days imprisonment.

He travelled as a journalist to Britain, America, and elsewhere and visited India on several occasions in order to be with the Mahatma during his fasts. He was married and had three children.

—o—

—MANCHESTER GUARDIAN April 6.

Manilal Gandhi, son of the late Mahatma Gandhi, died at his home near Durban, in Natal, yesterday. He had been ill for some time. Mr. Gandhi, who was 64, was editor of the Durban newspaper "Indian Opinion" and an active opponent of the South African Government's racial segregation policy.

Mr. Henry Polak writes:

The news of Manilal Gandhi's death was a shock, though not altogether surprising. His breakdown last December was sudden and serious, but our latest news was that he was recovering and was expected home from hospital immediately. We had known him since his boyhood when my wife and I were living in Johannesburg with the Gandhi family in 1905. He grew up in the mids of the Indian passive resistance struggle led by his father, and received his education and technical training mainly at the simple life settlement established by Mahatma Gandhi at Phoenix in Natal, and later at Tolstoy Farm in the Transvaal.

He was Gandhi's second son. Unlike his elder brother, who broke away from his father at an early age, he continued under the latter's guidance, and of Gandhi's four sons, of whom the youngest is Devadas Gandhi, the editor of the "Hindustan Times," he was closest to his father in his way of thought and political activities.

In 1917 he succeeded me as editor of the weekly paper "Indian Opinion," which his father had helped to found in 1903 and for years had financially supported. From that time Manilal spent all his time and energy in promoting the cause of the South African Indian community. He had prison experience on their behalf and was in close touch not only with Indian merchants, traders, and professional men, but also with the workers and those engaged in handicrafts. He sought suffering for the sake of their welfare and to secure the removal of the political, social, and economic disabilities under which they laboured, and he did his best to further friendly relations between the Asians and Africans. He will long be held in high regard by the non-whites and by many European Liberals in South Africa, not only as his father's son but in his own right.

—o—

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, April 6.

Manilal Mohandas Gandhi, sixty-four, son of the late Indian political leader, died at his home in Phoenix, Natal, on Thursday, April 6 after a long illness.

Mr. Gandhi strikingly resembled his father, the late Mohandas K. Gandhi in both appearance and political philosophy. Like his father, he was modest and deeply religious. And while he had no dreams of attaining his father's fame, he was conscious of the value of his name and used it to publicize his opposition to the segregation policies of the South African government.

An exponent of his fathers's philosophy of passive resistance, Mr. Gandhi repeatedly and deliberately violated South African segregation laws to focus world attention on what he believed to be "unjust" laws. He was jailed several times, most recently in 1953, and each time chose a jail term over a possible fine.

He explained why he chose to fight the apartheid laws of South Africa with these words:

"Life has become intolerable for any self respecting person The government's apartheid policy is creeping like a fiend in every walk of life. The only course I have to choose, if I want to live as a self-respecting person, is to fight against this state of affairs."

Earlier, he had explained his faith in the power of passive resistance in this way:

"It is folly to believe that an unarmed man is helpless. He has more strength than one armed to the teeth, provided he has unshakable faith in the power of God."

Born Porbandar, in the Province of Kathiawar, in India, Mr. Gandhi was taken to South Africa as a child by his father, who was then a comparatively unknown lawyer. He later became the editor of 'Indian Opinior, a weekly founded by his father.

Mr. Gandhi frequently fasted —like his father—to call attention to his opposition to the lot of the non-white population in South Africa. Such fasts lasted from fifteen to twenty-one days.

Although he was not happy in South Africa, he remained there to carry on his campaign against the apartheid policy. "I would be happier in any other country," he said in 1951. "But my duty lies here." Mr. Gandhi leaves his wife, two daughters and a twenty-two-year-old son.—U.P.

—o—

WASHINGTON EVENING STAR, April 6.

Manilal Gandhi, 64-year-old son of Mohandas K. Gandhi, died yesterday at his home in Phoenix Natal South Africa.

Manilal was editor of 'Indian Opinion' a newspaper established in South Africa by his father, who was a leader of Indians in South Africa before returning to his homeland to campaign for independence.

Born at Porbandar, in the province of Kathiawar, Indian, Manilal later settled in South Africa.

Championing the cause of Asiatics and Africans against

South African government, Mr. Gandhi followed his father's passive resistance policy of fasts, prayer and courting arrest. He combated racial segregation laws by refusing to leave the whites-Durban Municipal Library, by waiting for police to remove him from the whites-only railway seats, by sitting downstairs in doubledecker buses when the downstairs was reserved for whites.

Mr. Gandhi's body was cremated six hours after death. He leaves a widow, two daughters and a 22-year-old son.—A.P.

—o—

BALTIMORE SUN
April 6.

Manilal Gandhi, 64-year-old son of Mohandas K. Gandhi, died today at his home in Phoenix, Natal.

.....He fasted for periods of 15 and 21 days.

In company with Patrick Duncan, son of a former governor-general of South Africa, and other Europeans and non Europeans, Gandhi eventually went to jail at the age of 61. He had refused to pay a fine for defying the Government in a demonstration. He seaved 38 days imprisonment.

Last year Gandhi suffered an attack of coronary thrombosis and was an invalid until his death. His body was cremated six hours after death. Gandhi leaves a widow, two daughters and a 22-year-old son.

# Manilal Gandhi As I Knew Him

By Jordan K. Ngubane

I CAME into contact with Manilal Gandhi under circumstances which were far from auspicious. We had just gone through the tragedy of the Afro-Indian riots in 949. Manilal wrote things against the African community which were angrier than wise. I replied in "Inkundla yaBantu," pointing out the inaccuracies in his article. Feelings between the Indian and the African were bitterly inflamed at the time. I did not know him and did not expect him to bother about grasping the inner truth of my reply.

To my surprise I received a personal letter in a clear, small handwriting which I had never seen before. In that letter Manilal was apologising without reservation for the things he had written. It was such a convincing apology that from it dates my years of very close friendship with that very remarkable man.

I have said that Manilal was a remarkable man. He used to tell me that he had never really had formal education. Whenever he said this, in his gentle, smiling manner, I would either dismiss it equally gently as a bit of leg-pulling. But one day I met a man who had been with Mahatma Gandhi throughout the great struggles of that outstanding man in this country. He told me a lot about the Mahatma and his sons. What he said confirmed everything Manilal had often told me.

And yet here was this man who had not seen the doors of a university and who really had had little if any formal education, building one of the most lasting bridges between his fellowmen of all races in exceedingly difficult circumstances.

In the first place all of us belong to our respective racial groups. Very many of us grow up with a distinctive bias against the other groups. I grew up with such a bias myself and had to fight terrible wars with my own soul to shake off that bias. Strange as it sounds, that racial bias is stronger as between African and Indian as between African and European. Consequently it is by far easier for an African to build up a number of lasting friendships with the European—in spite of the fact that he belongs to the ruling caste—than with the Indian. There are, of course, well-known historical reasons for this.

Manilal's father had not been outstandingly sympathetic to the African while in this country. Manilal himself grew up belonging to a generation of Indians which did not understand the new African; which did not appreciate the dynamic forces at work in the mind of the new African. So that when the resistance movement came, Manilal was genuinely doubtful about the African's capacity to make a success of that weapon. And when the African showed that he had mastered at least the fundamentals of satyagraha we all witnessed a blossoming into visible splendour of the most outstanding quality Manilal Gandhi had — his indomitable courage.

He rose up, gave up the simple comfort of his Phoenix home and decided to go to jail with African resisters. To me that was an act of unparalleled courage. Gandhi, a prominent Indian, going to jail, after he had poured scorn on the African? The high and the mighty in the Indian community would not look at him. He lost friends elsewhere and people who had prided themselves on being his friends or his father's friends would not set their eyes on him.

I know it for a fact that Manilal was persecuted for his "treachery" to the Indian people or for doing the thing which was below his dignity—to go to jail with the kaffirs. And when he returned from jail he was a man to whom the truth had been revealed in richer light. I had many earnest discussions with him on the freedom struggle and one thing that struck me most about him was that he was not bitter about his traducers. He was grieved they were in error but prayed and worked unceasingly to enable them to see the truth in better light.

The finest in the human race have, right down the centuries, had so much love for their fellowmen that even when stoned or crucified they have died saying, with Jolobe: "Thou art great, O Man." Manilal did that.

Centuries of tradition have made the Zulu regard courage as the supreme virtue. I am a Zulu-speaking African myself. But when confronted with the unshakeable moral and physical courage of that gentle little man, I almost quaked before him.

The next thing I shall remember about Manilal to the end of my days was his gentleness. I come of a race of warriors and gentleness is not one of my virtues. But Manilal had a gentleness which religious mystics would call sweet. You either loved Manilal or had nothing to do with him. And one of the things which bound you to him was his very gentle personality.

Up to now I have written of Manilal as a public man; as a colleague and co-fighter in the freedom struggle. To me personally he was also a friend and Manilal was quite serious about friendship. For reasons which everybody knows, the African leads a life of poverty. We are born into it; develop in spite of it and die in it. As a result, if I go to the home of a European friend or Indian friend I cannot hope to reciprocate their hospitality in my shack. I know very many people might misunderstand the African here. But the facts of history and economics are there for all.

Consequently the African tends to be a little touchy about the other people's response to his meagre reciprocation of their hospitality. I am not a rich man; I have no desire whatsoever to be a rich man, but when Manilal came into my house you would think he was walking into a royal palace—such was his respect for the dignity and personality of his fellowmen, and he could respect them because he was a fully developed man.

And when you were friends with him, what he had you could share. I remember a little incident which revealed the character of this gentle man and his remarkable wife, Sushila. He was making preparations for going to jail and I was helping with the editorial side. I got to the Press one day wet to the skin. He refused absolutely to allow me to do any work before I had had something hot. We went to the house. [redacted] and put on Arun's clothes. Fortunately for me I was drying up quickly and rushing to town.

Arun, their son, is a tall and brawny young man with a figure nearly twice my size. I laughed at the idea of seeing myself in his clothes in town. This is a small incident which will mean nothing to the outside world. But to us in South Africa, where you cannot sit on a bench used by Europeans, where you cannot have a meal in an Indian restaurant in a city like Durban if you are an African, that little incident means such a lot.

Over the years I learnt to respect his integrity and his being a good human being. There were very many things on which we saw the truth differently. But it was an inspiring experience to have a difference of opinion with Manilal. He did make errors of judgment like other men, but he had the courage to admit his error.

## Our Next Issue

**AS a mark of respect to our late Editor, Mr. Manilal and also to get the peace of mind after this trying ordeal as well as to give us time to straighten matters in our press, we take the liberty of stopping the issue which would have been published under normal circumstances on the 27th April. Our next issue will be published on the 4th of May, in which we will publish those tributes and messages which arrived too late for this issue.**

But to me the greatest loss I have suffered, and with me the whole of South Africa, is that when he died he was thinking of changing "Indian Opinion" into a weekly presenting the South African and not just the Indian viewpoint. He was courageous in facing the truth and that made it possible for those who wrote in his paper to face the truth fearlessly.

Even at the time of his death "Indian Opinion" was an effective bridge linking the races. That really was one of his most striking contributions to race harmony.

He leaves the Indian community with a major responsibility. Are they going to let the great experiment he had tried out die for lack of support and by so doing confirm Strydom's thesis that they are not good South Africans? Or will they allow nothing to come in between the success of Manilal's plans for "Indian Opinion"? For, in both fact and practice, "Indian Opinion" and the ideals it stands for are actually the Indian community's finest contribution towards building the South African nation.

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones?

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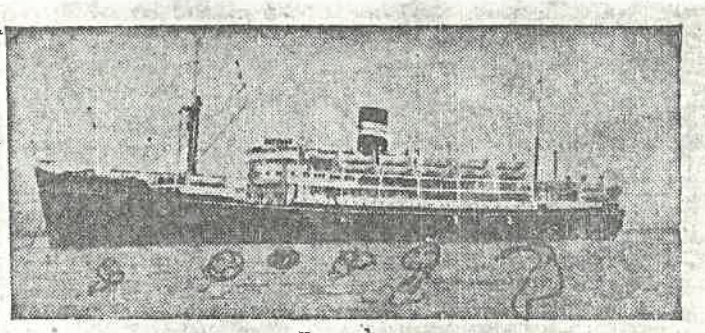
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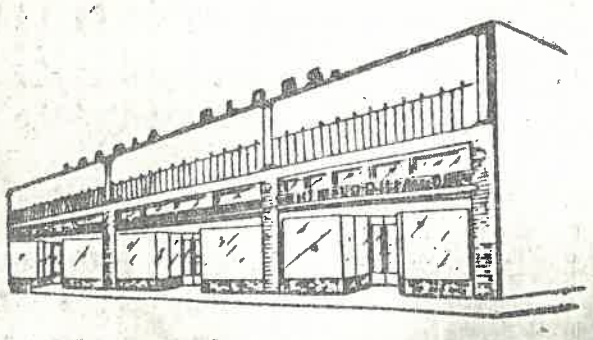
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| ઝેર તો પીધાં છે જાણી જાણી | ૧ | ૧ |
| સાગર કથા | ૮ | ૧ |
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'Indian Opinion', Private Bag, Durban.

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## માસ્ટર બ્રધર્સ (પ્રો.) લીમીટેડ

૩૩ વેસ્ટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

ઓફસ ૧૫૪૯.


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**'INDIAN OPINION', P. Bag Durban.**

# The Final Rites

By Arun Gandhi

AS stated elsewhere in this issue, Mr. Manilal Gandhi passed on at 10.45 a.m. on Thursday, 5th April.

Shortly before he died I was sent to fetch the doctor. When I got back about ten minutes later he had expired; the body was still warm, His skin was always tender and smooth to the touch and naturally beautiful. He lay in his usual sleeping posture on the high hospital bed, his head resting on the pillow. My mother and sister together with some of the staff, stood near him, silently sobbing. I knew I was oo late. His lips were tightly sealed and his eyes closed in eternal repose.

As the news spread in Durban many friends began to pour in.

We kept vigil until the time of the funeral: which was arranged for the same day after much controversy. So serene was the face and so mellow the halo of the div.ne light that was kept near the head that is seemed almost sacriligious to grieve or to fear death. Hymns were sung and prayers chanted during that time.

The moment to bathe the body in accordance with the religious rites, was unbearably poignant, but it had to be done. With the help of a few intimate friends and relatives we carried father off the bed and laid him on a mat on the floor with the head towards the north. Whilst undressing him the memories of my association with him flashed through my mind, and I could contain myself no longer. Those knees, those hands, with the fingers in characersitic pose, those feet were all there intact. How difficult it was to resist the thought to have the body embalmed. But I knew it was absurd to think in that manner. At the completion of the religious rites he was dressed in a khadi loin cloth and a khadi shirt with a white "Gandhi" cap. We laid him on a white khadi sheet and decorated the surroundings with flowers and religious lamps, Thereafter the singing of hymns and the chanting of prayers was resumed.

Several people of all nationalities from far and near came to pay their last respects to the departed soul.

The hearse arrived at 4 p.m. Father was placed in the coffin and brought out into the yard to give the African neighbours who had congregated outside, an opportunity to pay their homage. A prayer was said before the funeral procession began. A convoy of approximately 50 cars followed the hearse which was led by two traffic policemen on motor cylces.

We reached the Cato Manor Crematorium at precisely 5.40 p.m. to find a big crowd gathered there, despite the sudden notice of the funeral which people expected would be held the following day.

Before entering the precincts of the Crematorium two cocoanuts were offered and a short prayer was said both inside and out. After the prayers inside many prominent personalities of all communities paid their tribute and prayed that the departed soul may rest in peace.

Prior to the cremation Ghee was poured into the coffin and chips of sandle wood was put on top of the ignited camphor which was placed on father's chest. During this ceremony I had to summon all my energy to keep courage and avoid breaking down and weeping. Even to this day when the sight fleets past my mind's eye it becomes difficult to restrain the flow of tears. When the coffin was wheeled into the furnace I had to turn away as I could bear it no longer. We were called the net morning to collect the ashes. A short ceremony, when milk was offered preceded. The ashes were taken to the Blue Lagoon and were immersed into the sea, close to the place where the ashes of Mahatmaji were immersed eight years back.

Everyday for thirteen days prayers for peace to the departed soul were laid in the morning and evening in which several friends and neighbours participated. These prayers are still continued and will be continued for ever more.

# Memorial Service

## Eleventh Day Ceremony In Respect To Manilal Gandhi

ON the Thursday morning following Easter Day, April 5th, Manilal Gandhi breathed his last. Each evening for the ten days following, a little company of his friends joined his family in their evening prayers. On Friday the 13th the heavens opened, the rain poured down filling waterways with rushing streams, symbol of the spiritual blessings to descend ere long. Sunday dawned with voscate sky; the earth washed clean and refreshed by the recent rain; a guille breeze stirred the tree.

It was a company of personal friends that gathered at 10 a.m. in the place which, less than 2 years before had been chosen for the opening ceremonies of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Phoenix Settlement.

The proceeedings opened with recorded songs and chants. Then followed Muslim invocations and prayers in Parsi. A reading was given in English from the 12th chapter of the Bhagavad Gita, as on the day of the Memorial Service to Bapuji (Mahatma Gandhi).

Next the students from Ohlange Institute sang in Zulu and by request rendered in tones never to be forgotten a second hymn, with all the moving grace befitting such an occasion.

Prayers in Gujarati followed and girls' voices were heard in song.

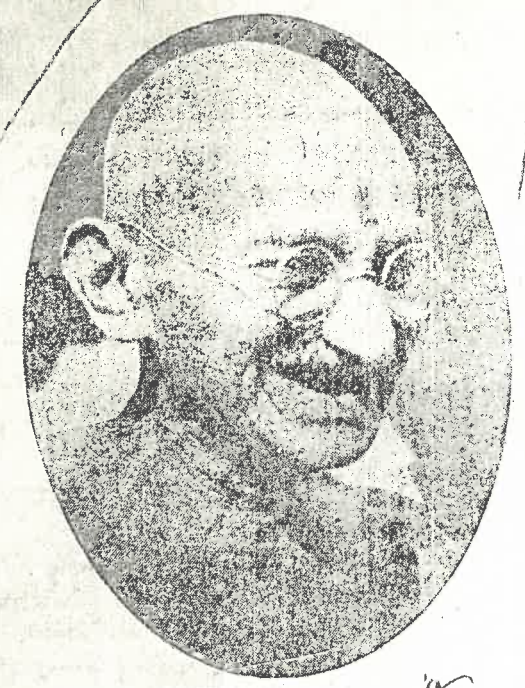
Tamil and Hindi were other languages used. A choir of students from Inanda Seminary gave expression to the beautiful hymns, "Abide With Me" in English. Gujarati girl voices were heard again and then Mr. Sorabji Rustomjee, speaking in English, addressed the gathering. The gist of what he said is as follows: "We are met here to pray for a beloved friend who has passed on. The presence of representatives of all races go to show with what great affection Manilal Gandhi was held by the people living on the Settlement and in the neighbourhood. We are conscious that the spirit of Bapuji and the spirit of his beloved wife Kasturba are here with us and by and by the presence of the spirit of Manilal too will help us. They have left us an inheritance of eternal value; may we never fail to remember this and seize the opportunity offered to carry on in the same lofty spirit.

"Bapuji moulded himself here in South Africa and brought salvation to our dear mother-country, India. Let us emulate the standard set by him and follow in the way he has led.

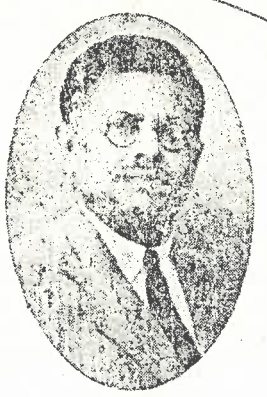
"I am here to thank you on behalf of his widow, son and daughters. They have asked me to express their thanks to one and all. You have shown by your presence your love. Let this be not a passing expression but prove to be a love that endures. We have united here, people of different races, bound together by a common purpose. May we be as a strong rope formed of strands from the different communities, representing all races and holding them together in one.

"And here I would like to strike a personal note: Mahatma Gandhi, with his sons, and my father Parsee Rustomjee with his sons, Jalbhoy and myself have lived together as brothers. Now may the third generation continue in the same way following all that is good in the lives of Gandhiji, Kasturba and Manilalbhai."

After the speech of Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee all present stood for closing prayers in Gujarati. Gandhiji's favourite hymn "Lead Kindly Light" was sung with deep feeling by the Inanda Seminary Choir.



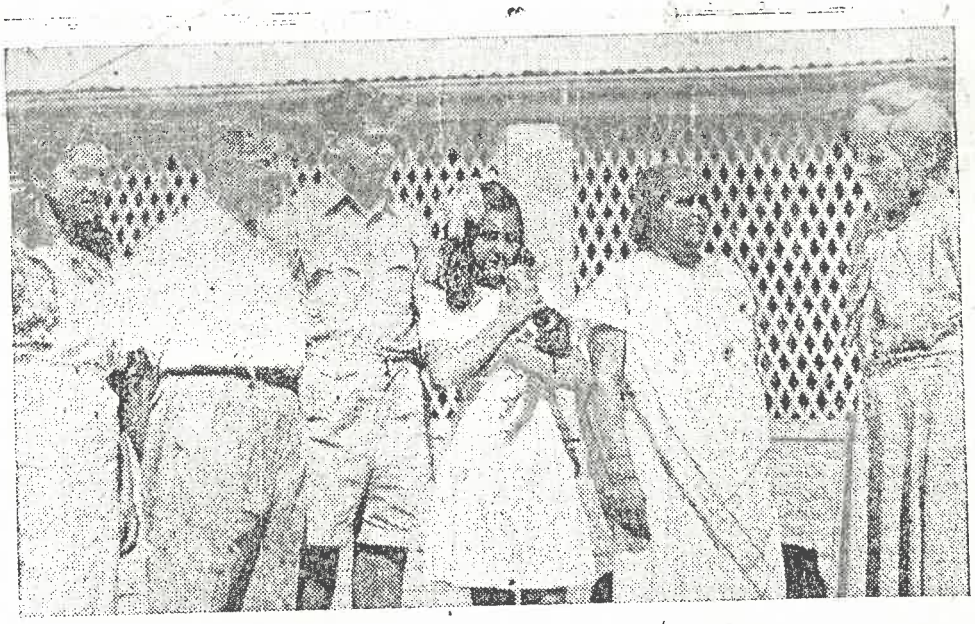
MAHATMA GANDHI



LATE. MANILAL GANDHI
(Second Son)



KASTURBA GANDHI



LATE. MANILAL GANDHI AND FAMILY WITH MISS MURIEL LESTER
સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી અને તેમનું કુટુંબ, મીસ મ્યુરીઅલ લેસ્ટર સાથે



MR. RAMDAS GANDHI
(Third Son)



LATE. MR. HARILAL GANDHI
(Eldest Son)



MR. DEVADAS GANDHI
(Youngest Son)

# પ્રકાશકની નોંધ

ભૂતકાળમાં અમે ઘણા સ્મારક અંકો અને ખાસ અંકો અમારા તંત્રી સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીના સંચાલન નીચે પ્રસિદ્ધ કર્યા છે. આજે અણધાર્યા સંજોગોમાં એ ભાર અમારી ઉપર આવી પડયો છે. અમારા સ્વર્ગસ્થ તંત્રી માટે અમારા દીલમાં જે માન છે તે દર્શાવવા માટે અમને શબ્દો જડતા નથી. છતાં અમે જેવા એમને પીછાણ્યા છે તેની ઝાંખી કરાવવા આ અંક "સ્મારક અંક" તરીકે પ્રસિદ્ધ કરી આમજનતા સમક્ષ ધરીએ છીએ.

જ્યારથી મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીએ–૧૯૦૩થી—'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિઅન' પત્રની સ્થાપના કરી ત્યારથી જ સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીનો સંબંધ તેની સાથે સંકળાયેલો રહ્યો હતો. મહાત્મા ગાંધીજી આ સંસ્થા–ફીનીકસ સેટલમેન્ટ—અને—'ઇન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન'ના જન્મદાતા હતા, પણ પોતાના ત્યાગ અને પુરૂષાર્થથી તેને ઉછેરી તેનો દીપ જલતો રાખનાર તો અમારા તંત્રી સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી હતા. દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની કચડાયેલી પ્રજાપરના જુલ્મો સામે પોકાર કરનાર એમનો અવાજ હમેશાં સંભળાતો રહ્યો હતો.

૧૯૧૮માં સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી આ પત્ર 'ઇન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન'ના અધિપતી નીમાયા હતા. એમનો માર્ગ ઘણો કપરો હતો, એમનું આખું જીવન આ દેશના એમના કચડાયલા ભાઇ–બેનો માટે અર્પણ થએલું હતું. તેઓ ગાંધીજીના શિક્ષણ અનુસાર પોતાનું જીવન વીતાડવા અથાગ પ્રયત્ન કરનારા હતા. અને તેથી જ તેમને આદર્શજીવન જીવવા માટે ઘણાં સંકટોનો સામનો કરવો પડયો હતો. છતાં પણ પસંદ કરેલા માર્ગથી તેઓ કદી ચલીત નથી થયા. ઘણીવાર તેઓને પોતાના મિત્રો અને સહકાર્યકરોનો સાથ ગુમાવવો પડયો હતો છતાં પણ તેઓ પોતાના માર્ગે નિડરતાથી ધીમે ધીમે એકલા જ આગળ વધતા રહ્યા હતા. કારણ તેઓ જાણતા હતા કે, તેમનો માર્ગ સત્યનો છે. આપણા બધાનાં જીવનમાં કયારેક નિરાશાનાં વાદળો ઘેરાય છે તેવી રીતે તેમનાં જીવનમાં પણ બનતું, અને તેઓ નિરાશ થતા. એમના નિરાભિમાન સ્વભાવને લઇ તેઓ હમેશાં એમ વિચારતા કે તેઓના પોતામાંજ કાંઇક ખામી છે, કે જેથી તેઓ પોતાનાં ભાઇ–બેનોને સાચે માર્ગે વાળી નથી શકતા અને તેમની જોઇએ તેટલી સેવા પોતે કરી નથી શકતા. પણ આપણે જાણીએ છીએ કે તેઓએ બીજા માટે જીવી પોતાનું જીવન ઉજવળ કર્યું છે. દુનીયામાં 'ઇન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન' અને ફીનીકસ સંસ્થાના નામને ઉજવળ કરનાર તેઓ જ છે. 'ઇન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન' દુનીયાના દરેક ભાગમાં વંચાય છે અને તેનાથી દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના કચડાયલા ગોરાઓનું રૂદન દુનીયાને કાને પડે છે. સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીની મહેનતને પરિણામે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકામાં અને તેની બહારના જગતના ખુણે ખુણાઓમાંથી આપણને ઘણા મિત્રો મળ્યા છે કે જેઓ આપણે માટે કશુંક કરવાના કોડ સેવે છે. ફીનીકસ સંસ્થામાં મિત્રોના સહકારથી એક સુંદર શાળા પોતાનાં સ્વર્ગસ્થ પૂજ્ય માતુશ્રીના સ્મરણાર્થે બાંધી ફીનીકસનું નામ વધારે દિપાવી પોતાના પૂજ્ય પિતાશ્રીના સ્વપ્નને મૂર્તિમંત તેઓએ બનાવ્યું છે.

બધા મહાન પુરૂષોની જેમ તેઓને પણ મરણ પામ્યા ત્યાં સુધી પોતે જોઈએ તેટલી સેવા નથી કરી શકયા એવો અસંતોષ રહ્યો હતો. પણ આજે જ્યારે તેમના અવસાનના ખબર બધે ફેલાયા ત્યારે પછી દુનીયાના ખુણે ખુણામાંથી જે દિલાસાના સંદેશા તેમના કુંટુબીઓને મળે છે તે બતાવે છે કે, તેઓનો અવાજ કયાં સુધી પહોંચેલો છે. પિતાશ્રીના આદર્શો માટે અને માનવ હકકો મેળવવા માટે તેમણે પોતાનું જીવન વિતાવ્યું હતું. તેઓ એક મહાન પિતાના મહાન પુત્ર હતા અને અમને ખાત્રી છે કે ઈશ્વરના દરબારમાં તેઓના આત્મા એક થયા છે.

અમે જેઓએ એમની નીચે અને એમની સાથે કામ કર્યું છે તેઓને માટે આવે વખતે વધુ શું કહી શકીએ? તેમણે નોકર અને શેઠ જેવો સંબંધ કદી રાખ્યો જ નહોતો. તેઓ બધાને માટે એક વડીલ હતા અને આજે તેમને ખોતાં તેમનાં કુટુંબીઓનાં જેટલું જ દુઃખ અમે પણ અનુભવીએ છીએ. જેમ એમના મહાન પિતા એક રાષ્ટ્રના મહાન પિતા હતા તેવી રીતે તેઓ પણ અમારી આ સંસ્થાના પિતા હતા. તેઓ નાના બાળકો સાથે નાના થતા, અને મોટા માણસો સાથે મોટા થતા. એમનો પ્રેમ સમાનપણે બધાની ઉપર વર્ષતો હતો. અમે જાણીએ છીએ કે એમના વગર ફકત અમારા ઉપર જ અંધકાર નથી છવાયો, માનવું ઘણું અઘરૂં છે કે હવે કોઈ દિવસ પણ અમે તેમને જોઇશું નહીં અથવા તેમનો અવાજ સાંભળશું નહીં, એમનો આત્મા હમેશાં અમારો માર્ગ દર્શક રહેશે જ છતાં માનવ હૃદય શારીરિક દર્શન માટે તડપે છે. "પ્રેમળ જ્યોતિ તારો દાખવી" એ એમનું ઘણું પ્રિય ભજન હતું. અને અંત સુધી તેઓ તે પ્રકાશ વડે જ જીવનના માર્ગે આગળ વધતા રહ્યા હતા. હવે તેઓ એકલા નથી ચાલતા તેઓની ઉષા હવે એવે સ્થળે પ્રગટી છે કે, જ્યાં તેઓના પ્રિયજનો સાથે તેઓનો આત્મા ભળી જઇ શાંતી પામ્યો છે.

આ અંકમાં અમે અમારા એ પ્રિયજનને અંજલી આપવાનો પ્રયત્ન કર્યો છે. ગાંધીજીનાં મૃત્યુ વિશેના નીચેના શબ્દોથી અમે તથા એમના મૃત્યુથી દુઃખી થતા સ્વજનો આશ્વાસન લઇએ છીએ. ગાંધીજીએ કહ્યું હતું કે "આપણે જે પાછળ રહેનારા છીએ એમને જો પોતાના સ્વર્ગસ્થ થએલા પ્રિયજનોનું સ્મારક કરવું હોય તો તેમનાં જીવનના આદર્શો પોતાનામાં ઉતારવા. જો તેઓ આપણને જોઇ શકતા હોય તો તેઓ એ જોઇને ઘણા રાજી થાય કે આપણે તેઓના આદર્શોને આપણા જીવનમાં ઉતાર્યા છે."

# અંગત આભાર

મારા પ્રિય પતિ સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીની લાંબી માંદગી દરમીયાન અનેક સ્વજનોએ આ દુર દેશાવરમાં કુટુમ્બીઓની ખોટ પુરી પાડી માગ્યા વગર બધી જરૂરીયાતો અને સગવડો પુરી પાડી હતી, તેનો હું આ સ્થળે આભાર ન માનું તો નગુણી ગણાઉં. આ બધા મિત્રો કુટુંબના સભ્યો જેવા જ છે. તેથી તેમનાં નામોનો ઉલ્લેખ કરી તેઓના પ્રેમભર્યા સાથથી મારૂં દુઃખ હું કેટલું હળવું કરી શકી છું તે માટે મારા હૃદયની લાગણી વ્યકત નથી કરી શકતી, છતાં હું મારા અંતરનો આભાર સ્વીકારવા તેઓને અરજ કરૂં છું. આજે અફસોસ એજ છે કે તેમની બધાની આટલી બધી પ્રેમભરી માવજત છતાં આજે હું તેમને ગુમાવી જાણે સર્વસ્વ હારી બેઠી છું. દીલના એક ખુણામાં આશાની ચીનગારી છે કે પુ. બાપુનો આત્મા અને મારા પ્રિય પતિનો આત્મા મને અને અમારા બાળકોને માર્ગદર્શન કરાવશે અને સત્યને માર્ગે જવા બળ આપશે.

આજ ઠેકાણે હું ડો. ટેલરનો અને મેકેઈ હોસ્પીટલના સ્ટાફનો તથા બધી નર્સોનો: તેઓએ જે આદર અને પ્રેમથી અનેક સગવડો અમને આપી પ્રેમ ભરી સેવા કરી છે તેમનો હૃદય પુર્વક આભાર માનું છું. ડો. ટેલરના રજાપર ગયા પછી તેમના અનુગામી ડો. ક્રીસ્ટોફર્સે પણ તે સહયોગ ચાલુ રાખ્યો હતો તે માટે તેમનો પણ આ સ્થળે આભાર માનું છું.

મારા આ દુઃખના વખતમાં અનેક ભાઈ બેનોએ જાતે મળીને અથવા તાર, ટેલીફોન, કે પત્રદ્વારા તેમજ અનેક સંસ્થાઓએ અમને જે આશ્વાસનો અને પ્રેમ અર્પ્યો છે—જે દુનીયાને ખુણે ખુણેથી અમારા પર વર્ષ્યો છે—અને જેનાથી અમે અમારૂં દુઃખ સહ્ય કરી શકયાં છીએ તે સર્વેનો હું આભાર માનું છું.

અંતમાં મારા પતિની આ લાંબી માંદગી દરમીયાન મારે માથે આવી પડેલો 'ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન'નો બોજો, જો મિત્રોએ મદદનો હાથ ન લંબાવ્યો હોત તો તે ચલાવવું લગભગ અશકય થાત તેથી જેઓએ મને આર્થીક અને સક્રિય મદદ કરી છે તેમનો સર્વેનો આભાર પણ આ સ્થળે હું માની લઉં છું.

ઘણા મિત્રો અને શુભેચ્છકો પુછે છે કે અમે 'ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન' ચાલુ રાખીએ. પણ આજે મારી કે મારા પુત્ર અરૂણ ગાંધીની મનઃસ્થીતી એવી નથી કે હમણાં અમારો અથવા સંસ્થાનો કે 'ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન'નો ભાવી માર્ગ અમે અને સંસ્થાના ટ્રસ્ટીઓ સાથે મળી ઘડી શકીએ. એટલે હાલ તો એટલું જ કહી શકાય કે જ્યાં સુધી અમે કશા પણ નિર્ણય પર આવીએ ત્યાં સુધી એ નિકળે છે તેમ પ્રસિદ્ધ થયા કરશે. હાલ તો મારા મનમાં એક કાવ્ય ઉદ્‌ભવ્યા કરે છે.

"નેહ લગાય ત્યાગી ગયે
તૃષ્ણ વત,
ડારી ગયે ગલ ફાંસી."

તેમ એમના પિતાશ્રીના અને એમનાં કાર્યનો આજે તો હું માથે બોજ અનુભવી રહી છું. તે બાપુજીના પૂણ્યે કુસુમવત બનો એમ ઇચ્છું છું.

—સુશીલા ગાંધી.

# મણીલાલ ગાંધી

(પેટીક ડંકન)

આ પણા રાજકીય ક્ષેત્રમાં મણીલાલ ગાંધીનાં અવસાનથી એક વિશ્વાસુ, નમ્ર અને સાચો સેવક અલગ થયો છે.

આપણી આ લડત જેને વ્યકતીગત નહીં પણ જાહેર સામુદાયક રીતે લડવા ની જરૂર છે એ બતાવવા આ જડવાદી દેશને આધ્યાત્મીક શકતીની જરૂર હતી કે જેથી તે સ્વર્ગીય દિવ્ય તેજમાં પ્રકાશીત થાય. આ આપણને તેઓએ બતાવ્યું છે.



શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધી, પેટીક ડંકન સાથે ૧૯૫૨ માં જર્મીસ્ટનના સત્યાગ્રહ વખતે

અને જો આપણો દેશ નિરાધાર બન્યો હોય તો જાતિના ધમંડને દુર કરવાની આપણી લડતનો એક સારા માં સારો લડનૈયો જવાથી એ લડત કેટલી બધી નિરાધાર બની હશે?

દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકામાં હું હંમેશાં તેમના પિતાશ્રીના આદર્શોના એક પ્રચારક તરીકે તેમને જોતો હતો. આ જમાના નાં સૌથી મહાન પુરૂષ મહાત્મા ગાંધીજી ઘણી રીતે સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના હતા. આ દેશમાં સત્યાગ્રહની શોધ થયેલી છે જેથી દુનીયાના ઈતિહાસમાં એ માટે આપણા આ દેશનું પણ એક પાનું અવશ્ય લખાશે અને જ્યારે બાપુજીને વધુ મોટી લડતે અહીંથી ખેંચી લીધા ત્યારે આ દેશથી તેઓ છુટા નહોતા થઈ શકતા જેથી મણીલાલને તેમણે તેમના પ્રતિનિધિ તરીકે પસંદ કરેલા અને મણીલાલે આ કામ પ્રમાણીકપણે કર્યું જ છે.

જો આપણને સાર્વજનિક રીતે મારે ખોટ ગઈ છે તો પણ મને લાગે છે કે ખાનગી રીતે પણ વિશેષ ખોટ ગઈ છે. જ્યારથી હું એમ માનતો થયો કે હીંદે જે રસ્તો લીધો છે તેજ આપણા દેશને પણ લેવો જોઈએ ત્યારથી મેં મણીલાલ સાથે સંબંધ બાંધ્યો હતો, એ એક સારા માર્ગદર્શક અને પ્રવાસમાં સન્મીત્ર હતા. જે લોકો દયાજનક હતા તેમના માટે એમને પ્રેમ હતો. (આ વર્ષમાં તો આપણી હાલની સરકાર જ છે) એમની સુક્ષ્મ બુદ્ધિ અને વિનોદી સ્વભાવને લીધે એમને ઓળખવા એ એક સદ્‌ભાગ્ય જ હતું.

એમણે વેઠેલી જેલની મુશીબતો અને સત્યાગ્રહના અનુભવને લીધે એઓ એક કીંમતી માર્ગદર્શક હતા. ૧૯૫૬ ના સત્યાગ્રહની ઝુંબેશના મુકદમામાં એમના સાત સાથીઓ સાથે એમનો કેટલીક બાબતમાં મતભેદ હતો. પણ એ બધામાં હવે મને ખાતરી થઈ છે કે એઓ સાચા હતા અને અમારી જ ભૂલ હતી.

એમનું નિરાભિમાન અને નિઃસ્વાર્થ પણું અમે જ્યારે સત્યાગ્રહ વખતે સાથે થયા હતા ત્યારે જણાઈ આવ્યું હતું, અને જ્યારે ૧૯૫૧ માં ક્લેમ્ફન્ટીનની આફ્રિકન નેશનલ કોંગ્રેસમાં એઓ એકલા ગયેલા ત્યારે પણ જણાયું હતું. ક્લેમ્ફન્ટીન એ હીંદીઓ માટે પ્રતિબંધિત પ્રદેશ છે. હું એમને લેવા મોડરપોર્ટના સ્ટેશનપર ગયો હતો ત્યાં મેં જે દ્રશ્ય જોયેલું તે હું કદી ભૂલીશ નહીં, તે એ કે ત્યાં ઉચ્ચ અને કદાવર ઝુલુ તથા ગોરા સીપાઈઓની ખાસ ટુકડી સરકારે એમની પાછળ રાખી હતી, એઓ તેમની સમીપે એક નાની વ્યકિત દેખાતા હતા પોલીસો જ્યારે અમે બંને જ વાતો કરીએ છીએ એ સાંભળવા એમની નજીક આવ્યા ત્યારે મને જેટલી રમુજ ઉપજેલી તેટલી જ તેમને પણ ઉપજી હતી.

એમનું કર્મમયનું અવસાન આપણે બધાને એમના કુટુંબને, મિત્રોને, દેશને અનાથ બનાવી દેશે. મેં કોઈ દિવસ નથી આપી એવી આ એક વધુમાં વધુ દુઃખકર વિદાય છે!

## દીપક બુઝાઈ ગયો!

સાવધાન!
ઘનઘોર બની આ દિશા શાને?
વાયુ સુસવાતો આ કર ટાણે?
વિજળીના ઝબકારા શા આકાશે?
પ્રલયકારી આ તાંડવ કોના કાજે?

* *

થંભી...જા...! સા...વ...ધ!!
ધીરે ધીરે શાંતિ પ્રસરે છે.
વાયુ જુઓ મંદ લહરે છે.
આકાશ આ સ્વચ્છ જણાય છે.
તોફાન બધું ત્યાં શમી જાય છે.
બુઝાતો દીપક!
જોને ફરી કેવો પ્રકાશી રહ્યો છે!
જાણે ફરી અજવાળી વિશ્વ દેવા!

* *

વળી આ ઘોર નાદ શાને?
અરે! આ પવનની ઝપાટ શાને?

* *

હા, ગયો એ દીપ હોલવાઈ,
મૂકી જ્યોત રેખા પાછળ જઈ!
ક્ષણ મહીં આ, શાં રે બનાવ બન્યો,
મોહન મણિ, આ ઝાંખો પડી ગયો!

—કરસનદાસ પ્રજાપતિ.

# દિલસોજીના સંદેશાઓ

## વ્હાલા મિત્રને વિદાય !

### ડો. આર્થર, હબલ્યુ. બ્લેકસ્ટોલ

(સા. આ.ના ફેલોશીપ ઓફ રીકોનસીલીએશનના પ્રમુખ)

મણીલાલ ગાંધી વિશે આમ કહેવું યોગ્ય છે કે, "જે લોકો સારા દિલના હોય છે તેમને ભગવાન નીભાવે છે." સ્વર્ગસ્થ કોઇ પણ હાલત માં જે ચીજને ખોટી ગણતા તેનો બધાને ભોગે વિરોધ કરવામાં ડરતા ન હતા.

જુવાનીમાં એમના પિતાશ્રીના સહવાસથી અને તેમણે કરેલી લડતોમાં ભાગ લઇને અનુભવો મેળવ્યા હતા, આથી તેઓ કસાયલા લડવૈયા હતા. તેમના પિતાશ્રી પાસેથી મળેલી હીંમત તેઓએ કદી ગુમાવી નહોતી. પણ છેલ્લાં થોડાંક વર્ષો થયાં તેઓ નિરાશા સેવતા જણાયા હતા. મણીલાલ ગાંધીએ જાહેરમાં પોતાના સાથીઓની ટીકા નહોતી કરી તેમ છતાં તેઓ દિલમાં ઘણાજ દુઃખી થતા હતા કે, એમના સાથીઓ પુર્ણપણે વિરોધ કરતાં ડરતા હતા. તેઓ પોતાના નજીકના મિત્ર સાથે પણ સહમત ન થાય તો પોતાનો વિરોધ તેમને જણાવી દેવામાં અચકાતા નહોતા. મારી સાથે પણ ઘણીવાર ચર્ચા કરતાં તેઓએ મને કહ્યું હતું કે, "તમે આવી રીતે કેમ વિચાર કરી શકો છો ?" હું પોતે બ્રિટીશ હોવાથી મારી એવી વૃત્તિ રહે છે કે કોઇ પણ જાતની સુલેહનો સંભવ હોય તો તેને જતી કરવી નહીં. પણ સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી આ મતને હંમેશાં વખોડતા. કોઇ દિવસ પણ હવે હું એ ધીરા, મીઠા છતાં મકકમતા ભરેલો અવાજ સાંભળી નહીં શકું. પણ જ્યાં સુધી મારી હૈયાતી છે ત્યાં સુધી તેમનો આત્મા મારી સાથે છે. જ્યારે પણ મારી સામે નિર્ણય લેવાનો સવાલ ઉભો થશે ત્યારે મને સૌથી પહેલા એ વિચાર આવશે કે "મારી જગાએ મણીલાલ હોત તો શું કરત ?" અને મને ખાત્રી છે કે એનો જવાબ તેઓ જીવતા હતા ત્યારે જેમ ઘણીવાર કહેતા કે "આવી પરિસ્થિતિમાં મારા પિતાશ્રીએ આમ...કર્યું હોત." એવો જ મળશે.

ગયા વરસના જુનમાં મેં એમની સાથે કારમાં છેલ્લી મુસાફરી ડરબન થી કલીપટાઉન સુધીની કરી હતી. ત્યાં કોંગ્રેસની જે પરિષદ ભરાવાની હતી તેને માટે તેઓ વધુ ઉત્સાહ ધરાવતા નહોતા, છતાં મારી સાથે સેંડવીચ ખાતાં ખાતાં કોંગ્રેસના ઘણાં વખાણ કર્યાં હતાં. અમે કોંગ્રેસના અધીવેશનમાંથી નિકળ્યા અને તરત જ સાંભળ્યું કે, કોંગ્રેસપર પોલીસે હુમલો કર્યો. અમે જોહાનીસબર્ગ સાથે જ જઇ રહ્યા હતા. આખો રસ્તો તેઓએ ખેદ દર્શાવ્યા કર્યો કે આપણે અંત સુધી ત્યાં ન રહ્યા, એ ખોટું થયું. જોહાનીસબર્ગ પહોંચતાં અમે જુદા પડ્યા અને હું ચર્ચમાં ગયો. પાછળથી મેં જાણ્યું કે તેઓએ તુરત ડાયરને કલીપટાઉન જવા કહ્યું, એ આશાએ કે કદાચ તેઓનું ત્યાં કામ પડે.

વિદાય ! મારા વ્હાલા મીત્ર તમારો આત્મા આખરે શાંતી પામ્યો છે. તમારા પ્રેમને અમે લાયક થઇએ.

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## મી. એચ. નેટ્રેસ, પ્રિન્સીપલ સુલતાન ટેકનીકલ કોલેજ, ડરબન

સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીના અવસાનના ખબરથી જેઓ તેમને ઓળખતા હતા તેમને સર્વેને ઘણો આઘાત લાગ્યો છે.

અમારા કેળવણીનાં કામમાં તેઓને પોતાને રસ હોવાથી અમારાં કાર્યમાં અમને ઘણો વેગ મળ્યો હતો. તેમના પુત્ર અને પુત્રી અમારી કોલેજમાં ભણ્યાં હતાં. એમનું કેળવણીના કામ માટેનું જ્ઞાન, અને તેઓએ ફીનીકસમાં સ્થાપેલી શાળા, તથા રીવણુકામના ઉઘાડેલા વર્ગો આ બધું જોતાં તેઓએ પોતાના અનુભવોને કાર્યમાં મુકયા હતા. તેમણે શહેરથી દુર સ્મારક તરીકે બાંધેલી શાળા પરથી તેમનું ખરૂં વ્યકતીત્વ આપણે જોઈ શકીએ છીએ.

તેઓ ઘણા આદર્શવાદી હતા અને પોતાનું જીવન નીતીથી ગાળતા, આથી તેમના જવાથી આપણને ખાસ કરી ખોટ જાય છે.

અમને સંતોષ છે કે, એમના પુત્ર કેળવણીનું એમનું સત્કાર્ય એમના પીતાશ્રીએ જે સેટલમેન્ટમાં શરૂ કર્યું હતું ને તેમના દાદા એ સ્થાપ્યું હતું એ ચાલુ રાખશે.

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## લીબરલ પાર્ટી ઓફ સાઉથ આફ્રીકા

'ઇન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિયન'ના સ્મારક અંકમાં સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી વિશે બીજા ઘણા લોકો સંદેશાઓ પાઠવશે તેની સાથે સાઉથ આફ્રીકાની લીબરલ પાર્ટી તરફથી હું પણ મારી અંજલિ મોકલાવું છું. મારો પરિચય મણીલાલ ગાંધી સાથે એમના જીવનના છેલ્લા થોડા વખતથી જ થયો હતો. છેલ્લાં થોડાં વર્ષો તેઓ લીબરલ પક્ષના સભ્ય હતા. એ સમય દરમ્યાન એમના ધ્યેય માટે અને એમના ગુણો માટે મને મનમાં ઘણો આદર હતો. મણીલાલ સાથે મૈત્રી રાખવાથી સામેના માણસને પોતાની તુલના તેમની સાથે કરવાની લાલચ થઇ આવતી. એમનાં જીવન નો આદર્શ ઉંચામાં ઉંચો હતો. અને તે અમારી સામે એમણે મુકયો હતો. એમના ગુણોમાંથી મને એમની હીંમત ઘણી પ્રભાવશાળી જણાઇ હતી. એમની ધીરજ અને શાંતીથી જે માણસ એમને ઓળખતું ન હોય તેમને થોડી પણ ઝાંખી ન થાય કે એ શાંતી પાછળ કેવો ઉકળાટ ભર્યો પડયો છે. એમનાં જીવનમાંથી એમણે પોતાના પિતાશ્રીની જેમ ઝેર અને ભયને દુર કર્યાં હતા. દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા સામે ઝેર અને ભયના દિવસો હવે આવી રહ્યા છે. મણીલાલ આપણી સામે એમાંથી પસાર થવાનો માર્ગ દોરી ગયા છે, આવે વખતે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાને માટે મણીલાલ ગાંધીની ખોટ ઘણીજ જણાશે. આ દેશની લીબરલ પાર્ટીના એકે એક સભ્યને તેઓના અવસાનથી દુઃખ થયું છે.

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## વીલ્ફ્રડ વેલોક, લંડન. એક જાણીતા શાંતીવાદી

તમારા પ્રિય પતિ મણીલાલના અવસાનથી અમને ઘણોજ આઘાત લાગ્યો છે. હું આ પત્રદ્વારા તમારી સાથે તમારા દુઃખમાં સમભાગી બનવાં ઇચ્છું છું. એમની માંદગીના ખબર સાંભળીને મને ઘણીજ ચીંતા થતી હતી. દર અઠવાડીએ એમની ખબર મેળવવા 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન'ની આતુરતાથી હું રાહ જોઇ રહેતો હતો. અમે એ દિવસની વાટ જોતાં હતાં કે તેઓ ફરી સારા થઇ જાય અને અમે અમારાં અભિનંદન પાઠવીએ પણ અમારી એ આશા ફળી નહીં.

૧૯૪૯માં વિશ્વની શાંતિ પરિષદ, જે પૅરીસમાં ભરાઇ હતી ત્યાં તેમની સાથે મારો પરિચય પહેલીવાર થયો હતો. ત્યાં મને તેમની વીરતા અને પ્રેમાળ સ્વભાવને ઓળખવાની તક મળી હતી. મને એ પણ જણાયું કે તેઓ ઘણાજ મકકમ મનના હતા. તે દિવસથી જ મારા મનમાં મણીલાલ પ્રત્યે ઘણોજ ઉંડો પ્રેમ છે. એ પ્રેમના બળથી મારી ઉપર પડેલા કામના બોજાને ઉપાડવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરીશ. તમારા સ્વર્ગસ્થ પતિની મિત્રતાને એક માટું સદ્‌ભાગ્ય સમજું છું. થોડાક વખત માટે તમને તેમની ખોટ ઘણીજ અસહ્ય લાગશે. પણ ધીમે ધીમે તમે અનુભવશો કે તમારા જીવનમાં અને તમારા કાર્યમાં તેઓ આધ્યાત્મિક સાથ આપ્યા કરે છે. એમનો મકકમ અને પ્રેમભર્યો આત્મા કદી તમને દગો નહીં દે.

# મી. ગેલે કરેલી પ્રસંશા

મણીલાલ મારા અંગત મિત્ર હતા. મિત્ર તરીકે જે લોકોએ એમને જોળખ્યા હતા તેઓ એમની ઉદારતા અને નમ્રતાની ભાવના, એમનું અંગત નિરાભીમાનપણું, અને કાર્ય કરવાની શક્તી હંમેશાં યાદ કરશે. એ એક મિત્ર કરતાં વધુ હતા. તેઓ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા કે જે એક દુઃખી કચડાયેલો દેશ છે તેના માનવસમાજને સુધારવા માટે તેઓ હંમેશાં મગ્ન રહેતા.

તેઓની એવી મક્કમ માન્યતા હતી કે ધિક્કારથી નહીં પણ પ્રેમ અને અહિંસાથી જો ઇચ્છવા અને-મનુષ્ય પ્રયત્ન હશે તો જરૂર આ દેશનો પલટો થશે, અને એ વિચારને મૂર્ત સ્વરૂપ આપવા તેઓ સર્વસ્વનો ત્યાગ કરવા હંમેશાં તયાર રહેતા.

આ હેતુથી તેઓ સત્યાગ્રહની લડત માં જોડાયા હતા કે જે તેમનાં જીવન ની છેલ્લી લડત હતી. એમનો કેસ મુલ્તવી રખાયો હતો તે વખતે તેમને ઘણી ચીંતા હતી અને તેઓ પ્રાર્થના કરતા હતા કે અપીલ પાછી ખેંચી લેવાય. જ્યારે અપીલ પાછી ખેંચાઇ ત્યારે તેમણે ઘણા આનંદથી જેલને સ્વિકારી હતી, અને બીજા બધા સત્યાગ્રહીઓ કરતાં તે લાંબી હતી. જેલની વિગતો તેમણે જેલમાંથી નિકળ્યા પછી એક નિવેદન કર્યું હતું, જેનો પ્રતિકાર થયા વિના તે સરકારી ખાતા સુધી પહોંચ્યું હતું. કારણ કે તેમાં સત્ય અનુભવની જ ઘટના હતી.

તેઓ હીંદના એક સાચા પુત્ર હતા, અને મહાન પિતાના પણ સાચા વારસદાર હતા, તેમજ નવું દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા કે જેને કદાચ ઇશ્વરની ઇચ્છા હશે તો આપણે કેટલાક હાલ જીવતા છીએ તેઓ જોઇ શકીશું તેના ખરા પ્રેમાળ સેવક હતા.

અને હવે થોડાક વખત માટે તેઓ આપણી પાસેથી ભગવાન પાસે ચાલ્યા ગયા છે. આપણને આજે ખાત્રી છે કે હવે પછીના આપણા બધા કાર્યમાં તેઓનો આત્મા અને ફાધર હડલસ્ટન કે જેઓ તેમના ખાસ પ્રિય મિત્ર હતા અને જેમને આ દેશમાંથી લંડન ખસેડી લેવામાં આવ્યા હતા તેમની મંગલ કામના જ્યારે આપણે નિર્બળ બનીશું ત્યારે જરૂર જોમ આપશે.

મને એક વાત યાદ આવે છે કે, જ્યારે એમણે જણાવ્યું કે તંત્રીનો બોજો હવે એમને ભારરૂપ લાગે છે ત્યારે મેં કહ્યું "શું તમારે હવે બધા માંથી નિવૃત્તી મેળવી વાનપ્રસ્થ થવું છે?" ત્યારે તેઓએ હસ્તાં હસતાં જણાવ્યું કે ના, મારા બાપુ ફક્ત કર્મને જ જાણતા હતા, (કર્મ યોગને) હું એમનાથી ઉંચો નથી જવા ઇચ્છતો."

આથી આપણે હવે એના આત્મા ને શાંતી ન ઇચ્છીએ, કારણ મને ખાત્રી છે કે તેમનો આત્મા એવો જવાબ આપશે કે જ્યાં સુધી દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા આઝાદ નહી બને ત્યાં સુધી મારાથી શાંત નહીં બેસી રહેવાય. અને આ અધુરી લડતમાં જ્યાં પણ મણીલાલ હશે ત્યાંથી તે આપણને બળ આપશે જ.

# ફરજ બજાવનાર મણીલાલ

(પ્રો. લીઓ કુપર અને ડો. કુપર)

મણીલાલ ગાંધીની થયેલી દુઃખદ ખોટમાં અમે પણ તમારી સાથે સમભાગી છીએ. તેઓ એક બહુ જ બહાદુર અને મીઠા સ્વભાવના હતા. તેમણે પોતાના પિતાના આદર્શો સ્વિકારીને પોતાના જીવનમાં ઉતારવા નો પ્રયત્ન કર્યો હતો. આ સહેલું કામ નથી છતાં તેઓ કોઇ દિવસ હિમ્મત હાર્યા નહોતા, અને ધીરજથી હંમેશાં આગળ વધ્યા કરતા હતા. આજે અમારૂં દિલ શ્રીમતી ગાંધી કે જેઓ એટલી જ ધીરજથી શ્રી ગાંધીને તેમના કાર્યમાં મદદરૂપ બનતાં હતાં તેમની તરફ અને તેમનાં બાળકો કે જેઓ પોતાના પિતાનાં કાર્યને ચાલુ રાખવાની પોતાની ફરજ સમજી રહ્યાં છે તેમના તરફ જાય છે. 'ઇન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન' કે જે છાપું મણીલાલ ગાંધીને પ્રિય હતું અને એના વાંચકો ને પણ પ્રિય છે તે વર્તમાનપત્રને ચાલુ રાખવાનું કામ હવે આપણી ઉપર છે.

# દિલસોજી ... સંદેશા મોકલનાર

## જાહેર સંસ્થાઓની નામાવળી

સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીના દુઃખદ અવસાનના સમાચાર જા તેમનાં પત્નિ અને સંતાનો પ્રત્યે દિલસોજી દર્શાવનારા દેશ વિદે થી વ્યક્તિગત અને જાહેર સંસ્થાઓ તરફથી અનેક સંદેશાઓ અત્રે આવેલા છે તે માટે સૌનો અંતઃકરણ પુર્વક આભાર માનીએ છીએ. દીલગીર છીએ કે સ્થળ સંકોચને લીધે તે બધાની પુરી વિગત નથી આપી શકાતી, માત્ર કેટલીક જાહેર સંસ્થાનાં નામોજ અત્રે સાભાર નોંધ લઇ શક્યા છીએ.—વ્યવસ્થાપક ઇ. ઓ.

પીટરમેરીટઝબર્ગ લીબરલ પાર્ટી
જોકનહીલ ઇંડીયન એસોસીએશન
,, મહિલા મંડળ
લોરેંકો માર્કવાસ હીંદુ એસોસીએશન
,, ,, ભારત સમાજ
પોર્ટ એલીઝાબેથ યુવક મંડળ
,, ,, હીંદુ સેવા સમાજ
,, ,, મુસ્લીમ એજ્યુકેશનલ ટ્રસ્ટ
,, ,, આર્યન સ્પોર્ટસ કલબ
,, ,, મહિલા મંડળ
રૂડીપુર્ટ હીંદુ સેવા સમાજ
પ્રીટોરીયા હીંદુ સેવા સમાજ
લેડીસ્મીથ યંગ હીંદુ સર્વીસ સોસાયટી
,, ગુજરાતી સ્કુલ
ઇસ્ટ લંડન હીંદુ સોસાયટી
,, ,, ઇન્ડિઅન એસોસીએશન
વેરૂલમ ગોપાલલાલ હીંદુ ટેમ્પલ
,, ટેમ્પલ પ્રોગ્રેસીવ કલબ
ઇનાન્ડા ગવર્નમેન્ટ એઇડેડ ઇ. સ્કુલ
,, ઇન્ડિઅન વેલફેર સોસાયટી
,, ફ્રેન્ડસ ઓફ સીક એસોસીએશન
બેયાલ નવ યુવક મંડળ.
ડંડી ફ્રેન્ડસ ઓફ ઇન્ડિયા
ઝાઉટપેન્સબર્ગ હીંદુ સેવા સમાજ
લીવીંસ્ટન ક્રી. ઇ. એસોસીએશન
સોલ્સબરી એશીયન એસોસીએશન
લુઆન્શીયા કાફુલા રીટા મીશન
બુલાવયો હીંદુ સોસાયટી.
,, ઇન્ડિયન એસોસીએશન
જોબર્ગ ટ્રાંસવાલ હીંદુ સેવા સમાજ
,, શ્રી ગાંધી ભારત વિદ્યાલય
,, પાટીદાર સોસાયટી
,, ટ્રા. ઇ. હોકર્સ એસોસીએશન
,, સનાતન વેદ ધર્મ સભા
,, ટ્રા. પ્રજાપતિ એસોસીએશન
,, ટ્રાંસવાલ રોહિત મંડળ
,, શ્રી આદર્શ યુવક મંડળ
,, સા. આ. ક્ષત્રિય મંડળ
,, હીંદુ વેલફેર સોસાયટી
,, ટ્રા. ઇન્ડિઅન યુથ લીગ.
,, સંદેશ કાર્યાલય
,, ભાઠા મિત્ર સમાજ
,, શ્રી રામ નામ બેંક
,, વાંકાનેર યુવક મંડળ
,, ટ્રાં. મોઢ યુવક મંડળ
,, ટ્રા. દરજી મંડળ
,, સેન્ટ એન્ટોનીઝ મીશન
,, ટ્રા. ઇન્ડિયન કોંગ્રેસ
,, હીંદી વિદ્યા મંદિર

ડરબન આફ્રિકન નેશનલ કોંગ્રેસ
,, કાઠિયાવાડ હીંદુ સેવા સમાજ
,, સુરત હીંદુ એસોસીએશન
,, હીંદુ મહિલા મંડળ
,, એમ. કે. ગાંધી લાયબ્રેરી
,, મકકી પબ્લીકેશન
,, મેકેરોર્ડ ઝુલુ હોસ્પીટલ
,, વેસ્ટર્ન હાવકોમ-કેમ્પોંગ કલબ
,, કલેરવુડ રટડી ગ્રુપ
,, ઓસ્લાગે ઇન્સ્ટીટ્યુટ
,, ઇન્સ્ટીટ્યુટ ઓફ રેસ રીલેશન્સ
કેપટાઉન સોસાયટી ઓફ ઇવેંગલીસ્ટ

કવીન્સટાઉન ઇન્ડિઅન કમ્યુનીટી
ફ્રેલંબો કોંગ્રેસ
ડબલીન રટુડન્સ ઓફ સા. આફ્રિકા.
અજમેર પ્રવાસી વિદ્યાલય
આકોલા હીંદી ગુજરાતી સ્કુલ
નવી દીલ્હી ગાંધી સ્મારક સંગ્રહાલય
અમદાવાદ હરિજન આશ્રમ
,, નવજીવન કાર્યાલય
માધાન કસ્તુરબા ધામ
કાશી સર્વ સેવા સંઘ પ્રકાશન.

## અમારો આવતો અંક

અમારા સ્વર્ગીય અધિપતિ શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધીના માન માં, અને એ હૃદયદ્રાવક પ્રસંગ પછી કંઇક શાંતિ મેળવવા તથા પ્રેસનાં કાર્યોને વ્યવસ્થિત કરવા માટે અમારો આવતો અંક જે રજાઓ નીકળવો જોઇએ તે બંધ રાખવાની જરૂર પડી છે. હવે પછીનો અંક ૪ થી મે ના દિવસે બહાર પડશે. તે અંક માં જે સંદેશાઓ અને લેખો આ અંક માટે મોડા પડયા છે તે આપવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરીશું.

૨૯-૪-૫૧. પ્રકાશક
'ઇન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન'

નોંધ: આ અંકનાં ૧૬ માં પૃષ્ઠપર અપાયેલો અંતિમ વખતનો ફોટો 'રેલી ન્યુસ' તરફથી મળવા બદલ તેમના આ છીએ.—પ્રકાશક તા. ૨૦-૪-૫૬.

# દિલસોજીના સંદેશાઓ

### પં. જવહરલાલ નેહરૂ, નવી દિલ્હી

મણીલાલના મરણથી ઘણોજ દીલગીર થયો છું, કૃપા કરી મારી ખરી લાગણીની દિલસોજી સ્વીકારશો.

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### રાજકુમારી અમૃતકોર, નવી દિલ્હી

ઘણી જ દીલગીર છું, પ્રેમ સહ દિલસોજી પાઠવું છું.

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### ઇન્ડિઅન નેશનલ કોંગ્રેસ, ન્યુ દીલ્હી

શ્રી મણીભાઇનું અવસાન સાંભળી ઉંડો આઘાત થયો. કોંગ્રેસ તરફથી કૃપા કરીને દિલસોજી સ્વીકારશો.

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### શ્રી. મોરારજી દેસાઈ, મુંબઇના વડા પ્રધાન

શ્રી મણીલાલ ગાંધીએ બાપુજીનું કાર્ય દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકામાં ચાલુ રાખવા માટે જીવન અર્પણ કર્યું છે. આપણે જનતાના એક કિમતી સેવકને ગુમાવ્યા છે.

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### ગગન વિહારી મહેતા, વોશીંગ્ટન
### અમેરીકામાં ભારતીય એલચી

શ્રી મણીલાલ ગાંધીના મરણના સમાચાર સાંભળતાં અત્યંત દીલગીરી થઇ. તેઓ તેમના મહાન પિતાના ઉમદા કાર્યને દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકામાં આગળ ધપાવી રહ્યા હતા. શ્રી મણીલાલનાં અવસાનથી સાઉથ આફ્રિકાની હીંદી જનતાને જ નહીં પણ વર્ષોથી મ. ગાંધીજીના આદર્શ માટે ઉઠાવેલી મુંઝેશમાં તેઓ અડગ હતા તેને પણ ભારે ખોટ ગઇ છે. જાતિ સમાનત્વના સિદ્ધાંતની સ્થાપના માટે શ્રી મણીલાલે શાંતિપુર્વક પ્રયત્ન કર્યો છે તેમનાં જ્ઞાન અને હિંમતની ગેરહાજરી તેમના દેશ બંધુઓને દુઃખદ લાગશે.

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### શ્રી. અને શ્રીમતી જય પ્રકાશ નારાયણ, મુરલીગંજ

તમને ખરા દિલથી દિલાસો આપવા સાથે ભારે શોકગ્રસ્ત બન્યાં છીએ. ભારત માતાએ એક ભક્તપુત્ર અને જગતના કચડાયેલા લોકોએ નિડર લડવૈયો ગુમાવ્યો છે.

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### શ્રી. કેદારનાથજી, મુંબઈ

હાર્દીક દિલસોજી સાથે તમને અને બાળકોને આ આઘાત સહન કરવા માટે પરમાત્મા ધૈર્ય તથા બળ આપો.

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### બાલા સાહેબ ખેર (બી. જી. ખેર) મુંબઈ

પ્રભુને પ્રાર્થું છું કે તમને આ ખોટ સહન કરવાની ધીરજ આપો.

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### ગોશીએન કેપટન, મુંબઈ
### (સ્વ. દાદાભાઈ નવરોજીનાં પૌત્રી)

ગાંધી સેવા સેનાના પ્રમુખ, કમીટી અને સભ્યો તમને ગયેલી મહાન ખોટ માટે નમ્રતાથી દિલસોજી પાઠવે છે. જગતે કચડાયેલી માનવ જાતિના પ્રશ્ન અંગે એક વીર લડવૈયો ગુમાવ્યો છે.

### મીસીસ માર્ગરેટ બેલીન્જર *M. P.*
### પાર્લામેન્ટ હાઉસ, કેપટાઉન

મણીલાલ ગાંધીનાં જીવન સંબંધે મારા હૃદયની નિખાલસતાથી પ્રશંસા કરૂં છું એની નોંધ લેવા કૃપા કરશો. એમના મરણથી દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા માં લીબરલ વિચારો અને વર્ત્તન માટે ભારે ખોટ ગઇ એમ માનું છું.

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### કુંવર સર મહારાજ સીંગ, દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના
### માજી એજન્ટ અને મુંબઇના માજી ગવર્નર

તમારા પતિનાં અવસાનના ખબર સાંભળીને મને અને મારી પત્નીને ઘણું દુઃખ થયું છે. હું એવું માનતો હતો કે તેઓની તબીયત સુધારાપર હતી. થોડાકજ વખત પહેલાં મેં એમને એક પત્ર લખ્યો હતો. પણ ઇશ્વરની ઇચ્છા બીજી જ કાંઇ હતી અને આપણે તે ઇચ્છા ને આધીન થવું જ પડે છે.

હું મણીલાલને ૨૪ વર્ષપર પહેલીવાર મળ્યો હતો. એમની પ્રમાણિકતા અને એમના ઉચ્ચ આદર્શો માટે મને તેમના માટે ઘણુંજ માન હતું. તેમનાં અવસાનથી દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાને મહાન ખોટ ગઇ છે. તમને અને તમારા બાળકોને અમારી હાર્દીક સહાનુભૂતી મોકલાવું છું.

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### શ્રી. પી. કોડંદ રાવ, દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના માજી એજન્ટ
### શ્રી નિવાસ શાસ્ત્રીના ખાનગી સેક્રેટરી

મીસીસ રાવ અને મારા તરફથી અમારા પ્રિય મિત્ર મણીલાલનાં અવસાન અંગે તમને અને તમારા કુટુંબને દિલસોજી પાઠવું છું. આ દુઃખ તમારા એકલાનું નથી, પણ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના હીંદીઓ અને કોમી સવાલના વિરોધીઓનું પણ છે. તેઓએ રંગભેદની નીતિ સામે મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના લાયક પુત્ર તરીકે પોતાની ફરજ બજાવી હતી.

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### બૃહદ ભારતીય સમાજ, મુંબઈ

સમાજના પ્રમુખ એલ. કે. પાટીલ અને સભ્યો, તમને તથા શોક ગ્રસ્ત કુટુંબને તમારા વહાલા મણીલાલના મરણથી થયેલી ભારે ખોટમાં તેમની હાર્દિક દિલસોજી પાઠવે છે. એમના મૃત્યુએ દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકામાંથી એક વીર યોદ્ધાને દૂર કર્યો છે, અને ભારતને માટે એક અનુભવી સલાહકાર છીનવી લીધા છે.

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### હીંદુસ્તાની પ્રચાર સભા, મુંબઈ

રંગીન લોકોની સ્વતંત્રતા માટે લડનારા એક નેતાના અવસાનની નોંધ લેતાં દીલગીરી થાય છે.

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### રવીશંકર મહારાજ, વલ્લભ વિદ્યાલય બોચાસણ ખેડા

પૂજ્ય બાપુજીએ ઉપાડેલું કામ એમણે છેલ્લી ઘડી સુધી કર્યા કીધું. આજે એ છોડીને તે દેવલોક પામ્યા છે. પ્રભુ એમના આત્માને શાંતિ, અને આવા દુઃખને સમજ પુર્વક સહન કરવા પ્રભુ તમને બળ આપો.

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### શિશુવિહાર, ભાવનગર

શ્રી મણીલાલનું અવસાન નથી થયું પરંતુ આફ્રિકામાં વસતા હીંદીઓનો પ્રાણ ચાલ્યો ગયો. પરમાત્મા સદ્‌ગતને શાંતિ આપો. જનતાને નવો પ્રાણ આપો.

# દિલસોજીના સંદેશાઓ

## શ્રીમતી વિજયાલક્ષ્મી પંડીત, હાઈ કમીશનર ઓફ યુનાઇટેડ કિંગડમ

શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધીના અવસાનના ખબર સાંભળીને મને ઘણું દુઃખ થયું છે. એમના અવસાનથી મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીએ જે સ્વતંત્રતાની લડત શરૂ કરી હતી એ યાદ આવે છે. બે પેઢી પછી હીંદને આઝાદી મળી, અને આજે હીંદ દુનીયાની શાંતી માટે પોતાથી બનતો પ્રયત્ન કરી રહ્યું છે. પોતે મેળવેલી આઝાદી બીજા ગુલામ દેશોને અપાવવાનો પ્રયત્ન તે કરી રહ્યું છે. એ ઘણું યોગ્ય ગણાય કે, આપણા મહાન નેતાના પુત્ર શ્રી મણીલાલ ગાંધીએ આવી જ લડત દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકામાં ચલાવવાનો ભાર ઉઠાવ્યો હતો. તેઓ રંગભેદની નીતી સામે પોતાનો પૂર્ણ વિરોધ હમેશાં દર્શાવી રહ્યા હતા અને મહાત્માજીની જેમ ત્યાગ અને અહિંસાથી તે લડી રહ્યા હતાં. આજે રંગભેદની નીતી, હજી ચાલુ છે અને સમાન હકકો હજી મળ્યા નથી પણ મણીલાલભાઈનો ભોગ એક મહાન પિતાના પુત્રને શોભાવે તેવો છે. ઘણા લોકોને એમના જીવન પરથી પ્રોત્સાહન મળશે અને અંતમાં જે રીતે હીંદ એકતા અને આઝાદી મેળવી તેજ રીતે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાને પણ તે મળશે જ.

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## વીશ્વ પ્રીટન, લંડન.

શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધીના અવસાનના સમાચાર અહીં રાતના તથા સવારના છાપાઓમાં વાંચી ઘણું દુઃખ થયું. તેઓ મહાન અમર્ત્યતત્વને પામ્યા છે મને ખાત્રી છે કે તેમણે તેમના પિતાશ્રીના સમીપમાં સ્થાન મેળવ્યું હશે. એઓ બધા કામોમાં બાપૂજીના આદર્શોને અનુસર્યા હતા. હું એ દિવસ કદી નહીં ભુલું કે જે દિવસે સેવાગ્રામમાં અને શાંતીનીકેતનમાં (શાંતી પરિષદ વખતે) બાપુજીના આદર્શો ઉપર એઓ બોલ્યા હતા.

સત્ય અને ભલાઇની એક જ્યોત દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકામાંથી બુઝાઇ ગઇ છે. મને ડર છે કે સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીએ પોતાનું બધું જોર રંગદ્વેશ ની સામે ઝુઝવામાં વાપરી નાખ્યું છે. મને ખાત્રી છે કે એવો એક દિવસ આવશે કે જ્યારે બધા સત્યાગ્રહીઓને મોખરે તેઓનું સ્થાન હશે. તમે બધાએ જે કાંઇ કર્યું છે અને જે કાંઇ સહન કર્યું છે તે માટે મારા અંતરની દિલસોજી, આદર અને પ્રસંશા પાઠવું છું તે કૃપા કરી સ્વીકારશો.

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## ડો. લેવીના સ્કોટ, ધનાન્ડા સેમીનરીના પ્રીન્સીપલ

અમારા પડોસી અને મીત્ર સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીને અંતીમ અંજલી આપવાની આજે તક મળી છે તે હું ઉંડા આભાર સાથે સ્વીકારૂં છું.

દુનીયાનાં મોટા ભાગના લોકોમાં એક મહાન બુદ્ધીશાળી, વિદ્વાન, આધ્યાત્મીક, ઉચ્ચ આદર્શો વાળા રાજદ્વારી નેતા તરીકે ગાંધીનું નામ અમર થયું છે. આપણે કે જેઓ મહાત્માજીને બદલે તેમના પુત્રને ઓળખતા હતા તેઓ જાણીએ છીએ કે તેઓ ટેટલી સભ્યતા, વિવેક અને પ્રમાણીકતાથી ગાંધીજીનું કાર્ય કરી રહ્યા હતા. તેઓ હીંમતવાન, વ્યવસ્થિત, અને જે કામ કરવાનું છે તેને માટે પિતાના જેવા જ અડગ નિશ્ચયી હતા.

સ્વ. ગાંધીને ઓળખવા અને એમની પત્ની તથા બાળકો સાથે એમને ઘેર આતિથ્ય માણવું અને રસ્તામાં માઇલો સુધી ચાલતા જોવાનું, તથા તેમનું છાપુ જે ઉચ્ચ કોટીનું છે તેને વાંચવાનું, તેમજ એમણે પોતાની માતાના સ્મારક તરીકે અને પોતાના લોકોની સેવા માટે સુંદર શાળા તેમની પત્નીના સહકારથી ઉભી કરી ત્યારનો તેમનો આનંદ જોવાનો એ એક અમારૂં સદ્‌ભાગ્ય હતું. ભગવાનના એક અમીર માણસનું ટુંકમાં આ છે જીવન.

## ડો. જી. એમ. નાઇકર, પ્રમુખ સા. આ. ઇન્ડિઅન કોંગ્રેસ

યુનીયનની હીંદી જનતાવતી તમારા વહાલા પતિ મણીભાલ ગાંધીના કસમયના મરણ માટે હું તમને તથા તમારા કુટુંબ પ્રત્યે મારી ઉંડી દિલસોજી વ્યક્ત કરૂં છું.

આપણી આ દેશની ભૂમિના કિનારા પર મહાત્મા ગાંધી હતા તે દિવસથી ભેદનીતિની સામેની લડતમાં મી. એમ. ગાંધી આપણા લોકોની બાબતમાં સક્રિય ભાગ લઈ રહ્યા હતા. મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીની આગેવાની હેઠળની સત્યાગ્રહની ઝુંબેશમાં તથા ૧૯૪૬માં ફરીથી પણ જેલ ભોગવી હતી. ૧૯૫૨માં અન્યાયી કાયદાની સામે થઇ ફરીથી તેમના કાળાઓ મી. પેટ્રીક ડંકન સાથે જેલની સજા ભોગવી હતી.

મી. ગાંધી સાઉથ આફ્રિકન અને નાટાલ ઇન્ડીયન કોંગ્રેસ સાથે ઘણાં વર્ષો સુધી સંપર્કમાં રહ્યા હતા. ૪૫ વર્ષે કોંગ્રેસ ઓફ પીપલની કલીપટાઉનની પરીષદમાં નિરીક્ષક તરીકે તેમણે હાજરી આપી હતી. કેટલાક સમયથી તેમનાથી અમે જુદો મત ધરાવતા હતા છતાં પણ અમે સઘળા દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના છુટાપણાની સામાન્ય બાબતમાં ખાસ કરીને એકમત જ હતા.

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## હીંદુસ્તાની તાલીમી સંઘ, સેવાગ્રામ

મણીલાલ ભાઇ કે જીવન કે અંતિમ ક્ષણ તક બાપુ દ્વારા શુરૂ કી ગઇ અનિતિ કે વિરુદ્ધ સત્ય ઔર અહીંસા કી લડાઇ કે આદર્શ સત્યાગ્રહી રહે. વે બાપુ કે સચ્ચે પુત્ર ઔર ઉનકે સચ્ચે અનુયાયી થે. ઉનકા જીવન નઇ તાલીમ પરિવાર કે હમ કાર્યકર્તા ઔર વિદ્યાર્થીયો કે લિએ હમેશાં ત્યાગ ઔર સેવા કે એક અનુપમ આદર્શ કે રૂપ મેં પ્રેરણા ઔર ગતિ દેતા રહેગા. બાપુ કે બતાયે હુએ માર્ગ પર ચલને વાલે સત્ય ઔર અહિંસા કે સાધકો કી ચેતના, શક્તિ ઔર વિશ્વાસ મેં મણીલાલ ભાઇ ચિરકાલ કે લિએ અમર રહેગે.

હમ ઉનકે પરિવાર કે પ્રતિ અપની સમવેદના પ્રકટ કરતે હુએ ઇશ્વર સે પ્રાર્થના કરતે હૈ કી વે ઉન્હે ઇસ સંતાપ કો સહને કી શક્તિ દે ઔર દિવંગત આત્મા કો શાંતિ પ્રદાન કરે.

ઇશ્વર હમે મણીલાલ ભાઇ કે અનુરૂપ હી ઉનકે રાસ્તે પર ચલને કી પ્રેરણા ઔર શક્તિ દે.

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## પ્રો. જુલીયસ લુઇન, વીટવોટર્સરેંડ યુનીવરસીટીના આફ્રીકન સ્ટડીના સીનીયર લેકચરર

સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીના મૃત્યુથી રંગભેદના સવાલને દુર કરવાની લડતમાં જે થોડી વ્યકિતઓ છે તેમાંથી એકનો અંત આવ્યો. સ્વ. ગાંધીએ પોતાનાથી થઇ શકે તેટલું બધું આ લડત માટે કર્યું હતું. એમની વયના બીજાઓ જાહેર જીવનમાંથી નિવૃત થઇ ગયા છે. જ્યારે તેમણે પોતાની લડત જાળવી રાખી હતી. ઘણા લાંબા સમય સુધી એમણે અતિ મહેનત ઉઠાવી તેમના પિતાશ્રીએ શરૂ કરેલું વર્તમાન પત્ર ચાલુ રાખ્યું હતું. જાહેર કામ માટે એમણે પોતાનું સર્વસ્વ અર્પણ કર્યું હતું. હું એમ ઇચ્છું છું કે બીજાઓ પણ એમને પગલે ચાલી એ કામ હવે ચાલુ રાખે.

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## પોરબંદરના શહેરીજનો

સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીનાં અવસાન થયાના ખબર મળતાં જ એક જાહેર સભા પૂજ્ય બાપુજીના સ્મારક "કીર્તી મંદિર" માં મેળવી જનતાએ શોક દર્શક ઠરાવ કર્યો હતો.

# વહાલા બાલ મિત્રને અંજલી

(શ્રી. સોરાબજી રૂસ્તમજી)

જન્મ મરણ એ કુદરતનો નીયમ છે. છતાં અમે તેના જ્ઞાનીને પણ જ્યારે અંમત આઘાત લાગે છે ત્યારે તે દિલ ને હલાવી મુકે છે. જુના બાળપણના દિવસો જ્યારે યાદ કરું છું ત્યારે આંખો આસુંથી છલકાય છે, મારી ઉમર ત્યારે ત્રણ વરસની હતી અને શ્રી. મણીલાલની પાંચ વરસની.

મારા મરહુમ પીતાશ્રી (કાકાજી)ને ઘેર જ્યારે ૧૮૯૭ માં પૂ. બાપુજી અને તેમનું કુટુંબ્મ તથા અમારા કુટુંબને ઉતરેારવલા ગેારાઓના ઝનુની ટેાળાંએ બાળી નાંખવાનેા પ્રયત્ન કર્યો હતેા. તે ઇતિહાસીક દિવસે અમે બાલ સખાઓ પહેલા મળ્યા હતા. પછી સાથે રમ્યા ઝઘડ્યા તે સને ૧૯૦૦ સુધીનાં બાળ સ્મરણેા.

હું મારા પીતાશ્રી સાથે પછી અભ્યાસ માટે હીંદુસ્તાન ગયેા હતેા. ૧૯૧૧ ની જાન્યુઆરીની ૨૪મીએ ટ્રાંસ વાલની દિપકલ્પ જેલમાં દશ વર્ષે પાછા મળ્યા. ત્યારે અમારી સાથે મરહુમ પી. કે.. નાયડુ, થંબી નાયડુ, સોરાબજી શાપુરજી અડાજણીઆ, હરીલાલ ગાંધી, શ્રી. પ્રાગજી દેશાઇ અને જેસ. બી. મેઢ જેલમાં હતાં. એ ભાઇઓ વચ્ચે કેાણ વધારે જેલ જાત્રા કરે છે તેની હરીફાઇ ચાલતી. એ જેલના અનુભવેા આજે પણ સ્મૃતિપટ પર કાયમ છે.

આજે એ પણ યાદ આવે છે કે ટોલ્સટોય ફાર્મ અને ફીનીક્સમાં કેટલા આનંદ ઉત્સાહ અને ઉમંગથી કામ કરતા!

૧૯૧૪ માં બધા સાથે મણીલાલ પણ સ્વદેશ ગયા. પણ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની ભૂમી તેમને છેાડવા માગતી નહીં હેાય તેથી 'ઇન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન'નું સંચાલન કરવા પૂ. બાપૂજીએ તેમને ૧૯૧૭ માં ફરી મેાકલ્યા. બી. એ. એચ. વેસ્ટ પાસેથી છાપુ સંભાળી લઇ દુંકા અનુભવ છતાં અધિપતિનું જોખમ ભરેલું કામ પૂ. બાપુજીના આદર્શ સિદ્ધાંતેાને નજર સામે રાખી ધીરજ, ઉત્સાહ અને ખંતથી ૧૯૨૭ સુધીના તે દિવસેા યાદ કરૂં છું ત્યારે મારી આંખેા અશ્રુભીની થાય છે.

દુનિયામાં મહાન પુરૂષ જન્મતા નથી. મહાન થાય છે. તેઓને અનેક ભેાગેા સત્યને માટે આપવા પડે છે. સ્વ. મણીલાલની નીડરતા, આત્મ સંયમ, તેમના ઉપવાસ અને જેલ જાત્રા અને એ બધુ છતાં આની જ જીંદગીમાં તેમણે સુખ માન્યુ હતું એ એમનેા ત્યાગ. રાજકારણમાં પણ પૂ. બાપુજીના સિદ્ધાંતને વળગી રહેવાની તેમણે ઓછી હિમ્મત નથી કરી.

૧૯૨૧ માં ડરબનના પેાઇંટ ઉપર સ્વમાન માટે અમારી ધરપકડ થઇ હતી અને જેલની સજા કરવામાં આવી હતી, ત્યાં મારા કરતી સદરેા લઇ લેવામાં આવ્યા હતા અને પાછા આપવામાં ન આવે ત્યાં સુધી મેં ઉપવાસ કર્યો હતા. મારી સાથે મણીલાલ ભાઇએ પણ આ ઉપવાસ કર્યો હતા. એ અમારી ગાઢ મીત્રતા દર્શાવે છે.

૧૯૨૭ માં તેઓ પરણ્યા, અને ત્યારથી તે આજ સુધી શ્રીમતી સુશીલા પેાતાના પતિનાં બધાં કામેામાં મદદરૂપ બનતાં રહ્યાં છે. અને આજે પણ તેઓ ફીનીક્સનું કાર્ય નભાવી રહ્યા છે.

૧૯૩૨ માં બીજી રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કેાન્ફરન્સ બાદ જાહેર જીવનમાં અમારી વચ્ચે મતભેદ પડતાં તેમનેા અને મારેા પક્ષ જુદેા થયેા સિદ્ધાંત અને આત્મા ની દોરવણી મુજબ તેઓ વર્તતા.

ડેા. દાદુના સત્યાગ્રહના ઝંડા હેઠળ ફરી પાછા એક થઇ કરી જેલ યાત્રા ની કુચ કરી હતી. ત્યારબાદ તેઓ પેટ્રીક ડંકન સાથે ૧૯૫૨માં ૬૦ વર્ષની વયે ફરી જેલ ગયા હતા.

મરણ પથારીના છેલ્લા દિવસ સુધી તેમનેા ઉત્સાહ, ખંત અને કાળજી અણનમ હતાં. જે કેાઇ દેશ પરદેશ થી આવતા તે ફીનીક્સની મુલાકાત લેતા અને ત્યાંની ઉંડી છાપ મન પર લઇ પાછા ફરતા. સર્વોદય અને પૂ. બાની સ્મૃતિની શાળા તેમના પ્રતીકરૂપે આજે ત્યાં ઉભી છે.

રૂસ્તમજી કુટુંબ અને ગાંધી કુટુંબ એક પ્રેમની ગાંઠથી બંધાયું છે અને ભાવીમાં તેમના સંતાનેા એ ગાંઠ વધુ પાકી કરે એમ આજે ઇચ્છું છું ને પ્રાર્થું છું.

બા, બાપુ અને હવે ભાઇ મણીલાલ ગયા. તેમની સ્મૃતિરૂપે ફીનીક્સ સંસ્થા યાત્રાના સ્થાન તરીકે એક પવિત્ર ભૂમી રૂપે ચિર સ્મરણીય ઉભી છે. આપણી સામે હવે સવાલ એ છે કે તે પવિત્ર સ્મરણીય સ્થાન કેવી રીતે ચિર કાળ માટે જાળવી રાખવું? અને આપણે દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાવાસીઓ તે મહાન વિભૂતિઓની યાદગીરી જાળવવા શું કરીશું?

દેશ પરદેશમાં પૂ. બાપુની યાદગીરી માટે કિર્તી સ્થંભેા, મંદીરેા, કેાલેજો, આશ્રમેા, હાઇ સ્કુલેા, વીગેરે ઉભાં થાય છે. પણ એવેા વખત ન આવે કે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા કે જે તેમની તપેાભૂમી હતી ત્યાં જ કશું ન હેાય!

પૂ. બાપુના સાથીઓ અને તે દશકા ના કાર્યકરેા એક પછી એક ખરતા જાય છે. આવે સમયે પૂ. બાપુજી બા, અને ભાઇ મણીલાલની સ્મૃતી કાયમ રાખવા જેઓને કાંઇ પણ કરવા ઇચ્છા ઉપજે તેઓ મને લખે.

ખરી અંજલી આપણે ત્યારે જ આપલી ગણાશે કે જેને માટે ભાઇ મણીલાલ જીવ્યા અને મર્યા તે પૂ. બાપુના સ્વપ્નોને ફીનીક્સની તપેાભૂમી પર ખડાં થએલાં જોઇ મણીલાલ નેા આત્મા અને બેન સુશીલાનું હૃદય તથા તેમના સંતાનોનાં દિલ સંતેાષાશે. ઇશ્વર સ્વર્ગસ્થને શાંતી આપે અને કુટુંબીઓને દુઃખ સહન કરવાની શકતી આપેા એજ પ્રાર્થના.

# સદાની વિદાય!

(શ્રી. એમ. બી. નાયડુ)

પ્રખ્યાત અને આદરપાત્ર સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીના અવસાનથી સમસ્ત દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના હીંદીઓને શેાક થશે. આફ્રીકન, ગેારાઓ તેમજ કલર્ડ લેાકેાને પણ તેટલું જ દુઃખ થશે, કારણ કે તેઓ સર્વ સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીના રાજકીય નેતૃત્વ માટે માન ધરાવતા હતા.

તેમના સંબંધમાં આવનાર દરેક તેમની પ્રામાણિકતા અને હીંમતથી પરિચિત હતા. ફીનીક્સ સંસ્થાની



હંમેશાં સમયની કીંમત આંકનાર શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધી

મુલાકાત લેનાર દરેક તેમની ભલમનસાઇ અને આતિથ્ય સત્કાર જાણતા. આજે તેા તેજ સ્થળે તેમનેા આત્મા પાસેની ગિરિમાળા અને વૃક્ષવાટિકા દ્વારા પ્રેરણા આપી રહ્યો છે.

સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી નીડર અને સ્પષ્ટવકતા હતા. તેઓ મનુષ્ય સ્વભાવનું અગાધ જ્ઞાન ધરાવતા, સૌની જોડે સમભાવયુકત વલણ રાખતા. જેના તેઓ મમતાળુ મિત્ર હતા તેઓ હંમેશ મીઠાશ અને આર્દ્રતા અનુભવતા.

મનુષ્યેા વચ્ચેની અસમાનતાને તેઓ સામાજીક અનિષ્ટ ગણતા અને તે દુર કરવા બહાદુરીથી લડતા. તેથી દરેક ને તેઓ સન્માનતા, તેમના દેહાંતના સમાચારની ફીનીક્સની આસપાસ જાણ થઇ ત્યારે અસંખ્ય આફ્રીકન અને હીંદીઓને ખુબ દુઃખ થયું.

હીંદીઓના મુકિત સંગ્રામ માટેની રાજકીય લડતની પ્રેરણા તેમને તેમના પિતાશ્રી પાસેથી મળેલી. અહીંસાના આદર્શે એક નવીન શકિતને જન્મ આપ્યેા. એ નવા શસ્ત્રનેા ઉપયેાગ સદ્‌ગત મણીલાલ ગાંધીએ ઠીક પ્રમાણમાં અજમાવ્યેા.

તેમના છેલ્લા થેાડા વર્ષો સાદાઇ અને શ્રમથી પસાર થએલા. સ્વતંત્ર સંગ્રામમાં ઝંપલાવવા માટે જેજ રીતે શારીરિક અને આધ્યાત્મિક બળ મેળવી શકાય એમ તેઓ માનતા. એક નિષ્ઠાથી તેમણે પિતાજીને પગલે ચાલી પ્રેમ અને ભકિતથી અંકધારી જન સેવા કરી, તેમને મન ફીનીક્સ એ પિતૃભકિત પ્રગટ કરવા માટેની પવિત્ર કર્મભૂમિ હતી.

આજે સૂના પડેલા આસપાસના ડુંગરેા જે પ્રાતઃકાલમાં રેાજ તેઓ ચાલીને પાવન કરતા તે તેના પગરવ નેા પ્રતિધેાષ નહિ પાડે, પણ પ્રેમ, ત્યાગ અને સેવાનેા મૂક સંદેશ સતત આપ્યા જ કરશે. તેમના પ્રિય પ્રદેશ અને તેની આસપાસનાની લીલી કુંજલતાઓમાંથી નીસરતેા મધુરેા પવન સૌને પ્રેરણાના પીયુષ પાયા કરશે.

મણીલાલ ગાંધી ભૂતકાલના મહાન મનુષ્યના પંકિતે બિરાજ્યા છે અને આપણી વચ્ચેથી સદાયને માટે વિદાય લીધી છે.

## ભારત રાષ્ટ્રપતિ રાજેન્દ્રપ્રસાદની દિલસોજી

સાઉથ આફ્રીકાના હીંદીઓએ એક સુપ્રસિદ્ધ નેતાને ગુમાવ્યા છે. ત્યાંની સમગ્ર હીંદી કોમ અત્યારે ઘણી જ મુસ્કેલીમાંથી પસાર થઇ રહી છે, તેઓને મણીલાલભાઇ જેવા અનુભવી અને પરિસ્થિતિના જાણકારની મદદ, સાથ અને દોરવણીની ઘણી જ જરૂર હતી. એઓ બાપુજીના સિદ્ધાંતને અનુસરી ત્યાંની લડતમાં આગળ પડતો ભાગ લેતા હતા, એવા વખતે એમનું મરણ અત્યંત દુઃખદાયક જણાશે. સ્વદેશમાં જે લોકો એમના ગાઢ પરિચયમાં આવ્યા હતા તેઓ જાણે જ છે કે એઓ બાપુજીના સિદ્ધાંતોને જાળવવા અને તેમના પગલે ચાલવાની કેટલી ધગશ રાખતા હતા.

તેમનાં પત્નિ અને બાળકોને એમનાં મરણથી મહાન ખોટ ગઇ છે તે માટે હું મારી દિલસોજી પાઠવું છું. એમને એટલો સંતોષ આપીએ છીએ કે એમના મિત્રો સાઉથ આફ્રીકામાં જ નહિ પણ સ્વદેશમાં પણ એમના દુઃખમાં સમભાગી થાય છે.

## મારા મિત્ર શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધી

(કેનન જોહન કોલીન્સ)

સાઉથ આફ્રીકાની મારી છેલ્લી મુસાફરી દરમ્યાન હું મણીલાલને મળવા માટે ફીનીક્સ સેટલમેન્ટ ગયો હતો. તે મુલાકાતની યાદદાસ્ત સૌથી વધુ આગળ પડતી અને આનંદી હતી. હું ત્યાં પહોંચ્યો ત્યારે સાવ થાકી ગયેલો અને નિરાશ બની ગયો હતો, પણ થોડાક કલાક એમનાં ઘરમાં રહ્યો, ત્યાં તો હું પાછો સ્વસ્થ બની ગયો.

મણીલાલ ગાંધી દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની રંગદ્વેષની ખરી વિગતોથી સંપુર્ણ માહિતગાર હતા, અને તેમનું આકર્ષક વ્યક્તિત્વ અને મૈત્રીની રહેલી ઉંડી ભાવનાને લીધે બીજાને સચ્ચાઇની શોધ કરવા અને જુલ્મનો અંત લાવવા માટેની ઉત્તેજના આપી શકે એટલી એમનામાં શક્તિ હતી. એમના સંસર્ગમાં રહ્યા પછી એમના મુખપર દેખાતા સત્યનો અનાદર કરવો એ મારે માટે અશક્ય હતું. એમનામાં શ્રદ્ધા હતી કે એક દિવસ અન્યાય ઉપર સત્યનો વિજય થશે અને એ તેમણે મારામાં પણ ઠસાવ્યું હતું. હું જ્યારે એમને ત્યાંથી પાછો ફર્યો ત્યારે બ્રીન-ગોરાઓ ઉપર ગોરાઓના જુલમ સામેની લડતમાં મારાથી બની શકે તેટલી મદદ કરવાની મને નૂતન આશા અને બળ મળેલાં જણાયાં.

મણીલાલ ગાંધી એમના સારાય જીવનમાં એમ માનતા હતા કે ન્યાયની પ્રેરણાનું મૂળ ધાર્મીક શ્રદ્ધામાં રહેલું છે. એઓ બીજા કોઇના કરતાં પણ વધારે એમના બાપુના આદર્શ અને જીવનને યથાર્થ રીતે જાણીને કદર કરતા હતા. અને હૃદયની નિર્મળતા કે જે અન્યાયને હઠાવવાની લડત માટે અતિ અગત્યની છે તેમાં પણ એમની નિષ્ઠા હતી. એમણે બ્રીન-યુરોપીયનના હિતની લડતમાં વિના સંકોચે પોતાનું સર્વસ્વ અર્પણ કરી દીધું હતું. એમની માન્યતા પ્રમાણે અહીંસા એ લડતની માટે સારી વસ્તુ જ નહિ પણ લડતનું હૃદય હતું; જેથી લડતમાં જેઓ સામેલ થયા હતા તેઓને માટે હૃદયની શુદ્ધિની એ અત્યંત જરૂરની વસ્તુ જણાવતા હતા.

## સ્વ. મણીલાલની ખોટ

(ડેનીસ ઇ. હર્લી, આર્ચ બીશપ ઓફ ડરબન)

તમારા પિતાશ્રીના અવસાનના ખબરથી મને ઘણું દુઃખ થયું છે. અંતે એમની માંદગીનું આ અંતિમ દુઃખદ પરીણામ આવ્યું. મને ખાત્રી છે કે તમને એમની ખોટ ઘણી જણાતી હશે.

ડરબનમાં અને દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકામાં એવા ઘણા છે કે જેઓને એમનાં અવસાનથી દુઃખ થયું છે. એમનાં જીવનમાં એમણે કરૂણા અને પ્રેમ જે એમના પિતાશ્રીના મુખ્ય આદર્શો હતા, તેને અપનાવવાને પ્રયત્ન કર્યો હતો. મને ખાતરી છે કે એના એ ઉત્કટ પ્રયત્નોના બદલામાં અમરતાને પામ્યા છે.

તમને અને તમારા સમગ્ર કુટુંબને મારી દિલસોજી વ્યકત કરૂં છું.

## શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધીનું જીવન સાફલ્ય

(હેનરી, એચ. અસ. એલ. પોલાક)

જો કે તદ્દન આશ્ચર્યજનક ન હતું છતાં શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધીના મરણના સમાચાર આઘાતરૂપ હતા. તેઓ ગયા નવેંબરમાં અચાનક ખતરનાક રીતે બથડી પડયા હતા. પણ આપણને છેલ્લા ખબર મળેલા કે તેઓ સારા થતા જાય છે અને હોસ્પીટલમાંથી ઘુંકમાં ઘેર આવે એવી આશા રખાયેલી. ૧૯૦૫માં મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીનાં કુટુંબ સાથે અમે જોહાનીસબર્ગમાં રહેલાં ત્યારે તેઓ બાળક હતા, ત્યારથી અમે તેમને પીછાણીએ છીએ. તેમના પિતાશ્રીએ સત્યાગ્રહની લડત ઉપાડેલી તેમાં ભાગ લેનારા હીંદી સત્યાગ્રહીઓના સાન્નિધ્યમાં તેઓ ઉછર્યા હતા. નાટાલના ફીનીક્સમાં મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીએ જે સેટલમેન્ટ સ્થાપેલું તેમાં અને પાછળથી ટ્રાંસવાલના ટોલ્સ્ટોય ફાર્મમાં મુખ્યત્વે સાદુ જીવન ગુજારતા તે દરમ્યાન એમને કેળવણીની અને બીજી તાલીમ મળી હતી.

તેઓ ગાંધીજીના બીજા પુત્ર હતા. તેમના મોટાભાઇ નાની ઉમરમાં જ પિતાશ્રીથી દુર થઇ ગયા હતા. તેમ ન કરતાં એઓ તેમના છત્રતળે રહેલા અને ગાંધીજીના ચાર પુત્રો પૈકી દેવદાસ ગાંધી નાના છે જેઓ "હીંદુસ્તાન ટાઇમ્સ"ના તંત્રી છે તેમના કરતાં એઓ એમના પિતાશ્રીના રાહપર વિચારથી અને રાજકીય પ્રવૃત્તિમાં તદ્દન સમીપમાં હતા.

૧૯૧૭માં 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન' સાપ્તાહિક પત્રના તંત્રી પદે આવ્યા હતા, જે પત્રને ૧૯૦૩માં તેમના પિતાશ્રીએ સ્થાપીને વર્ષો સુધી તેને આર્થીક રીતે સાથ આપ્યો હતો. તે સમયથી જ મણીલાલ તેમનો સઘળો વખત અને શક્તિ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની હીંદી જનતાની ઉન્નતિમાં વાપરતા રહ્યા છે. તેઓના માટે તેમણે જેલનો પણ કડુ અનુભવ લીધો છે. તેઓ માત્ર હીંદી માલદારો, અને વેપારી તથા શિક્ષિતોના જ નહિ પણ કામદારો અને કારીગરોના સંપર્કમાં પણ આવ્યા હતા. જ્યાં તેઓ મજુરી કરતા હતા ત્યાં તેમનાં ભલા માટે રાજકીય, સામાજીક અને આર્થીક મુસ્કેલીઓ દુર કરવા માટે તેમણે દુઃખ સહન કરવાનું ઉચિત માન્યું હતું અને એશીયનો તથા આફ્રીકનો વચ્ચે ભ્રાતૃભાવનાનો સંબંધ વધારવા માટે તેમણે તેમનાથી બનતું સઘળું જ કર્યું હતું. તેઓ તેમના પિતાના પુત્ર તરીકે નહિ પણ પોતાની સચ્ચાઇના લીધે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના બ્રીન-ગોરાઓ અને અનેક લીબરલ યુરોપીયનોમાં લાંબો સમય સુધી માનનીય લેખાશે.

## કસ્તુરબા સ્કુલના—"આન્ટી"

(આચાર્ય, અધ્યાપકો અને વિદ્યાર્થીઓ, ફીનીક્સ)

અમે મણીલાલ ગાંધીનાં મરણની ઘણી જ દીલગીરી પૂર્વક નોંધ લઇએ છીએ.

શ્રી. ગાંધી અમારી શાળાના સ્થાપક અને પ્રતિગ્રહીતા હતા. તેમની સાથેનો અમારો સંબંધ અમને ભ્રાતૃભાવના, સભ્યતા, નમ્રતા અને વિનય પ્રાપ્ત કરાવી માનવ જીવનની મહત્તા અને આનંદ પ્રાપ્ત કરવામાં ઘણીજ રીતે મદદરૂપ નીવડેલો છે. શ્રી. ગાંધી આ બધા સદ્‌ગુણોથી અલંકૃત હતા અને હવે તેઓ જતા રહેવાથી અમે અમારી શક્તિ અનુસાર તેમણે પ્રગટાવેલો દીપક જવલિત રાખવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરીશું- તેઓ તેમની પાછળ અમારા માટે અજબ વારસો મૂકી ગયા છે.

શ્રીમતિ ગાંધી અને તેમનાં બાળકો પ્રત્યે અમારી ઉંડી દિલસોજી વ્યક્ત કરવા સાથે આ કસોટીની પળે તેમની સાથે અમે સમવેદનામાં સહભાગી બનીએ છીએ. ○

# દિલસોજીના સંદેશાઓ

## સ્વાતંત્ર્યની લડતના સાથી

(આર્ચબિશપ લુથુલી, પ્રેસીડંટ આફ્રિકન નેશનલ કોંગ્રેસ)

આ દેશની સ્વાતંત્ર્યની લડતના મારા એક સાથી અને વ્હાલા મિત્રનું મરણ સાંભળીને મને ઘણું દુઃખ થયું છે.

તમને ગયેલી મહાન ખોટ માટે મારા પોતાના તરફથી અને આફ્રિકન નેશનલ કોંગ્રેસ વતી હું તમને અને તમારાં કુટુંબને દિલસોજી પાઠવું છું.

આવા વખતે શાંત અને સ્થિર રહેવું એ કોઈ પણ મનુષ્યને માટે મુશ્કિલ થયું છે, પણ અમે ધ્રુજીએ છીએ કે તમે આ દુઃખમાં એટલું જાણીને આશ્વાસન લેશો કે તમારા સ્વર્ગસ્થ પતિ ઉંચા આદર્શને માટે જીવી ગયા છે, અને તેમણે પોતાના જ માટે નહીં પણ સમસ્ત પ્રજાનાં કલ્યાણ માટેનાં કામોમાં ભાગ લીધો હતો.

એમના માનનીય પિતાશ્રીના એક સાચા અનુયાયી બનવા માટે એમણે બનતો પ્રયત્ન કર્યો છે, એ પ્રયત્નથી જ તમારા સ્વર્ગીય પતિ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના જ નહીં પણ વિશ્વના એક ઉમદા પુરૂષની કક્ષામાં મુકાયા છે.

અમે એમ ધ્રુજીએ છીએ કે એમની યાદગીરી અને આદર્શને જાળવનારૂં કામ ચાલુ રાખવાનું પ્રભુ તમને બળ આપો. તમારી ખોટ એ અમારી પણ ખોટ છે. અને અમે પોતે પણ એમનાં જીવનમાંથી પ્રેરણા મેળવતા રહીશું.

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## યુસુફ કાછલીયા (જોહાનિસબર્ગ)

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના બીજા પુત્ર અને 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન'ના તંત્રી શ્રી મણીલાલ ગાંધીનું અવસાન એક મહાન આઘાત રૂપ છે. એક સાચા સત્યાગ્રહી તરીકે તેઓ જરૂરની વખતે ઉપસ્થિત થયા વિના નહિ જ રહેતા. સત્યાગ્રહની લડત વખતે તેમની હિંમત અને ઉત્તેજન આપનારૂં વર્ત્તન આપણા દેશના લોકોને સદા યાદ રહેશે.

હવે જ્યારે શ્રી મણીલાલ આપણી વચ્ચે નથી, ત્યારે 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન'નાં સંચાલન માટેના તેમની અથાક પ્રયત્નની આપણને ઉણપતા જણાશે. અમર મહાત્માના જીવન અને ઉપદેશના જીવંત સ્મારકરૂપ ફીનીક્સ સંસ્થા કે જેને શ્રી મણીલાલે પોતાનું જીવન સમર્પ્યું છે તે સત્ય, સ્વાર્થત્યાગ અને પ્રતિકારના માર્ગે જનતાને ઉત્તેજન આપવા માટે ચાલુ જ રહેવું જોઇએ.

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## મુરીએલ લેસ્ટર

શોકજનક સમાચાર હમણાં જ સાંભળ્યા. મણીલાલની શકિત સ્વાર્પણ અને સરળતા માટે હું પ્રભુનો પાડ માનું છું.

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## બાપુની કુટીરમાં શોકસભા

સેવાગ્રામમાં ગુરૂવાર તા. ૫મી એપ્રીલની રાતે નવ વાગ્યે શ્રી મણીલાલ ગાંધીના મરણના સમાચાર પહોંચ્યા હતા. ત્યાંના કાર્યકર્ત્તાઓએ સાડા નવ વાગ્યે રાતે જ શોકસભા ભેગી કરવા પ્રાર્થના કરવામાં આવી હતી.

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## મીરાં બેન, (મીસ સ્લેડ)

શ્રીનગર, કાશ્મીર

હાર્દીક દિલસોજી, પ્રભુ તમારી રક્ષા કરો.

## હૈયામાં વસેલું ગાંધી નામ

(લેડી હાર્ડીંગ, વીલસન્સ અને મેકનીકલ્સ)

શ્રી મણીલાલને વિવિધ દેશના અનેકો કૃતજ્ઞતાથી માન આપે છે. બે વર્ષ પર ફીનીક્સમાં તેમણે અમને અર્પેલો માયાળુ આવકાર સ્મરણીય છે. તેમણે સત્યને માટે મહાન ભોગ આપેલો છે. અને જગતને તિરસ્કાર રહિત કરવા શ્રદ્ધાથી ઝઝુમ્યા છે. મોરલ રીઆર્મામેન્ટને જગતના ઝંઝાવાત અને અંધકારમાં એક દિવાદાંડી તરીકે તેમણે જણાવીને આપણને સાચો માર્ગ બતાવેલો છે. હજારોને માટે એ રાહ પર તેમણે પ્રકાશ પાડયો છે. તેઓ આવતી કાલે તેનો નિઃશંક આદર કરશે. ઇસ્ટહામ ટાઉનહોલ લંડન ઇસ્ટ કે જ્યાંના લોકોનાં હૈયામાં ગાંધીનું નામ વસેલું છે.

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## રેવ. ડોનલ્ડ હેરીન્ગટન (ન્યુયોર્ક)

શ્રી મણીલાલ ગાંધીનાં નિધન માટે અત્યંત દીલગીરી સહ શિર નમે છે. જેઓ માનવજાતને પ્રેમ, પ્યાર અને હિંમત આપતા હતા. તેમનો આત્મા કદી મરશે નહીં. ઇશ્વર ઇચ્છાથી તેમના હેતુનો જ વિજય થશે. તેમનાં સમગ્ર કુટુંબ પ્રત્યે અમારી ઉંડી દિલસોજી છે.

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## યુનાઈટેડ હીંદુ એસોસીએશન (કેપટાઉન)

એસોસીએશનના અધિકારીઓ અને સભ્યો માનવી જાતને થયેલી મહાન ખોટ માટે ઉંડી દિલસોજી વ્યકત કરે છે શારીરિક મૃત્યુ એ આધ્યાત્મિક જીવનનો જન્મ છે.

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## આર. સ્મીથ સીમ્પસન

(અમેરીકન કોંસ્યુલેટ જનરલ, લોરેન્કો માર્કવીસ)

તમારા પતિનાં મરણના ખેદજનક ખબર મળતાં શીઘ્ર જ તમને અને તમારા પુત્રને દિલસોજી વ્યકત કરવા હું ઉત્સુક બન્યો હતો. એક વર્ષ પર યુનાઇટેડ સ્ટેટસ જતાં તમને મળવાનો અને તમારા ગૃહે ભોજન લેવાનો આનંદ અવર્ણનીય હતો. ઘણા વખતની ફીનીક્સની મુલાકાત લેવાની મારી ઇચ્છા પૂર્ણ થવાથી હું હંમેશાં તમને તથા તમારા કુટુંબને તે પ્રસંગની મમતા યાદ કરતો રહીશ.

તમારા પતિનાં અવસાનથી તમને તથા તમારા પુત્રને અને દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના યુનીયનના હીંદીઓને જ નહિ પણ ન્યાય અને સુલેહના હેતુને પણ ભારે ખોટ સહ છે, કે જેને તેઓ હિંમતથી વળગી રહ્યા હતા. આખી દુનીયામાંથી તમારા દુઃખના પ્રસંગે દિલાસાઓ આવશે તેનાથી તમે અને તમારો પુત્ર આશ્વાસન મેળવશે એવી મને આશા છે.

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## કે. કે. પટેલ

(મોમ્બાસાની ઇન્ડિયન એસોસીએશનના સહ મંત્રી)

મોમ્બાસાના હીંદીઓ વતી અને ઇન્ડિયન એસોસીએશનના સહ-મંત્રી તરીકે હું તમારા સ્વર્ગસ્થ પતિનાં અવસાનથી મોમ્બાસાની હીંદી જનતાને થયેલી ભારે ગમગીની વિદિત કરૂં છું.

તમારા સ્વર્ગીય પતિનું મરણ આ બારીક સમયે ભારત અને ખાસ કરીને આફ્રિકાના હીંદીઓ માટે મહાન ખોટ રૂપ છે. પરમાત્મા તમને આ ખોટ સહન કરવાનું બળ આપો અને સદ્‌ગતના આત્માને શાંતિ પ્રદાન કરો.

# અસ્ત થએલું તેજ

લેખક : અરૂણ ગાંધી

આજે મારા મિત્રો અને સ્વજનોની સાથે એક ભગ્ન હૃદય નાં પુત્ર તરીકે દુઃખમાં સહ ભાગી થવાનું છે. ગુરૂવાર પમી એપ્રીલની સવારથી આપણી ઉપર જે અંધકાર છવાએલો છે તેનાથી હું શારીરિક અને આધ્યાત્મિક બંને રીતે ભગ્ન બની અંધકારમાં ગોથા ખાઇ રહ્યો છું.

છેલ્લા બાર દિવસ મારા પિતાશ્રી ઘરના મધુર વાતાવરણમાં હતા ત્યારે તેમની સુશ્રુષા કરવાનો અણમોલો લાભ મળ્યો હતો એને માટે અમે ધન્યતા અનુભવીએ છીએ. એમની તબીયત દિન પ્રતિદિન સુધરતી જણાતી હતી અને હમેશાં નવા જોમ અને આનંદથી તેઓ અમને પકડીને કામ ભરવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરતા હતા. આથી અમને દિલમાં આશા બંધાતી હતી કે એક દિવસ તેઓ પહેલાંની જેમ જ ફરી ચાલી શકશે. પણ ઈશ્વરની ઇચ્છા તેમ નહોતી.

આજે મારી આંખ સામે તેમનાં ઘણાં સ્મરણો તાજાં થાય છે. તેના પરથી મને એમ લાગે છે કે જે માંદગી આવવાની હતી એની ઝાંખી એમને પહેલાં જ થઇ હતી. મને ખાસ કરીને એક વાર્તાલાપ યાદ આવે છે કે જે તેઓએ તેમની માંદગીના થોડા દિવસ પહેલાંજ અમારી સાથે કર્યો હતો. સાંજનો વખત હતો. જમ્યા પછી હું મારી બેન અને મારી મા તથા મારા પિતાશ્રી ગેમ રમવાની તયારી કરતા હતાં કે, જે અમારો રોજ રાતનો કાર્ય ક્રમ હતો. જેમ શરૂ કરતાં પહેલાં જ ગંભીર પણે મારા પિતા શ્રીએ વાત શરૂ કરી કહ્યું "હું તમને લોકોને એક ગંભીર સવાલ પુછવા માગું છું" અમે બધાં સ્તબ્ધ થઇ આતુરતાથી એમના આગળના શબ્દો સાંભળવા તેમની સામે જોઇ રહ્યાં. તેમણે કહ્યું. "હું ૨૧ દિવસના ઉપવાસ કરવાની તમારા બધા પાસે પરવાનગી માગું છું." થોડીક ક્ષણો અમે મૌનજ બેઠાં. આવી વાતની અમને કલ્પના જ નહોતી. તેઓએ વધુમાં જણાવ્યું "હું ઉપવાસથી મારા શરીરમાંથી ઝેર કાઢવા માગું છું." અમે ત્રણેએ આનો વિરોધ કર્યો કારણ અમને જણાયું કે ૨૧ દિવસના ઉપવાસ આ ઉમ્મરે તેઓ કરી શકે કે કેમ કે એની અમને શંકા હતી. આના જવાબમાં તેઓએ અમને જણાવ્યું કે "શું તમે બધાં મને પયારીમાં અપંગ હાલતમાં પડી રહેલો જોવા ઇચ્છો છો?"

આ વાર્તાલાપ પછી થોડાક જ દિવસ પછી એમની લાંબી માંદગીની શરૂઆત થઇ. જે માણસને હમેશાં કામ અને ફરવા ફરવાનો શોખ હતો તેઓ સાવ જ અપંગ હાલતમાં પથારી વશ બની ગયા. ઇશ્વરની એવી જ ઇચ્છા હશે! આ માંદગીમાં તેઓની થોડો વખત માટે ઘણીજ ચીંતાજનક અને ગંભીર હાલત હતી. તેઓ તે દિવસો પસાર કરશે કે કેમ એવી શંકા રહેતી, પણ તે પસાર થઇ ગયા.

બે મહીનાથી પણ વધારે વખત તેઓએ બેકોર્ડ હોસ્પીટલમાં કાઢયા. ત્યાં એમની ઘણા જ પ્રેમથી સારવાર કરવામાં આવી હતી. માર્ચની ૨૫મી એ તેમને અમે ઘેર લાવ્યાં. ઘણા દિવસો પછી પોતાનું વ્હાલું ઘર જોઇ તેઓને ઘણો આનંદ થયો હતો અને તે આનંદ તેઓના ચહેરા ઉપર અવસાન ના દિવસ સુધી જણાતો હતો.

દુઃખદ દિવસની સવાર આવી, સુરજ ના કિરણો ટેકરીને ટોચેથી પોતાના રશ્મી પસારવા લાગ્યાં. મારી માએ મને મારા પિતાશ્રીને બેડપેન આપવા માં મદદ કરવા બોલાવ્યો. તે પછી અમે તેઓને નાસ્તો આપ્યો જે તેમને હંમેશની જેમ ખુશમીજાજમાં લીધો. નવ વાગે હંમેશની જેમ મેં એમની હજામત કરી અને મારી મા સાથે એમને રંપજ કર્યું. ત્યારબાદ રોજની જેમ મેં એમને ખુરશીપર ઉચકીને બેસાડયા, અને ત્યાંજ અંધકાર ભર્યો એમના અંતની શરૂઆત થઇ. એમની આંખો ઉપર ચઢી ગઇ અને શાંત અને પ્રીકકા પડી ગયા. વેદનાભર્યો એ વખત હતો. અમે ફરી એમને બિછાનામાં સુવાડયા અને ડોકટરને ફોન કર્યો. આ વખત દરમ્યાન મારા પિતાશ્રીના મુખમાંથી હે રામ, હે રામ, શબ્દો બોલાતા હતા. અમારી મુંઝવણ અને ચીંતામાં વધારો થતો ગયો કારણ એમના હાથ પગ ઝડપથી ઠંડા પડી રહ્યા હતા. ડાકટરની અમે આતુરતા થી રાહ જોઇ રહ્યાં હતાં. થોડીક રાહ જોયા બાદ કાર લઇ હું જ તેને તેડવા ગયો. પણ મારા કમનશીબે હું ગયા પછી તુરત જ અમારો સુરજ અસ્ત પામ્યો.

આ એક મારો અંધકાર ભર્યો અને દુઃખદ પ્રસંગ હતો, મારા પિતાથીની જ્યારે મારા હસ્તે અંતીમ વિધી કરાવવામાં આવી ઘણા સ્વજનોની અને મિત્રોની ઇચ્છા તેમનો અગ્નિ સંસ્કાર બીજે દિવસે કરવાની હતી પણ સંજોગાનુસાર કુટુંબીઓને તેમ કરવું યોગ્ય ન લાગ્યું.

આજે અમારી સામે ઘોર અંધકાર જણાય છે. પણ જો બાપુજીના અને મારા પિતાશ્રીના આદર્શોને અમારા જીવનમાં ઉતારી અમે તેઓના માર્ગે ડગલાં ભરી શકીશું તો ભાવી ઉજજવલ બનશે. આજે અમારી ઉપર મહાન બોજો આવી પડયો છે અને અમારે તે ઉઠાવવાનો છે. ઇશ્વરની ઇચ્છા સામે રૂદન કરવું નકકામું છે.

મારા પિતાશ્રીને તો અમર શાંતી મળી છે. અને હવે તેઓ અમારી વચ્ચે શરીરે નથી, પણ મને ખાત્રી છે કે તેઓનો આત્મા અમારો માર્ગ દર્શક બનશે. પીતાશ્રીના આશિષથી અને મારા પુરૂષાર્થથી અંધકારનો પડદો ચિરાશે અને ક્ષિતીજમાં ઉષાના કિરણોની ઝાંખી થશે.

# જેવા મેં એમને ઓળખ્યા

આદમજી નગોબો

[શ્રી. આદમજી નગોબો હાલમાં અમારા પ્રેસના હેયાત કામ કરનાઓમાં સૌથી જુનાં આફ્રિકન કામ કરનારા છે.]

સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી કે જેઓનું ગુરૂવાર તા. પમી એપ્રીલના અવસાન થયું, તેમની સાથે મારો સંબંધ ૧૯૨૦થી કે, જ્યારે તેઓએ મને આ છાપખાનામાં કામ કરનાર તરીકે રાખ્યો ત્યારનો છે. તેઓ ત્યારે તેમનો પિતા મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીને હસ્તે ૧૯૦૩માં સ્થપોએલા 'ઇન્ડીયન ઓપીનીયન'ના તંત્રીપદે હતા.

તેઓને તેમના સ્ટાફ સાથે કોઇ કોઇ વાર મધરાત સુધી પણ ઘણાજ પ્રેમ અને ઉત્સાહથી કામ કરતાં ઘણા વર્ષો સુધી મેં જોયા છે.

એઓ માનતા હતા કે, જો ખરા પ્રમાણિક નેતા થવું હોય તો લોકો સાથે ભળી જઇને કામ કરવું જોઇએ, અને તેથી તેઓ કંઇ પણ બોલતા કે લખતા તેને અમલમાં મુકતા હતા.

'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન'ને આદર્શ ની ટોચ ઉપર રાખવા માટે એમણે ઘણી અડચણો અને સંકટો સહીને તેને ચાલુ રાખવા માટે ઘણો પ્રયત્ન કરવો પડયો હતો. ઘણીવાર તેઓ ને લવાજમો ઉઘરાવવા ટ્રાંસવાલ અને કેપ જવું પડતું. ઉઘરાણીને કામે જતા ત્યારે પણ છાપા નાં લખાણો અને અગ્રલેખ મોકલવા નો આધાર તેમની ઉપર રહેતો તેથી તેમના મગજપર ઘણો બોજો રહેતો. આ બધું એમણે પોતાના દેશના લોકો માટે કર્યું હતું, કારણ 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપીનીયન' એ એક તેમનું વાજંત્ર હતું. આ કામ તેમને માટે પ્રેમ ભર્યું પણ મહેનતનું હતું.

ફીનીકસ સેટલમેન્ટના આ બધા કામોનો વધુ પડતો બોજો હોવા છતાં તેઓ બીજા કોઇ પણ મહત્વના કામમાં કદી પાછળ નહોતા પડતા. એમણે જાહેર કામમાં ઘણો રસ ભર્યો ભાગ લીધો હતો અને હમેશાં બીન-ગોરાઓના નેતા તરીકે જવાબદારી ભર્યું સ્થાન, જુલ્મનો વિરોધ કરવા અને ન્યાય મેળવવા શોભાવ્યું હતું. સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી હમેશાં સત્ય અને અહીંસામાં માનનારા હતા. તેઓને પ્રાર્થના બળમાં ઉંડી શ્રદ્ધા હતી. આઝાદીની લડતમાં તેઓ એક બહાદુર સૈનિક રૂપે હતા. દુનીયાના આઝાદી પ્રિય લોકો તેમને એક "ભય વગરના નેતા" તરીકે ઓળખે છે.

સ્વર્ગસ્થ મણીલાલ ગાંધી હમેશાં ખુશ મીજાજી હતા. અને કોઇ પણ એમની પાસે મદદ માંગવા જાય તો તેઓ ખુલ્લા દિલે મદદ કરતા. જેઓ એમના સહવાસમાં આવતાં તેઓને તેમને માટે માન ઉપજતું અને ગરીબ તવંગર કે નાના, મોટાના ભેદ વગર તેઓ તેમને આવકારતા. એમની ઉદારતાને લઇ એમને માટે તેમના ફીનીકસ સેટલમેન્ટની પડોસમાં રહેનારા બધા આફ્રિકનોને ઘણું ઉંડું માન હતું. અને તેઓ તેમને 'ફોસાન'' કહી બોલાવતા જેનો અર્થ "મોટા માણસનો પુત્ર" થાય છે.

એમને અંતીમ અંજલી આપવા ઘણા લોકો એમને ઘેર હાજર રહ્યા હતા અને ફેટોમેનર સ્મશાન ભૂમીમાં ઘણા માણસોએ એમને અંતીમ અંજલી અર્પી હતી. જેમાં બધી કોમના લોકો હતા. આ બતાવે છે કે તેઓ કેટલું આગેવાની ભર્યું અને માનભર્યું સ્થાન ભોગવતા હતા.

હું એમના આત્માને શાંતી ઇચ્છું છું.

# સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીની જીવન ઝરમર

સૌરાષ્ટ્રના પોરબંદર ગામે ગાંધી કુલમાં સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીનો જન્મ તા. ૨૮–૧૦–૧૮૮૨ના થયો હતો. તેઓ પાંચ વર્ષની વયે પોતાના માતુશ્રી અને વડીલ ભાઈ તથા પિતાશ્રી સાથે પહેલી વાર ૧૩મી જાન્યુવારી ૧૮૯૭ના દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકા આવ્યા હતા. ડરબનને કીનારે ઉતરતાંજ તેઓને આ દેશનો કડવો અનુભવ બાળવયે થયો હતો. મહાત્મા ગાંધીજી ઉપર ઉશ્કેરાયેલા ગોરાઓએ જે હુમલો કર્યો હતો તે આ પ્રવાસ વખતનો બનાવ હતો.

તેમનું બાળપણ ડરબન અને જોહાનીસબર્ગ વચ્ચે વિત્યું હતું તેમના પિતાશ્રીને પોતાના બાળકોની કેળવણી નો પ્રશ્ન ઠીક ઠીક મુંઝવતો હતો. તેઓ શરૂઆતથીજ એમ ઇચ્છતા હતા કે બાળકોને પ્રાથમિક કેળવણી સારા



બાળવયના શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધી

શિક્ષકો પાસેથીજ મળવી જોઇએ. આ દેશના રંગદ્વેષી વાતાવરણમાં તે જમાનામાં હીંદીઓ માટે સારી નિશાળો કયાંથી જ હોય અને ગોરાઓ ની નિશાળોમાં કદાચ અપવાદરૂપે મુકી શકાત ખરા પણ તેમ કરવું તેઓને યોગ્ય ત' લાગ્યું. તેઓ પોતાની આત્મકથામાં તે વિષે લખે છે કે,

"ગોરાઓ માટે જે નિશાળ હતી તેમાં હું મારા દિકરાઓને મોકલી શકયો હોત પણ તે કેવળ મહેરબાની અને અપવાદ તરીકે."

આવી મહેરબાની અને જે સગવડો ... અનેક હીંદી બાળકોને ન મળે ...વવી તેમને ન ગમી. આથી ...શિક્ષીકા રાખી ઘરમાંજ બાળકો ...ાવવાનું શરૂ કર્યું હતું. આ ...ત હમેશાં પોતે પણ થોડો વખત ...ી ભણાવતા હતા. તેમના નાના ... બાળકો શાળાનાં પગથીયાં કદી ચઢવા પામ્યા નહોતા. આ વિષે મહાત્મા ગાંધીજી લખે છે કે,

"જે અનુભવજ્ઞાન તેઓ પામ્યા છે, માતા પિતાનો જે સહવાસ તેઓ મેળવી શકયા છે, સ્વતંત્રતાનો જે પદાર્થપાઠ તેમને શીખવવામાં આવ્યો છે, તે જો મેં તેઓને અમે તે રીતે નિશાળે મોકલવાનો આગ્રહ રાખ્યો હોત તો તેઓ ન પામત."

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આ રીતે તેમની બાળવય નિત્ય અનેક નવા અનુભવો મેળવવામાં પસાર થઇ હતી. તેમનાં જીવનના તેજ સમયમાં, તેમના પિતાશ્રીની બેરીસ્ટર તરીકેની જાહોજલાલી અને ત્યાર પછી ૧૯૦૩માં ફીનીકસ સંસ્થા ની સ્થાપના થયેલી તેમાં ખેડુતની અને જાતમહેનતની સાદી જીંદગી, અને રાજદ્વારી વાતાવરણ ગરમ હોવા થી તે અંગેના જ્ઞાનમાં રોજના અવનવા પાઠો પોતાના પિતાશ્રી પાસે થી તેઓ મેળવી રહ્યા હતા.

૧૯૦૧ની સાલમાં મહાત્મા ગાંધીજી જ્યારે ફરી દેશ ગયા અને મુંબઇમાં સ્થિર થયા ત્યારે તેમના બીજા પુત્ર સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીને ટાઇફોઇડની બીમારી લાગુ પડી હતી. આ વિશે આત્મ કથામાં ગાંધીજીએ એક આખું પ્રકરણ "ધર્મ સંકટ" લખ્યું છે. આ પહેલાં સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીને સખત શિતળામાતા પણ નિકળ્યાં હતાં. આ બન્ને ઘણી ગંભીર માંદગીઓ તેઓએ બાળવયમાં ભોગવી હતી. બીજી માંદગીમાં વ્હાલસોયા બાપના અનેક મનોમંથન પછી કરેલા પાણીના ઉપચારોનો અનુભવ તેમણે પોતે આત્મકથામાં લખ્યો છે તે વાંચી લેવા જ યોગ્ય ગણાશે. આ બે માંદગી પછી તેઓ હમેશાં સુંદર તંદુરસ્તી ભોગવતા. તેમનું શરીર મ્હેનતથી કસાએલું અને નિયમીત જીંદગીથી નિરોગી હતું. તે બાળ વય પછી તેઓ એ એક ૬૪ વર્ષની ઉમ્મરે આ માંદવાડ ભોગવ્યો હતો. તેમને ૬૪ વર્ષની વય લગી કદી ઇંજેકશન કે કોઇ દવા લેવી નહોતી પડી.

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૧૯૦૯માં આ દેશમાં સત્યાગ્રહની જવાલા પ્રજળી હતી ત્યારે સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી ૧૭ વર્ષની વયના હતા. એ કુમળી વયે તેમને ફીનીકસમાં રહી પોતાના નાના ભાંડુઓની અને માતુશ્રી ની તેમજ વડીલ ભાભીની સંભાળ લેવાનું, તેમજ ફીનીકસનાં કેટલાંક જરૂરી કામોમાં સાથ આપવાનું કાર્ય સોંપવામાં આવ્યું હતું. આ પછી મહાત્મા ગાંધીજી જેલમાંથી નિકળ્યા બાદ તેઓ એક ડેપ્યુટેશન લઇ લંડન ગયા હતા ત્યાંથી પાછા ફરતાં. તેઓએ "કીલડોનન કાસ્ટલ" પરથી ૨૪–૧૧–૧૯૦૯ના રોજે એમ ના પર એક પત્ર લખ્યો હતો. જે નિચે મુજબનો હતો.

ચિ. મણીલાલ,

અત્યારે રાતના ૯॥ વાગ્યા છે. કેપટાઉન હવે પાંચ દહાડાની મજલપર છે. હું જમણે હાથે લખીને થાકયો છું. એટલે હવે તમારી ઉપરનો કાગળ ડાબે હાથે લખું છું. મારે પરબારૂં જેલ જવાનું થશે એવો સંભવ છે તેથી આ કાગળ લખું છું.

મારા જેલ જવાથી તમે તો રાજી જ થશો એમ માની લઉ છું. કેમકે તમે સમજુ છો. લડતનું રહસ્ય એ છે કે આપણે જેલ જઇ રાજી થવું અને રાજી રહેવું.

ફીનીકસ વિશે તમે સવાલ પુછ્યો તે ઠીક કર્યું. આપણે આત્માને કેમ શોધી શકીએ ને દેશ સેવા કેમ કરી શકીએ તે પહેલું વિચારવું પડશે. ત્યાર પછી ફીનીકસ શું છે તે સમજાવી શકાય. આત્માને શોધવાને સારૂં પ્રથમ તો નીતી દ્રઢાવવી જોઇએ. નીતી એટલે અભય, સત્ય, બ્રહ્મચર્ય, વિગેરે ગુણોનું સંપાદન કરવું તે આમ કરતાં દેશ સેવા તેની મેળે થઇ શકે છે. તે કરવામાં ફિનીકસ બહુ સહાય કારક છે. મારા વિચારો એવા છે કે, જ્યાં ઘણી લાલચો રહેલી છે ત્યાં નીતી જાળવવી બહુ કઠણ છે. તેથી જ્ઞાની પુરૂષોએ ફિનીકસ જેવું એકાંત સ્થળ બતાવ્યું છે. ખરી નિશાળ અનુભવ ની છે. જે અનુભવ તમને ફિનીકસ માં મળ્યો તે બીજે ન મળત. આત્મા ને શોધવાના વિચાર પણ ત્યાંજ થઇ શકયા.

બાપુના આશિર્વાદ.

આ પત્ર લખ્યો તે પહેલાં તેઓ (મહાત્મા ગાંધીજી) દ. આ.ના સત્યા-ગ્રહની લડત અંગે જેલમાં જઇ આવ્યા હતા. જેલમાંથી તા. ૨૫–૩–૧૯૦૯ ના દિને એક પત્ર લખ્યો હતો કે જે ઘણો ઇતિહાસીક પત્ર ગણાય તે આ અંકમાં બીજે સ્થળે આપવામાં આ-વ્યો છે.

૧૯૧૧માં તેમના નિતીભંગના ગુન્હા માટે મહાત્માજીએ અને તેમણે પોતે સાત દિવસના પહેલ વહેલા ઉપવાસ કર્યા હતા.

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૧૯૧૩માં ફરીથી સત્યાગ્રહની લડત શરૂ થઇ હતી તે વખતે સ્વ. મણીલાલ ને જેલનો પહેલો અનુભવ થયો હતો. તા. ૮–૧૦–૧૩ના 'ઇ. ઓપિનિયન'માં લખેલું છે કે જોહાનીસબર્ગમાં શ્રી મણીલાલ ગાંધીએ જેલમાં જવા માટે ફેરીયાના કપડાં પહેર્યાં અને મેવાની બાસ્કીટ લઇ કેટલાક સાથીઓ સાથે પકડાઇને જેલમાં ગયેલા, જેમાંથી ૧૭મી અકટોબરે છુટયા. પણ ફરીથી પકડાવા બીજે જ દિવસે બાસ્કીટ લઇ નીકળ્યા અને હમણે કેસ ચાલતાં બીજા દશ દિવસની જેલ થઇ હતી. એ મુદત પુરી થયા બાદ ફરીથી જેલ જવાના બે ત્રણ પ્રયત્નો કર્યા પણ સત્તાવાળાઓ તેમને ઓળખી જવાથી પકડતા ન હતા જેથી વેોલકરટમાં જઇને સરહદ પરથી પકડાયેલા જે માટે ત્રણ માસની જેલ ૨૭મી અકટો-બરે થયેલી આ વખતે તેમને ડરબનની સેંટ્રલ જેલમાં રાખેલા. એ જેલમાં સત્યાગ્રહીઓને માર, અપમાન અને અપશબ્દોનાં ભારે દુઃખો આપવામાં આવતાં અને એમને પણ આપવામાં આવેલા. ચાવલપર એક વાર માસ મુઠ્ઠા અપાયેલું જે માટે સાથીઓ સહિત વિરોધ કરી ખાવાની ના પાડેલી અને ૩જી જાન્યુઆરી ૧૯૧૪ થી ચાર દિવસના અપવાસ પછી બહારના દબાણથી સત્તાવાળાઓએ ખોરાકમાં ઘટતો સુધારો કરી આપેલો તે પછી ખાવાનું શરૂ કરેલું. આમ ૧૯૧૩–૧૪ની સત્યાગ્રહની લડાઇમાં સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીએ ત્રણ વાર જેલ ભોગવી હતી.

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૧૯૧૫માં તેમના પિતાશ્રી લંડન થઇ દેશ ગયા હતા. અને સ્વ. મણી-લાલ ગાંધી, બીજા ભાઇઓ અને ફિનીકસના કેટલાક સ્વજનો સાથે સીધા દેશ ગયા હતા. દેશમાં બાપુજી સાથે થોડો સમય આશ્રમમાં ગાળેલો એ દરમ્યાન ૧૯૧૬માં એક બનાવ બનેલો તે વિષે તેમણે પોતે જ લખ્યું છે કે—મારા મોઢામાંથી એકવાર અસત્ય વચન નીકળી ગયું હતું. સૌને એ વિસાત વગરનું લાગ્યું, પરંતુ મારા ને તો એ ભુલ હિમાલયના જેવડી વિશાળ લાગી. તેમણે આશ્રમવાસીઓ... વાત જાહેર કરી અને બીજે જ દિવસે મારે આશ્રમમાંથી દેશવટો લેવાનો હતો. મારી ઇચ્છામાં આવે ત્યાં

...પુએ કેટલીક સલાહ આ... હતી. તેમણે કહ્યું, મારે મદ્રાસ જઈ ત્યાં એક વણાટનું કારખાનું છે ત્યાં શીખાઉ તરીકે રહેવાની માગણી કરવી અને સાધારણ મજુરની જેમ રહેવું, પરંતુ બાપુના નામનો ઉપયોગ નહિ કરવો. આ ઉપરાંત બાપુનો ઉપવાસ કરવાનો પણ મરાદો હતો, પરંતુ આખી રાત મેં તેમ નહીં કરવા વિનવણી કરી. મારી વિનવણી તેમણે સાંભળી. બીજે દિવસે બાને અને મારા ભાઈ દેવદાસને ડુસકે ડુસકે રૂદન કરતા મુકી હું આશ્રમ છોડી ગયો. બાપુએ મને સાવ ખાલી હાથે રઝળતો નહીં મુકયો, ગાડી ભાડાં જેટલા અને ઉપરાંત થોડા રૂપિયા મારા હાથમાં મુકયા. રેલ ગાડીમાંથી મેં અશ્રુભીની આંખે બાપુને દુઃખી કર્યા તેના પશ્ચાત્તાપનો પત્ર લખ્યો."

મદ્રાસમાં એમણે સાત માસ પસાર કરેલા.

મણીલાલ ગાંધીના લગ્ન ૩૫ વર્ષની ઉમરે શ્રી નાનાભાઈ મશરૂવાળાની મોટી દીકરી સુશીલાબેન સાથે અકોલામાં તા. ૬–૩–૧૯૨૭માં થયાં હતાં. આ લગ્ન પણ ગાંધીજીની ભારતની ઉન્નતિ ના આદર્શો પૈકી એક પ્રતીક સમુ હતું તેમણે પોતેજ પુત્ર વધુનો પરિચય મેળવી નકી કરીને શ્રી મણીલાલને જણાવ્યું હતું. અને પહેલેથી વેવાઈ સાથે થોડીક અગત્યની શરતો કરેલી જેમાં કશી પણ ધામધુમ નહિ, મિષ્ટાન ભોજન નહિ. ઘરેણાં નહિ, વગેરે. લગ્ન પ્રસંગે સાધારણ રીતે કન્યા, વર, અને કન્યાનાં મા, બાપ ઉપવાસ કરે છે પણ મહાત્મા ગાંધીજી એ નવો સિદ્ધાંત ચાલુ કર્યો હતો અને વરના મા, બાપે, પણ એ પવિત્ર પ્રસંગે શુદ્ધ થઈ નવવધુને અપનાવવી જોઈએ તેથી તેઓએ પણ ઉપવાસ કર્યા હતા. એ પ્રસંગે વરવધુને પોતાને હાથે કાંતેલ સુતરની એક એક



૧૯૪૧માં પ્રેસનાં મકાન પાસે શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધી

૧૯૧૭માં આ ('ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન') પત્રનો ગુજરાતી વિભાગ ચલાવવા કોર્યકની જરૂર જણાતાં મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીએ તેમને દક્ષિણ મોકલ્યા આફ્રીકા હતા.

નિયાળની કેળવણી વગર એક છાપું ચલાવવાનું અઘરૂં અને મુશીબત ભર્યું કામ તેઓએ ઘણાજ પુરૂષાર્થ થી આગળ ધપાવ્યું હતું. અમને આજે એ યાદ આવે છે કે જ્યારે તેઓને ઈંગ્લીશમાં લખાએલા તંત્રીના લેખનો અનુવાદ કરતાં કલાકના કલાક લાગતા થોડા વખત બાદ બીજા પાસે ન લખાવતાં તંત્રી સ્થાનેથી પોતેજ લખવાનું ઉચિત માની ૧૯૧૮ના અક્ટોબરની ૧૮મી તારીખથી શરૂ કર્યું હતું. તે આજ સુધી ચાલુ રહ્યું છે.

માળા અને આશ્રમ ભજનાવલી તથા ગીતાજીની પ્રતો ઉપર આશિર્વચનો લખી આપ્યાં હતાં સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીને જે ગીતાજી આપી હતી તેમાં લખ્યું હતું કે,

આ ગ્રંથ વાચવા વિચારના સારૂં છે. આજે કરેલી પ્રતિજ્ઞા પાળજો અને બાપુને શોભાવી શોભજો.

—બાપુના આશિર્વાદ.

તેમને અપાએલી ભજનાવલીમાં લખ્યું હતું કે,

ધર્મની સેવા માટે તમે દિર્ઘાયુ થાવ.

—બાપુના આશિર્વાદ.

શ્રીમતિ સુશીલા ગાંધીને આપેલી ગીતાજી પર લખ્યું છે કે,

તમે બન્ને સુખી રહો ધર્મની સેવા ને અર્થે દીર્ઘાયુ થાઓ. આ ગ્રંથમાં થી તમારી બધી શાંતિ મેળવજો.

—બાપુના આશિર્વાદ.

અને તેણીને અપાએલી ભજનાવલી માં લખ્યું છે.

આમાંનાં ભજનોને સુખ દુઃખનાં સાથી બનાવજો.

—બાપુના આશિર્વાદ.

૧૯૨૭માં જ સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી પત્ની સાથે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા આવ્યા હતા.

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૧૯૨૯માં તેઓ લાહોર કોંગ્રેસમાં હાજરી આપવા માતૃભૂમીની સફરે સહકુટુંબ ગયા હતા અને ૧૯૩૦માં દાંડી કુચની જે મહાન ઐતીહાસીક લડત થઈ હતી તેમાં તેઓ સામેલ થયા હતા આ ઐતિહાસીક લડત ૧૨મી માર્ચના ૭૯ સાથીઓ સાથે ગાંધીજી એ સાબરમતી આશ્રમમાંથી શરૂ કરી હતી તેમાંના એક સૈનિક સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી પણ હતા. અમદાવાદથી રોજ ચાલતા ચાલતા પોતાના પિતાજી સાથે તેઓએ ૨૮૮ માઇલની કુચ કરી ધારાસણાના મીઠાના અગર પર થયેલા હુમલામાં ભાગ લીધો હતો. તા. ૨૦–૫–૧૯૩૦ના દિને ઉંટડીની છાવણીમાંથી લખેલા એક પત્રમાં તેમણે લખ્યું છે કે "આજે પોલીસો ઉશ્કેરાયેલા જણાય છે અને હવે જાહેર પ્રેક્ષકો ઉપર પણ લાઠી ચલાવે છે કદાચ કાલને માટે પ્રેકટીસ કરતા હશે. હમણાં જ એક બે માથાં ભાગેલા અમારી હોસ્પીટલમાં દાખલ થયા છે" ૨૧ મી મે ૧૯૩૦ના રોજે લાઠી ચાર્જ નો માર ખાધા પછી તેઓ પકડાયા હતા અને ૧૫ માસની જેલ થયેલી જે પુરી થયા પહેલાં સુલેહ થવાથી ૧૯૩૧ના માર્ચ માસમાં જેલમાંથી મુક્ત થયા અને થોડાજ વખતમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા આવી ગયેલા.

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ફરીથી હીંદમાં મહાત્માજીએ લડત શરૂ કરવાની વાતો કરી ત્યારે લડતમાં જોડાવા માટેની પરવાનગી માગેલી તેના જવાબમાં બાપુએ લખ્યું હતું કે "તમારા જેવા અહીં વધારે પોષાય અને કામ કરી શકે. પણ હવે ત્યાં ગયા છો તો ત્યાં જ રહી જાવ, છતાં (છાપુ) સંકેલવું હોય તો નિયમસર સંકેલીને આવી જવું. 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન' ચાલ્યા કરે તો સારૂં, પણ મને તેના હાથમાં જાય તેના કરતાં નાશ પામે એ વધારે સારૂં, નામ તેનો નાશ કોઇક દિવસ તો છેજ તો ભલે તારે હાથે થતો."

પણ એમણે આ દેશની જરૂરીયાત જાણી અને ટ્રસ્ટીઓની સલાહથી દેશ નહિ જતાં અહીં જ રોકાઇને છાપું ચાલુ રાખ્યું.

૧૯૩૨ના આરંભમાં મહાત્માજીએ 'હરિજનો'ના મુકાદા અંગે આમરણાંત ઉપવાસ યરોડા જેલમાં કરેલા ત્યારે તેમણે ૧૮–૯–૩૨ના પત્રમાં લખ્યું હતું કે,

"તમારા બેનો વિચાર થયા જ કરે છે પણ તમારા મનમાં ધીરજ અને વીરતા છે એમ માનું છું ને આશ્વાસન લઉ છું, અહીં દોડી આવવાની ઇચ્છા તો થતી જ હશે એને રોકજો. મારી બધી આશા પુરી પાડજો થી આશા રાખું છું તે જાણો છો, બાપુ જે વારસો મૂકી જાય છે તેમાં ખુબ વધારો કરજો ઇશ્વર તમારૂં કલ્યાણ જ કરશે."

આમ છતાં એકે શ્રી. મગનજીભાઇ ને થોડો સમય 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન' ની વ્યવસ્થા સોંપી સહકુટુંબ સ્વદેશ ગયા હતા પરંતુ રસ્તામાં જ ખબર મળેલા કે સમાધાન થવાથી મહાત્માજી એ ઉપવાસ છોડી દીધેલા છે. આ સમયે માત્ર ત્રણ જ માસ પિતાશ્રીની સેવામાં ગાળીને પાછા આ દેશમાં આવી ગયા હતા એ પછીનાં કેટલાંક વર્ષો 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન'નાં સંચાલન માં જ વ્યતિત કર્યાં હતાં અને તેની નીતિને અનુલક્ષી; દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાની રાજકીય સંસ્થાઓના માર્ગ દર્શક રૂપે 'ઇ. ઓ.'ને ટકાવી રહ્યા હતા. વિરોધી વાતાવરણ અને આર્થીક મુંઝવણ એથી પત્રને ટકાવી રાખવામાં ખુબ પુરૂષાર્થ કરવો પડયો હતો.

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૧૯૩૮માં છ મહિના માટે પિતાશ્રી નાં દર્શન માટે દેશ જઇ આવ્યા હતા.

૧૯૪૦માં બીજું વિશ્વયુદ્ધ ફાટી નીકળેલું તેનો વિરોધ દુનીયાની ઘણી પ્રજાએ કરેલો, દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકામાં નોન-યુરોપીયન કન્ટે પણ એ અંગે પ્રવૃત્તિ કરેલી, તેને ટેકો આપવાથી 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન'ને થયેલી કનડગત અંગે તા. ૨૧–૨–૧૯૪૧ના 'ઇ. ઓ.'માં એમણે લખ્યું છે કે,

"ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન"ને યુનીયન ના શાસકો તરફથી વખતો વખત અટકાવવામાં આવી રહ્યું છે એ જોતાં એમ જણાય છે કે યા તો હવે અમારે તે પ્રસિદ્ધ કરવું જ બંધ કરવું પડશે અથવા અમારી નીતિ બદલવી પડશે. છેલ્લા થોડા માસની અંદર 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન'ને શાસકો તરફથી બા વખત અટકાવવામાં આવ્યું છે." તીમાં

કલેરવુડની એક મીટીંગમાં તંતીમ કહેલું કે "હું નથી જોતા બધી યુનાઇટેડ કન્ટનો સભ્ય, તેમ બતાવે છે કોમ્યુનીસ્ટ. તેમ છતાં જોયું અને તેઓ એક ન્યાયી સવાલને મા રહ્યા છે તેટલે દરજ્જે એ બંને બરાબર મારી સંપૂર્ણ દિલસોજી છે."

૧૯૪૭ના ફેબ્રુઆરીની ૨૨મી તારીખે [illegible] મોગાખાન મહેલમાં એમનાં [illegible] મણીબ્રી કસ્તુરબાનું અણધાર્યું [illegible]યાનથયું હતું. ત્યારે પ્રીનીકસની [illegible]યા સુશીલા ગાંધીને સોંપી મોટી [illegible] સીતા સાથે ૧૯૪૫ના જુન [illegible] સ્વર્ગવાસ પામેલા જ્યાં તેમનાં માતા [illegible] પહેલા શ્રાદ્ધ દિને અંજલી આપી હતી.

૧૯૪૬ના માર્ચમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા [illegible] સરકારની નીતિ અને લેન્ડ ટેન્યોર [illegible]લને વખોડતું મુંબઇના છાપા જોગ એક નિવેદન બહાર પાડયું હતું.

દેશમાં લાંબો સમય ગાળી તા. ૧૬–૭–૧૯૪૬ના રોજે રટી. ખંડાલામાં ડરબન આવી ગયા. સા. આ.માં ચાલુ થઇ ગયેલી સત્યાગ્રહની લડતમાં ભાગ લેવા માંડયો. ૨૩મી ઓકટોબરે નીકલ રફવેર પર મળેલી સભામાં કહેલું કે,

"આપણી આ લડત આ પૃથ્વી કે જે કોઇ પણ અમુક જાતી કે વર્ગ ની નથી પરંતુ ઇશ્વરે કરેલાં તેનાં સઘળાં સંતાનોની છે તે પર રહેમાન પ્રિય માનવીઓ તરીકે રહેવાના હકની છે. મારા લોકોને જેલનાં દુઃખો ઉઠાવતા જોઇ તેઓનાં દુઃખમાં સામેલ થવાનું મને ઉચિત લાગ્યું છે." અને ૨૩–૧૦–૧૯૪૬ની સાંજે ડરબનમાં પકડાયા અને એક માસની જેલ થઇ હતી. ૧૫–૧૧–૧૯૪૬ના દિને લેડીસ્મીથની જેલમાંથી છુટા થયા.

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૧૯૪૮ના જાન્યુઆરીની ૩૦મી તારીખે મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના અવસાનના સમાચાર રેડીયોપર ડરબનમાં બપોરે બે વાગે મળ્યા, પ્રીનીકસમાં ગાંધીજીના સ્મરણાર્થે તેમના અગ્નિ સંસ્કારના દિવસ થી તેર દિવસ પ્રાર્થનાનો કાર્યક્રમ ૧૧મી ફેબ્રુઆરી સુધી ચાલ્યો હતો.

બાપુનાં અવસાનથી એમને ભારે ખેદ થયેલો. બાપુજી પ્રત્યે એમનો પ્રેમ કેટલો નિર્મળ હતો તે માદુંગાથી ૬–૨–૪૮ના રોજે શ્રીમતી સુશીલા પૈઝે લખેલા પત્રથી જણાય છે. લખ્યું હતું કે "તમારી બાપુજી પ્રત્યેની ભક્તિ ગાઢ હતી. હું તેમને મળેલી ત્યારે બાપુજીએ તમારો એક ફાગળ મને વાંચવા આપેલો અને કહેલું કે કેટલો નિર્મળ ભાવ છે મણીલાલનો!"

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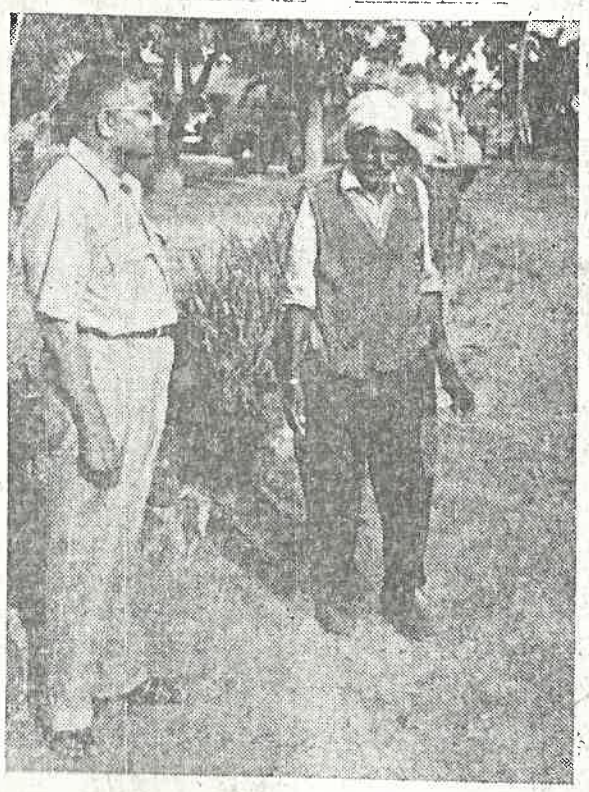
જુનની ૨૦મી તારીખે દીલ્હીમાં સ્વ. મણીલાલના મોટા ભાઇ હરિલાલ નું મરણ થયું જેઓ મહાત્મા ગાંધીજી ના ચાર પુત્રોમાં સૌથી વડા હતા.

તા. ૨–૧૨–૧૯૪૮ના દિને રટીમર [illegible]યામાં સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી ડરબન [illegible]દેશ જવા એકલા વિદાય થયા

જાન્યુઆરી ૧૯૪૯માં દેશ પહોંચ્યા પછી સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી દિલ્હી જઇ તેમના પિતાશ્રીના પહેલા નિર્વાણ દિને કુટુંબીઓ સાથે રાજઘાટ પર ગયા હતા. તેઓએ ત્યાં જઇ મહાન પિતાને ચરણે પોતાનું મસ્તક નમાવતાં જણાવ્યું હતું કે "હું મારા પિતાજીની પાસે દુર દેશથી હમેશાં પ્રેરણા મેળવવા આવતો. પણ આ વખતે સ્ટીમર પરથી ઉતરતાં તેઓ નથી એ ભામે મારી આંખો ભીની થઇ હતી. આજે રાજઘાટના દર્શન થી મને ઘણીજ શાંતી થઇ છે અને હું માનું છું કે તેમનો આત્મા મને પ્રેરણા આપશે."

જાન્યુઆરી ૧૯૪૯માં ડરબનમાં જે આફ્રીકન કોંદી હુલ્લડ થયું હતું તે વિશે સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીએ ઓલ ઇન્ડિયા રેડીઓ પરથી કહ્યું હતું કે,

"ડરબનમાં હુલ્લડ થયાનું સાંભળી



ફીનીકસના એક જુના એકુલ અચાકનુ સાથે શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધી

મને આશ્ચર્ય સાથે દુઃખ થયું છે. હમણાં થોડા વખતથી સરકારના જુલ્મી કાયદાઓને લઇ કોંદી અને આફ્રીકનો વચ્ચે સંપ વધતો જતો હતો.....કોઇ ભેદી હાથ આની પાછળ કામ કરતો જણાય છે..... અમે તેવી ઉશ્કેરણી છતાં. મગજ ગુમાવવું આપણને પોસાય તેમ નથી શાંત પ્રતિકાર વહેલ આપણે સ્વતંત્રતા મેળવી શકશું." દેશ ૪ મહિના રહી પાછા આવ્યા હતા.

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૧૯૪૯ના એપ્રીલની ૮મીએ દેશથી પાછા આવી ૨૩–૪–૧૯૪૯ના એરથા લંડન ગયા. ત્યાં ૧૫ દિવસ ફરીને ન્યુ યોર્ક જઇને યુનોમાં ચાલતા દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના કેસમાં એક પત્રકાર તરીકે ભાગ લીધો હતો. લંડન અને અમેરીકામાં જાણીતી વ્યકિતઓની મુલાકાત લઇ દ. આ.ની પરિસ્થિતિનો ખ્યાલ આપ્યો હતો. ૯–૬–૧૯૪૯ના અમેરીકાથી ન્યોર્ક આવ્યા, અને ૧૭–૬–૧૯૪૯ના 'ઇ. ઓ.'માં વિગત આપતા લખ્યું હતું કે આ દેશમાં પાછા ફરતાં હું કંપું છું કેમ કે ઇંગ્લાંડ-અમેરીકામાં સંપુર્ણ સ્વતંત્રતાનું વાતાવરણ અનુભવ્યા પછી દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા આવતાં જાણે બંદીખાના જેવી જગ્યામાં દાખલ થતો હોઉં એવું લાગે છે."

૧૯૪૯ના ડીસેમ્બરમાં વર્લ્ડ ચેસીપ્રીસ્ટ કોન્ફરન્સ શાંતિનીકેતન તથા સેવાગ્રામમાં મળેલી, જેમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના ડેલીગેટ તરીકે બીજા એક ડેલીગેટ પ્રોફેસર જબાવુ સાથે એમણે ભાગ લીધો હતો અને પૂજ્ય બાપુજી ના સિદ્ધાંત મુજબ ચાલવાની પ્રેરણા મેળવવા સેવાગ્રામમાં સાત દિવસના ઉપવાસ કર્યા હતા.

સ્વદેશથી દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા માટે ફેબ્રુઆરીમાં ઉપડયા પછી મોમ્બાસાથી એરમાં નાયરોબી જઇ દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાથી પાછા ફરતા કોંદ સરકારના ડેપ્યુટેશનના એક સભ્ય પં. હૃદયનાથ કુંઝરૂને મળ્યા હતા. પ્રીનીકસમાં બાપુનું અસલ મકાન "સર્વોદય" કેટલાક સજ્જનોની મદદથી ફરીથી બંધાયેલું તેની ઉદ્‌ઘાટન વિધિ ૧૫–૨–૧૯૫૦ના શિવરાત્રી (પૂ. કસ્તુરબાની પુણ્ય સ્મૃત્તિ) ના દિવસે ભવ્ય મેળાવડાની હાજરી માં પં. કુંઝરૂએ કરી હતી. સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી ૨જી માર્ચે ડરબન ઉતર્યા હતા.

મીસ મ્યુરીઅલ લેસ્ટર કે જેઓને ત્યાં ૧૯૩૧માં પુજ્ય બાપુજી લંડનની ગોળમેજીમાં ગયેલા ત્યારે [illegible] હતા તેઓ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિ[illegible] પ્રવાસે નીકળેલા તે દ[illegible]રતાકસ આવ્યાં હતા અને ચારેક દિવસ રહ્યાં હતાં એમના પ્રવાસથીજ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકામાં પેસીફીસ્ટ સંસ્થા સ્થપાઇ હતી.

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દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાની સરકારે કોંદીઓના સખત વિરોધ છતાં ગ્રુપ એરીયા બીલ પાસ કર્યું હતું ૧૯૫૧ ના ઓગસ્ટની ૨૦મી તારીખે સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીએ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના વડા પ્રધાન ડો. ડી. એફ. મલાનને લખેલ એક પત્રમાં હાલના અમાનુષી કાયદા ખ્રિસ્તી ધર્મથી કેટલા વિરોધી છે તે લંબાણથી જણાવ્યું હતું અને એક ખ્રીસ્તી ધર્મના ડો. મલાન ઉપદેશક હોવાથી તેમને વિનંતી કરી હતી કે "આપે આપની સરકારની નીતિની ઇસુખ્રિસ્તના શિક્ષણની દ્રષ્ટિએ પુનઃ તપાસ કરવી જોઇએ." બીજું નિવેદન ૨૧મી સપટેમ્બરના દિને બહાર પાડી ને જણાવ્યું હતું કે,

"યુનીયનના કોઇ પણ અમાનુષી કાયદાનો ભંગ કરવાનો મેં નિર્ણય કર્યો છે. આ પગલું બીજા કોઇનો મને સાથ મળે યા નહિ તો પણ હું લેવા ધારું છું." એ મુજબ તેઓ તેમનાં પત્નિ અને સંતા નો સાથે અવાર નવાર મ્યુનીસીપલ બસો અને લાયબ્રેરી કે જેમાં યુરોપીયન સિવાય બીજા કોઇને જવા નથી દેતાં તેનો ઉપયોગ કર્યો હતો પણ કોઇને પકડવામાં નહોતાં આવ્યાં.

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૧૯૫૧માં સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીએ દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાની સરકારે કોંદીઓનો વિરોધ ચાલુ રહેવા છતાં ઉપરાઉપરી અમાનુષી કાયદાઓ કરવાનું ચાલુ રાખી ગ્રુપ એરીયાઝ એકટ, પોપ્યુલેશન રેજીસ્ટ્રેશન એકટ, સપ્રેશન એકટ, કોમ્યુનીઝમ એકટ, અને રેપ્રેઝેન્ટેશન એકટ પસાર કર્યાથી તેની સામે લડવા માટે શકતી મેળવવા તા. ૬ઠ્ઠી એપ્રીલથી ૧૪ દિવસના ઉપવાસ કર્યા હતા. આ ઉપવાસ દરમ્યાન ડો. હેલન કેલરે પોતાનો ફોટો ભેટ આપ્યો હતો તેનાપર લખ્યું હતું કે, "હું તમને શુભેચ્છા પાઠવું છું. તમારા પિતાનું શિક્ષણ મારા હૃદયમાં તાજું છે. હું પ્રાર્થના કરું છું કે જેને માટે તમે આજે સહન કરી રહ્યા છો તેમાં સફળ થાવ" આ ઉપરાંત દે[illegible] ના બીજા ઘણા સંદે[illegible] મળ્યા હતા.

* [illegible]

૧૯૫૨ની [illegible] તારીખે [illegible] આ[illegible]

પ્રેસેન્જરો ટેબલપર બેઠા
ણ એક ટેબલપર અલગ
.. તેમને કહેવામાં આવ્યું
કે તમારે પાછળનાં ઓરડામાં જવું કે
ત્યાં તમને ભોજન પીરસવામાં આવશે
સ્વ. મણીલાલભાઇએ આ સુચનાને
નકારતાં પોતે ત્યાં નહિ જાય એમ
જણાવી ત્યાંજ બેસી રહ્યા. આફ્રિકાની
ગોર સર્વીસમાં સેગ્રીગેશન નથી એવું
સરકાર કહેતી આવી હતી જેથી તેની
અસત્યતા પુરવાર કરવા એમણે ભુખ્યા
જ કેપટાઉન જઇને આ બાબત જાહેર
માં મૂકી હતી.

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આફ્રીકન નેશનલ કોંગ્રેસે બીન-ગોરાઓને લાગુ પડતા અનેક અન્યાયી કાયદાઓની સામે સામુદાયિક લડત શરૂ કરવાનો તા. ૬ઠ્ઠી એપ્રીલે ઠરાવ કર્યો હતો, એ અંગે એમણે 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન'ના ૭મી માર્ચના અંકમાં નિવેદન બહાર પાડતાં લખ્યું હતું કે "તેઓના સુચવાએલા પગલાંના વાજબીપણા વિષે મને કશી શંકા



સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી, મેકકેઇ હોસ્પીટલમાં ડો. ટેલર સાથે

છેજ નહિ. મને જે વિચાર આવી રહ્યો છે તે એ કે તેમાં મારો પોતાનો ભાગ શું હોવો જોઇએ. મારે તેમાં ભાગ ભજવવો જોઇએ એ વિષે મને શંકા નથી સવાલ એ છે કે, કેવી રીત નો ભાગ મારાથી ભજવી શકાય." અંતમાં તેમણે લખ્યું કે "મારૂં અંતઃકરણ મને કહે છે કે હું તેમાં કંઇ પણ સક્રિય ફાળો આપું તે પહેલાં મારે મારો આત્મા શુદ્ધ કરવો જોઇએ, અને મારા તાત્કાલિક ફાળા તરીકે આપણને સૌને સન્માર્ગે દોરવણી મળે માટે મારે એકવીસ દિવસના અને પ્રાર્થના કરવાં"

વાર માર્ચ તા. ૭
શુક્રવાર માર્ચ
ાલુ રહેલા
મુદાયિક
૨૭
યું

પ્રાર્થના "કસ્તુરબા ભુવન"નાં પ્રાંગણ માંજ કરવી પડી હતી. છાપા જોગ નિવેદનમાં તેમણે કહેલું કે "મારા ઉપવાસના પરિણામોનો વિચાર મારે કરવાનો ન હોય, મારી ફરજ તો ઇશ્વરનું શરણ લેવાની અને તેના પ્રેમ અને માર્ગદર્શનની યાચના કરવાની જ છે. ફળ આપવાનું કામ તેનું હતું. મને માત્ર એટલો જ વિશ્વાસ છે કે. ખરા હિલથી થયેલી પ્રાર્થના કદી નિષ્ફળ જતી નથી, કોઇક પણ સ્વરૂપમાં તેનાં ફળની પ્રાપ્તિ થાય છે."

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૧૯૫૨ના ડીસેમ્બરની ૮મી તારીખે જરમીસ્ટન લોકેશનમાં વગર પરવાને એ દાખલ થવાના આરોપ માટે સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી અને મી. પેટ્રીક ડંકનને ૧૮ હીંદીઓ તથા ૧૪ આફ્રીકનો સાથે પકડીને કાચી જેલમાં પુર્યા હતા. જેના ચુકાદામાં સ્વ. મણીલાલને ૫૦ પાઉન્ડનો દંડ અથવા ૫૦ દિવસની જેલ થયેલી જેમાં એમણે સ્વેચ્છાથી જેલનો સ્વીકાર કર્યો હતો

જે પુરેપુરી ભોગવી હતી.

ફીનીક્સમાં કસ્તુરબા ગાંધી મેમોરીયલ સ્કુલ સ્થાપવાની મહાત્મા ગાંધીની અને શ્રી. મણીલાલની ઇચ્છા લાંબા સમય પછી અથાગ પરિશ્રમથી સફળ થઇ અને તેની ઉદ્ઘાટન વિધિ ૨૪-૬-૧૯૫૪ના દિને નાટાલના એડમીનીસ્ટ્રેટર મી. ડી. જી. શેપ્સ્ટનના હાથે થઇ હતી. જે શાળા ડીસ્ટ્રીક્ટના રહેવાશીઓ માટે આશિર્વાદરૂપ બનેલી છે અને તેમાં હાલ સાડી ત્રણસો ઉપર બાળકો ભણે છે.

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આ પછી તેઓ વ્યકિતગત પત્રો અને 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન' દ્વારા પોતાના અને પોતાના પૂજ્ય પિતાશ્રીના વિચારોને તા. ૧૧ નવેંબર ૧૯૫૫ સુધી એકધારી રીતે આપતા રહ્યા હતા. એ અંક અમારો તેઓએ છાપેલો છેલ્લો "દિવાળી અંક" હતો. ત્યાર પછી તા. ૧૫મી નવેંબરે તેઓને હોસ્પીટલમાં દાખલ કરવામાં આવ્યા હતા જેના બે દિવસ પહેલાં તેમને લકવાનો એક હળવો હુમલો થયો હતો. ૧૯૫૬ના માર્ચ

ની ૨૫મી તારીખે તેમને પોતાનાં ઘેર ફીનીક્સમાં પાછા લવાયા હતા. જ્યાં તા. ૬-૪-૧૯૫૬ની સવારે ઝણુધાર્યું અવસાન થયું. આમ ૬૬ વર્ષ 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન' દ્વારા તેમણે આ દેશની કચડાયેલી જનતાને લેખો અને વક્તવ્ય દ્વારા સ્વાતંત્ર્યતા મા માટેનું પ્રાથમિક શિક્ષણ આપ્યા અને અંતે શ.શ્વતને આધિન પરમાત્મા તેમને ચિર: શાંતિ આ એજ અંતિમ અભ્યર્થના.



સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીની અંતિમ ક્રિયા કરતા તેમના પુત્ર શ્રી. અરૂણ

# અંત્યેષ્ટિ

સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધી જેઓનું ગુરૂવાર તા. ૫-૪-૫૬ ના સવાર ના ૧૦-૪૫ ના અવસાન થયું હતું.

તેમના મૃતદેહને ખાદીની ધોતી, કફની અને ટોપીવડે સજ્જ કરી તેમનાં રહેઠાણ "કસ્તુરબા ભૂવન" ફીનીક્સ સેટલમેન્ટમાંથી ઇશ્વર પ્રાર્થના થયા બાદ ૪॥ વાગે સ્મશાન યાત્રા નીકળી હતી અને ડરબનની ક્રેમેટોરિયમ સ્મશાન ભૂમિપર સાંજે સાત વાગે અંતિમ સંસ્કાર કરવામાં આવ્યો હતો.

તેમનાં અવસાનના ખબરો ટુંક મુદત માં બધે ફેલાઇ ગયા હતાં અને ઘણો ટુંક સમય મળ્યો હોવા છતાં બધી ક્રોમમાં માન પામેલા અને આદર પામેલા સ્વર્ગસ્થને પોતાની અંતિમ અંજલી આપવા મોટો સમુદાય ભેગો થયો હતો અને સૌએ અંતિમ અંજલી અર્પી હતી.

ફીનીક્સ સેટલમેન્ટમાં પૂર્વે સ્વ. કસ્તુરબા અને મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના નિર્વાણ પ્રસંગે જેમ સામુહિક પ્રાર્થના જનતાએ તેર દિવસ કરેલી, તેમ સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીના દેહોત્સર્ગના દિવસથી ૧૧ દિવસ સુધી ડરબન અને ડીસ્ટ્રીક્ટનાં હીંદીજનોએ દર સાંજે હીંદી ઇસ્લામીક જરથોસ્તી ગુજુ અને અંગ્રેજીમાં પ્રાર્થના ભજન ધૂનનો કાર્યક્રમ રાખ્યો હતો. છેલ્લા દિવસની પ્રાર્થના તા. ૧૫મી એપ્રીલના રવીવારે સવારે સવા દશ વાગે "કસ્તુરબા મેમોરીયલ સ્કુલ"ના મેદાનમાં થ હતી, જેમાં હીંદી ગુજુ અને ગુરે પીયન ભાઇ બહેનોની હાજરી માઇક ઉપર સંસ્કૃત શ્લોકથી શરૂઆ કરી હીંદી અને અંગ્રેજીમાં ગીતાન બારમો અધ્યાય વંચાયો હતો. ઇસ્લામી પ્રાર્થના અને જરથોસ્તી પ્રાર્થન કર્યા બાદ તામીલ પછી ઓસ્લા ઇન્સ્ટીટ્યુટના વિદ્યાર્થી સમુહે ખ્રિ પ્રાર્થના કરી હતી. ધનાન્ડા સેમીનર ની વિદ્યાર્થીનીઓએ અંગ્રેજીમાં અંજલ અર્પી હતી. 'પ્રેમળ જ્યોતિ તારે દાખવી' ગવાયા પૂર્વે શ્રી. સોરાબજી રૂસ્તમજીએ આ પ્રસંગે જણાવ્યું હ કે આપણા વહાલા બાપુના આત્મા સાથે સ્વ. મણીલાલ ભાઇનો આત્મા મળી ગયો છે તેઓની આશીશ આ પણને આ ધાર્મીક સેટલમેન્ટ પ્રત્યે આપણું કર્ત્તવ્ય બજાવવાની પ્રેરણ કરશે. બાપુજીએ અને મણીલાલ ભાઇએ આ દેશમાં આપણા ઘણું કર્યું છે, તે ન ભૂલાય. તેમણે ગદ્‌ગદ કંઠે કહ્યું કે બાપુજી અને કાકાજીની મૈત્રી જીવનભર રહી અને તેના બાળકો એ પણ તે મૈત્રી ચાલુ રાખી છે તેવી જ રીતે તે પૌત્રજનો પણ એક મેક સાથે ની જેમ મિત્ર ભાવના રાખશે ઇચ્છું છું. અંતમાં તેમણે પ્રાર્થનાના દિવસો દરમ્યાન

(અનુસંધાન માટે જુઓ પા

# પિતાનો પુત્રને પત્ર

[નીચલો પત્ર ૧૯૦૬ ના માર્ચ તા. ૨૫મીના રોજ પ્રિટોરીયાની જેલમાંથી પૂ. બાપુજીએ સ્વ. મણીલાલ ગાંધીને લખ્યો હતો અમે એનો બ્લોક કરીને આપવા ઇચ્છતા હતા. પણ એ પત્ર ઘણો મોટો હોવાથી તેમ કરવું અસંભવિત બન્યું છે. આ પત્ર આપણને ઘણી રીતે ઉપયોગી બનશે એવી આશા સાથે અત્રે આપી રહ્યા છીએ.—પ્રકાશક ઇ. ઓ.]

મણીલાલ ગાંધી,
c/o ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિઅન
ફીનીક્સ, નાટાલ.

પ્રિટોરીયા જેલ,
૨૫મી માર્ચ ૧૯૦૬.

ચિ. મણીલાલ,

મારા વ્હાલા પુત્ર,

મને દર મહીને એક પત્ર લખવાનો અધિકાર છે. અને એક મેળવવાનો. આથી મને પ્રશ્ન થાય છે કે મારે તે પત્ર કોને લખવો અને મી. રીચનો વિચાર આવ્યો. ના. પોલાક અને તારો. મેં તને પ્રથમ કહ્યો, કારણ મારા વાંચન દરમીયાન તુજ સૌથી વધારે મારા મનમાં રહેતો.

મારે વિષે કહું જ નહીં. મને વધુ કંઈ કહેવાનો અધિકાર નથી. હું સર્વ શાંત છું. અને મારી કોઇએ ચિંતા ન કરવી.

હું ઇચ્છું છું કે બા હવે સાવ સારી થઇ ગઇ હશે. હું જાણું છું કે તમારી પાસેથી થોડાક પત્રો મળ્યા છે, પણ મને આપવામાં નથી આવ્યા, પણ પુરી મરનર્સની ઉદારતાથી તેઓએ મને જણાવ્યું હતું કે બા હવે સુધારા પર છે. શું તે હવે પુનઃ ફરતી થઇ? હું માનું છું કે તેણે અને બધાએ તારનાં સાણસાનું દુઃખમાં લેવાનું ચાલુ રાખ્યું હશે.

અને હવે તારે વિષે. તું કેમ છે? મને કે હું માનું છું કે તારી ઉપર જે જવાબદારી નાંખી છે તેને પૂર્ણ કરવાને તું પૂર્ણ યોગ્ય છે અને આનંદ પણ અનુભવતો હશે. મને હમેશાં લાગે છે કે મેં જે તને માર્ગદર્શન કરાવ્યું છે તેના કરતાં ઘણું વધારેની આવશ્યકતા છે. હું જાણું છું કે તને તારા શિક્ષણ વિષે [illegible] છે. અહીં જેલમાં મેં [illegible] મેં ઇમર્સન, રસ્કીન [illegible] ઉપનિષદ પણ [illegible] સાર હું એજ [illegible] એટલે અક્ષર- [illegible] ધડતર અને [illegible] જેને આપણે [illegible] હોય, અને [illegible] છે. [illegible] મળવી [illegible] સેવા [illegible] હોવો [illegible] ડના [illegible] જે

આનંદ અનુભવે છે, એના જેવું બીજુ શું સુંદર હોય? અથવા ચંચીને સંભાળે છે. (હરીલાલ ગાંધીનાં પત્ની. તેમના પતિ જેલમાં હતા) અને તેને હરીલાલના વિયોગનું દુઃખ ન થાય કે આઘું ન આવે તેની સંભાળ લે છે, અથવા રામદાસ કે દેવદાસની સંભાળ લે છે. તું જે આ સારી રીતે આનંદથી બજાવતો હશે તો તારૂં અડધું શિક્ષણ તો તને એ દ્વારા મળે જ છે. મને ઉપનિષદની સમાલોચનામાં નથ્થુરામજીએ જે લખ્યું છે તેના એક વાકયની ઘણી ઉંડી છાપ પડી છે. એમણે કહ્યું છે કે પહેલો બ્રહ્મચર્યાશ્રમ છેલ્લા સન્યાસ-આશ્રમ જેવો છે. આ સાચું છે. મોજમજા જીવનનાં અમુક વર્ષો સુધી જ યોગ્ય છે. દા. ત. બાર વરસની વય સુધી. બાળક તે ઉમ્મર વટાવી જાય પછી એને જવાબદારી અને કર્તવ્યનું ભાન હોવું જોઇએ. પ્રત્યેક બાળક આ ઉમ્મરે પહોંચે પછી એણે એનાં જીવન માં આચાર અને વિચારમાં સત્ય અને અહીંસાને ઉતારવાની કોશીશ કરવી જોઇએ. આ એને મોજરૂપ ન લાગવું જોઇએ. પણ એમાં એને આનંદ આવવો જોઇએ. અને એ કુદરતી રીતે હોવું જોઇએ, મને એવા કેટલાક રાજકોટના છોકરાઓ યાદ આવે છે. મને જણાવવા દે કે હું તારા કરતાં પણ નહાનો હતો ત્યારે મારો મોટો આનંદ એ મારા પિતાશ્રીની સેવા કરવાનો હતો. બાર વર્ષની ઉમ્મર પછી આનંદ પ્રમોદનો મને ઘણો ઓછો બદલે નહીં જેવો જ અનુભવ છે. જો તું ત્રણ ચીજોને આચારમાં મુકશો, અને તે તારા જીવનનો એક ભાગ બનશે તો મારા ધારવા પ્રમાણે તારૂં શિક્ષણ પુર્ણ થયું જણાશે, આ ત્રણ ચીજ તું ભેળાવીને દુનીયાના ગમે તે ખુણામાં જશે તો પણ તું તારૂં ગુજરાન કરી શકશે. તારા આત્માનું, અને તારા પોતાનું તથા ઇશ્વરનું અરૂં જ્ઞાન પામશે. આનો અર્થ એ નથી કે તને અક્ષરજ્ઞાન નહીં મળે. તે તો મળશે જ. પણ તું કોઇની જ ચિંતા ન કરે એમ ઇચ્છું છું.

માટે તારી પાસે હજી ઘણો વખત છે. અને અક્ષરજ્ઞાન એટલા માટે હોય છે કે જે તેં મેળવ્યું છે તે તું બીજાઓને આપી શકે.

એટલું યાદ રાખજે કે હવે પછી આપણને મરીત્સીમાં રહેવાનું છે. હું જેટલું વધારે ને વધારે વિચારૂં છું તેટલું વધારે ને વધારે મને લાગે છે કે મરીત્સીમાં જ સુખ છે. મરીત્સી એ શ્રીમંતાઇ કરતાં વધુ સુખદ છે.

તેં જનોઇ પહેરી છે, તો તેને વળગી રહેજે. સૂર્યોદય પહેલાં ઉઠી પ્રાર્થના કરવી એ ઘણી જરૂરની જણાય છે. અને પ્રયત્ન પૂર્વક ચોક્કસ વખતે જ તે કરવાનું રાખવું. આ વિષયમાં મેં ઘણો વિચાર કર્યો છે અને થોડું કે વાંચ્યું પણ છે. તેથી હું સ્વામી શંકરાનંદજી સાથે મળતો નથી થઇ શકતો. હું માનું છું કે જેઓએ જનોઇ પહેરવી વર્ષોથી મુકી દીધી છે તેઓએ ફરી શરૂ કરવાની કેટલી આવશ્યકતા હોય. હાલે છે તે મુજબ જ ઓપણામાં છૂત અછૂતનો ઘણો ભેદ છે. તેથી આજે જનોઇ તેમાં મહદરૂપ બનવા કરતાં આડખીલી રૂપ બનશે. આ વિષયમાં વધારે ચર્ચા કરવાની ઇચ્છા છે પણ હાલ નહીં. હું જાણું છું કે મારા આ વિચારો જેમને પોતાની આખી જીંદગી એના અભ્યાસમાં વીતાડી છે તેમની સામે મુકી રહ્યો છું. છતાં પણ મને લાગે છે કે મારે મારા વિચારો સ્વામીજીને જણાવવા જોઇએ. મેં ગાયત્રી વાંચી છે. મને એ પસંદ પડી છે. અને સ્વામીજીએ આપેલું પુસ્તક પણ મેં વાંચ્યું છે. એમાંથી હું ઘણું શીખ્યો છું. એ વાંચ્યા પછી મને સ્વામી દયાનંદજીનું જીવનચરીત્ર વાંચવાનું મન થાય છે. વાજસનેયી ઉપનિષદ અને ગાયત્રીના જે અર્થો સ્વામી દયાનંદજીએ કર્યા છે તે ચુસ્ત સનાતની ઓના અર્થ કરતાં ઘણા જુદા છે એવું મેં જોયું. આ બેમાં કયા સાચા છે એ હું નથી જાણતો. હું સ્વામી દયાનંદજીના વિચારો અપનાવતાં અચકાઉં છું. મારી ઘણી ઇચ્છા છે કે આ બધી શંકાઓનું નિવારણ હું સ્વામી શંકરાનંદજીની પાસેથી ચર્ચા કરી દુર [illegible] શકું. [illegible] હું આશા રા[illegible] સ્વામ[illegible] તે પહેલાં [illegible]

જો જરૂ જરૂરી હોય જ તો તેમની પાસે આ વિષયમાં જે કાંઇ સાહિત્ય હોય તે મુકતા જાય અથવા હીંદથી મોકલે. અને સુરત સનાતનીઓએ પણ સ્વામી દયાનંદજીના આ વિચારો વિષે જે કાંઇ લખ્યું છે તે જાણવા પણ ઇચ્છું છું. સ્વામીજીએ મને જે હાથ બનાવટનાં મોજાં અને હાથ-મોજાં મોકલ્યાં છે તે માટે તેમનો આભાર માનજે અને તેમનું દેવાનું સરનામું લખ લેજે. આ આખો પત્ર સ્વામીજીને બંચાવજે અને તેમનો મત જણાવજે.

બેતરમાં ઘાસ નિંદવામાં અને ઝાડ ઓદવામાં વધુ વખત કામ કરજે. આમળ જતાં આપણો જીવન નિર્વાહ એના ઉપર જ કરવાનો છે. હું ઇચ્છું છું કે તું કુટુંબમાં એક કાબેલ ખેડુત બને. બધાં ઓજારો પોત પોતાની જગાએ વ્યવસ્થીત અને સાફ રાખવાં. અક્ષરજ્ઞાનમાં ગણિત અને સંસ્કૃત પર વધુ ધ્યાન આપવું. સંસ્કૃત એ તને આગળ જતાં ઘણું ઉપયોગી જણાશે. આ બન્ને વિષયો મોટી ઉમ્મરે શીખવા કઠણ જણાયા છે. સંગીતમાં પણ બરાબર ધ્યાન આપજે. તારે હીંદી, ગુજરાતી અને ઇંગ્લીશ ભજનો—કવિતાઓ ચુંટીને એક પુસ્તક માં લખી સંગ્રહ કરવો. આ સંગ્રહ વરસને અંતે તને ઘણો કીંમતી જણાશે. આ બધું કરવું સહેલું જણાશે જો એક પછી એક પદ્ધતીસર કરશે તો. ઘણું કામ જોઇને કદી ગભરાવું નહીં, અને એમ ન વિચારવું કે હું આ કામ કેવી રીતે કરીશ અને પહેલું કયું કર. પણ શાંત ચિત્તથી વિચારીને બધા સદ્‌ગુણોને કેળવીશ તો તે તને ઘણા ઉપયોગી અને કીંમતી [illegible] પડશે. હું તારી પાસેથી એવી [illegible] રાખું છું કે ઘરખરચ પે[illegible] કાંઇ ખરચે તેનો પે[illegible] હિસાબ રાખે.

મગનલાલ ભા[illegible]
સુચના કરૂં [illegible]
નિબંધ''
ઉત્તમ [illegible]
બધા[illegible]

Manilal Gandhi Memorial Trust

# આખરે એ મહાન તારો ખરી ગયો !

(એક અંતેવાસીનું આત્મ નિવેદન)

...ા ગાંધીજીએ ૧૯૧૪ માં વિશ્વનાં ...ધ્યાણ માટે 'ફીનીક્સ સેટલમેન્ટ' ...ાગ કર્યો હતો, પરંતુ ત્યાં પોતા ...તિનિધિત્વ જળવાય એવી અંતરે ...ા તો હતી જ. અને તેની પ્રતીતિ ...રૂપે તેઓ "ફીનીક્સ"નું ડ્રસ્ટ કરી ગયા હતા.

પ્રતિનિધિ પાસે પ્રેરકનું સંપૂર્ણ બળ ન હોય શકે એક સાચું, તો પણ અમુક અંશે તો તેનામાં તેની શક્તિનો સંચાર થયેલો જ હોય છે એ પણ એટલું જ સાચું છે. એ વસ્તુ સ્વ. મણીલાલભાઈને તેમના પુજ્ય પિતાશ્રીની દોરવણી હેઠળ મળેલા અનુભવોથી જાણી શકાશે.

એ વિષે સ્વ. મણીલાલભાઈએ લખ્યું છે કે "બાપૂ જો કે કડક હતા છતાં એક પણ એવો પ્રસંગ નથી બન્યો ...ારે તેમની કડકાઈ અમને જણાઈ હોય ! તેનું કારણ એ હતું કે તેઓ ...ે પણ કામ એવું કરાવતા ન હતા કે જે તેઓ જાતે કરતા ન હોય, અને ...ે સૌને ચાંટી ન હેતા હોય ! વજ્ર સમાન સખતાઈ અને પુષ્પ સમાન કોમળતાનાં પ્રેમભર્યાં સ્મરણથી એ દિવસોને હું આશીર્વાદરૂપ ગણું છું."

૧૯૩૫ની સાલમાં વર્ધામાં બજાજ વાડીમાં મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીનાં દર્શન-મિલનનો મને ત્રણ મીનીટનો લાભ મળેલો તેની સ્મૃતિરૂપે તેમનાં નિર્વાણ પ્રસંગે મને "બાપૂના બોલ"નું ભજન રચવું હતું. હું બાપુજીની સ્મૃત્તિને સ્વ. મણીલાલ ભાઈનાં દર્શનથી તાજી કરી શકતો. ૧૯૫૪માં ફીનીક્સ સંસ્થાની સુવર્ણ જયંતિના અવસરમાં અઢી માસ રહેવાનું મને સદ્‌ભાગ્ય સાંપડેલું. ત્યારે એમનો અને એમનાં કુટુંબનો ઠીક ઠીક પરિચય મળ્યો હતો. ગયા વર્ષના નવેં-બરમાં એમની શારીરિક અસ્વસ્થતાના સમાચારથી અમને બેચેની ઉપજેલી. ...રાં પત્નિ અને પુત્રોએ બીજે જ ...ફીનીક્સ જવાની મને વિનતિ ...ણ ફોનથી ખબર મેળવતાં બહુ ...નહિ હોવાનું જાણીને અટ ...ય ઉપર મને એક ...ો કે ફીનીક્સ ...ની શકશે. ...ી રટીમર ...ો ને ...ી

હતી. જેથી ડોકટરો અને મિત્રોની સંમતિ મેળવી તેમને ફીનીક્સમાં લવાયા હતા. જ્યાં આવતાં જ તેમણે સંતોષની લાગણી બતાવી હતી. બધાં પરિચિતજનોને પ્રેમથી મળતા રહ્યા. આ માંદગીમાં એમના બાળસખા શ્રી સોરાબજી રૂસ્તમજીએ પુરેપુરો મિત્રધર્મ બનાવ્યો છે.

તેમજ અમે જોઇ શકયાં કે શ્રીમતિ સુશીલાબેને પતિ સેવાના અણમોલ યજ્ઞમાં સર્વસ્વને ગૌણ માન્યું છે. તન, મન, ધનની મુદલ પણ દરકાર કર્યા વિના સ્વ. મણીલાલ ભાઈની પુનઃ તંદુરસ્તીની પ્રાપ્તિની તમન્ના સેવી હતી. પુજ્ય ગાંધીજીએ સ્વ. મણીલાલ ભાઈનાં પત્નિ તરીકે તેમની પસંદગી તેમણે જાતે જ કરેલી અને એક પત્ર માં લખ્યું પણ છે કે "આ સોદામાં હું ફાવ્યો છું."

સ્વ. મણીલાલભાઈની તબીયત ફીનીક્સમાં આવ્યા પછી સુધરતી હોય કે ન હોય, પણ તેઓ હોસ્પીટલમાં હતા તેના કરતાં વધુ આનંદી તો જણાતા જ હતા. અને કવચિત શુદ્ધ વાતચીત પણ કરી શકતા, જો કે ઘણે ભાગે તો શબ્દોચ્ચાર અસ્પષ્ટ જ રહેતો. કેટલીક વાર ઇસારાવડે પણ સમજાતું નહિ ત્યારે કહેનાર અને સાંભળનાર બંનેને ભારે મુંઝવણ થઈ પડતી. નિષ્ણાત ડોકટરે છેવટે કહેલું કે એ માટે ઉપલબ્ધ અદ્યતન ઉપચારો કરી ચુકયા છે, જેથી હોસ્પીટલમાં રહે કે ઘરમાં રહે એ બંને સરખું જ છે. ઇશ્વરની કૃપા પરજ હવે ભરોસો રાખવો ઘટે છે. જેથી રવીવારે ફીની ક્સમાં આવ્યા તે દિવસની રાતે નવ વાગ્યે પા કલાક ઇશ્વર પ્રાર્થના કરેલી અને તે દરરોજ સવારે અને સાંજે નવથી સવાનવ વાગ્યા સુધી ચાલુ રાખવાનો મિત્રોએ નિશ્ચય કરેલો. બીજે દિવસે સંત વિનોબાજીનો પત્ર વાંચવા મળ્યો જેમાં તેમણે હરિસ્મરણ કરવાની ખાસ સૂચના કરી હતી.

નવ દિવસમાં તો તેમની તબીયત સુધરતી હોવાનું પ્રત્યક્ષ જણાતું હતું. બે ત્રણ માણસની મદદથી દરરોજ ઓરડામાં પંદરેક ડગલાં ચાલવાની પ્રેકટીસ પણ કરતા અને 'વીલચેર' પર પ્રેસ તથા યાળા સુધી રોજ ફેરવી શકાતા. મુલાકાતે આવનારાં સ્નેહિજ ...ોને સારા થવાની શ્રદ્ધા માટે આ ...પર્યા ...હતું. પણ ...તે ખબર ...ઇ જવા ...ઇમારો ...ો ...હતો !

દશમા દિવસે—શનિવારની રાતે ખાસ પ્રવાસની દિશામાં કંઈક અડચણ થતી હોય એમ જણાયું. જેથી બુધ-વારે સવારે સ્થાનીક ડોકટરને બોલાવ્યા તેમણે તપાસીને 'ડ્રાઇ પ્લુરસી' હોવાનું જણાવી એક ઈન્જેકશન માર્યું ને પ્લાસ ટરની બલામણ કરી તે લગાવ્યું. જેથી દિવસે ઉંઘ તથા ભોજન પણ લીધું. રાતે સહેજ દુઃખાવો જણાયેલો તે ગરમ પાણીના શેકથી મટી ગયેલો.

આ દીવસો દરમીયાન ચાળામાં રજા હોવાથી એમની નાની દિકરી ઇલાબેન પણ પિતાની સેવામાં મદદ કરતી હતી. ગુરૂવારની સવારે બધાં એ તેમનાં દર્શન કર્યાં તે વખતે તેમણે સૌ સાથે રિમત કરી અને વાતચીત પણ કરી. શ્રી અરૂણભાઈએ તેમની માતુશ્રી સાથે 'ઓડપેન' આપ્યા પછી નાસ્તો કરાવ્યો. અને અમે નવ વાગ્યે નિત્ય મુજબ પ્રાર્થના કરીને હું એ દિવસે 'ઇન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન' છપાતું હોવાથી પ્રેસમાં ગયો અને અરૂણભાઇ એ તેમના પિતાની હજામત કરી માતુશ્રી સાથે તેમને રવંજ કર્યું. અને રોજની જેમ પર્યંકની ચાદર બદલવા તેમને ખુરશીમાં બેસાડયા. ત્યાં જ તેમની આંખો ફરવા લાગી અને કશું પણ બોલવા વિના ડોકું નમાવી દીધું. આ અસાધારણ બનાવ તરફ તેમણે માતુશ્રીનું ધ્યાન ખેંચ્યાથી ફરી તેમને ખાટલા પર સુવાડી દીધા. ત્યાર પછી તેઓ જોરથી હે રામ ! હે રામ ! બોલવા લાગ્યા. ડોકટરને તરત જ આવી જવા માટે અરૂણભાઇ એ ફોન કરીને મને પ્રેસમાંથી જલદી આવવા કહેવડાવ્યું. મેં પ્રેસનાં ઘડિયાળ તરફ જોયું તો દશને વીશ થયેલી હતી. શા માટે બોલાવામા હશે ? એમ વિચાર થયો પણ બીજી જ ક્ષણે મને મણીલાલભાઇનું સ્મરણ થયું કે કદાચ તબીયત વધુ તો ન બગડી હોય ! હું ત્વરજ ઘરમાં આવ્યો ને જોઉ છું તો શ્રીમતિ સુશીલાબેન, અરૂણ અને ઇલા તેમના ખાટલા પાસે ચિંતાથી આકુળ બની ઉભેલાં હતાં અને મણીલાલભાઇ હે રામ ! હે રામ ! મોટેથી બોલતા હતા. મેં હાથ, પગ તપાસી જોયા તો ઠંડા !

શું થતું હશે તે કળી ન શકાવાથી ચારે જણાને મુંઝવણ થઇ પડી. હાય ઉપચારનો કશો ઉપાય ન જણાયો શ્રી અરૂણભાઇ મોટર લાવીને જાતે જ ડોક ટરને જલદી લઇ આવવા ઉપડી ગયા. ...અમના ...પ્રમ ને શરીર બધુ

શીતળ થવા માંડયાં. રામ ...ઉચ્ચાર ધીરે ધીરે બંધ થવા માંડયો. ...જીવનમાં કેટલાંક સ્નેહિજનોની ...પળ મેં જોઇ હતી જે અનુભવ ...મને લાગ્યું કે હવે કશી પણ ...નથી રહી. કોઇને કહયું ...પ્રેસમાં ફોનો અને ત્યાંના કામદારો આ દુઃખદ બીના કહી એક જણ મોટર લોરીમાં શ્રી અરૂણભાઇને ...પાછા બોલાવવા મોકલ્યો. હું ...આવ્યો અને શાંતિથી રામ નામ મંત્ર બોલતા મણીલાલ ભાઇનો ...મંદ થતો જણાયો. ડરબનના સ્નેહી ઓને ફોન કરવા હું પ્રેસનાં બીજા સાથે પ્રયત્ન કર્યાં કરતો હતો. ...કલાક પછી ડરબન, ટોંગાટના સ્નેહી ઓને આ કરૂણ ઘટના કહી શકયો શ્રીમતિ સુશીલાબેનને, અને ચિ. ...તથા મીસીસ મુનસામી (ફીનીક્સમાં ...કરતી બાઇ) સાથે અમે અશ્રુભીના નયને એમની અંતિમ સુશ્રુષા સા ...બન્યાં. જગતના એક મહાન પિતા મહાન પુત્ર અને દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા એક નિડર જ્યોતિર્ધરની અમર જ્યો ...પોણા અગિયાર વાગ્યે શાશ્વતમાં સમા ...ગઇ. એજ પળે શ્રી અરૂણભાઇ ડોકટર સાથે ફ્લમાં પ્રવેશ કર્યો ને દુર્ઘટ બનાવ જોઇને હતાશ થ ...શ્રી અરૂણભાઇનું હૈયું ભરાઇ આ ...બધાં જ દબાયેલા સ્વરે રોયાં. હું દિ ...મૂઢ બની આ અતિ કરૂણ દ્રશ્ય નિ ...હતો રહ્યો. માતા, અને સંતા ...શોકથી હતાશ બની અરસ પરસ ...વળગી રડયાં "બાપ" ગયા !

આખરે એ મહાન તારો ખરી ગયો

મને આ ક્ષણે ત્યાં ઉભું રહેવું ...ભારે થઇ પડયું. હવે મારાથી રહી ...જવાશે એમ લાગવાથી હું બાથરૂમમાં ...ગયો અને આંખ મોં ધોઇ ...બની થોડીક સેકંડમાં પાછો ...ઉભો. કોઇ ઉંચા સાદે ...એટલી એમનામાં ધૈર્યત ...હૃદય દ્રાવક દ્રશ્યને દબાયેલું ...હું જોતો જ રહ્યો. ...આંખો મીંચી તે ફરી ...લેતા તે બંધ થયા ...ઉચ્ચાર અટકી ...સંદેશાઓ આપવા ...ઓરડામાં ...આમ ટે ...પછી બી ...તેનાં રૂદન ...આ પછ

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