

**People Of Indian Origins in South Africa's fight against  
Apartheid: A Comparative study of Yusuf Dadoo  
and Monty Naicker:1948-1983**

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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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### DECLARATION

I, the undersigned Scholar of African Studies, School of International Studies declare that the thesis entitled "**People of Indian Origins in South Africa's fight against Apartheid: A Comparative Study of Yusuf Dadoo and Monty Naicker: 1948-1983**", submitted by me for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University for that matter.

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### CERTIFICATE

We recommended that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

  
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*Rahila Perween*

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## ABBREVIATION

ANC	African National Congress
ASC	Anti-Segregation Council
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organization
BCM	Black Conscious Movement
BPC	Black People's Convention
CBIA	Colonial Born Indian Association
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
CPC	Coloured People's Congress
DC	Defiance Campaign
DP	Democratic Party
GAA	Group Areas Act
NEUF	Non-European United Front
NIA	Natal Indian Association
NIC	Natal Indian Congress
NP	National Party
PAC	Pan African Congress
PIO	People of Indian Origin
SACP	South African Communist Party
USA	United States of America
APO	African People Organisation
ISL	International Socialist League
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union
SACTU	South African Congress Trade Union
SAIC	South African Indian Council
SASO	South African Students Organization
TIC	Transvaal Indian Congress
UDF	United Democratic Front
WFSA	Women's Federation of South Africa
YCL	Young Communist League

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***Chapter 1***  
***Introduction***



# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

For the People of Indian Origin (PIO) in South Africa the battle in the new destination and with their own identity was everlasting. In the apartheid period, they needed to battle against repatriation and isolation policies of the Whites and White regime, which regarded Indians as near threat to White economic dominance in the nation. The battle of the PIO started in 1893 with the landing of Mahatma Gandhi. In the initial period of the battle, Indians remained alone and distinguished themselves from the blacks, however, in its last stage their movement merged with the blacks. The struggle of the PIO till 1994 was further set apart by trade off and accommodation for identities and marks on one hand, and united resistance alongside Blacks or Africans against apartheid for the South African identity on the other. They, alongside the non-Whites, including Blacks, shared a long way to constrain the White-led regime to work for the annulment of apartheid and peaceful transition to democracy.

Despite lack of unity, material resources, and political leadership, the struggle continued. The new political formations under the new condition were taking place. The national consciousness grew into maturity and necessarily felt very much the need of an organisation for liberation movement. In such circumstances in the course of national movement of South Africa communist party of South Africa (CPSA) and African National Congress (ANC) was established. After the association of Yusuf Dadoo of the communist party, the character of the national liberation of South Africa entered into a new phase. The perspective of South African communist party changed the ideological input of ANC in deep sense. It mobilised the newly formed working class which came into existence as a result of capitalist system of production.

### **1.1 South Africa: An Overview**

South Africa is situated at the southern piece of African continent. It extends alongside a region of 2,798 kilometers of coastline from south Atlantic to Indian Ocean. It covers the all out land territory is 1,221,037 sq.km. It is encompassed by Atlantic and Indian Ocean on three sides. It is encompassed in the north by Botswana and Zimbabwe, in the northwest by Namibia, in the northeast by Mozambique and Swaziland and in southeast part Lesotho, an enclave encompassed by A south African area. South Africa is the 25th largest country by land area and 24th most crowded nation of the world. It is a medium estimated nation with all

out land zone of practically 1.2 million square kilometers. As indicated by land territory it is of same size of other African nations like Niger, Mali, Angola, and Colombia. It measures about 1600 km from north to south and nearly the equivalent from east to west. The size of South Africa is one-eighth of the USA, double the France and three times the Germany.

### Republic of South Africa



South Africa is geographically and strategically a significant nation of African continent. It has a major history of imperialism and racial segregation system. It has faced numerous challenges of livelihood due to colonial system. British and Dutch were the main colonial powers in South Africa. After the decimation of apartheid it is a quickly developing and rising nation. South Africa is the richest nation of Africa and economically positioned 28th on the world. It is an average measured economy. Mining has been the prominent factor of economy of South Africa however it has moved to a service based economy. South Africa was a part of Union of South Africa till first decade of twentieth century. Union of South Africa comprises of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Under the African continent there are two most essential nations. To start with/ One is Nigeria and second/ another is South Africa. The economy of Nigeria is natural oil based though South African economy is agrarian, mechanical and natural resources based. With this highlights make South Africa more vital than Nigeria. Within a short span of time South Africa is a main nation in Africa and has additionally accomplished worldwide significance by being a member from BRICS, IBSA, SADC, AU and numerous others international forums. It is one of most noticeable contender for Security Council participation in UNO. It is just nation in world where it has progressed from a colonial to a democratic vote based system. It is because of this reason that South Africa is considered as an important nation of African continent to comprehend the political dynamic in which communism and Gandhism of South Africa obtained important place.

South Africa is located in the southern part of Africa landmass and Cape Town is the capital city. Johannesburg is the biggest city of South Africa. Pretoria and Bloemfontein are also the significant city of nation. The nation is conveyed into 9 provinces. The smallest province is Gauteng and the biggest territory is Northern Cape. South Africa is named due to its position in the southern piece of continent. Limpopo and Orange are two major rivers of South Africa. It has a various atmosphere as per different part of nation.

### **1.1.1 Country profile**

South Africa is officially known as the Republic of South Africa and Cape Town is the capital city. There are 11 official dialects however Zulu, Xhosa and Afrikaans are the major dialects. South African Rand is the currency of South Africa and Christianity is the biggest religion which is trailed by very nearly 80% populace of the South Africa. The international dialing code is +27.

**Table: 1.1 South Africa's summary**

Full name	The republic of South Africa
Capital city	Cape Town
Largest city	Johannesburg
Surface Area	1,221,037 sq.km
Population	52,981,991
Official Languages(so many??)	Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu, Venda, English, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Sotho, Swazi, Tswana, and Tsonga
Major Languages	Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu
Major Religion	Christianity
Currency	South African Rand (SAR)
GDP per capita	\$7,096
Internet Domain	.za
Time Zone	UTC

Source: Global Investment and Business Centre US

There are so many religions exist in South Africa. As a result of this diverse religious presence social composition is also expanded. Christianity is a most imperative religion in South Africa. It accounts 80 % of the total populace. Hindus and Muslims are 1.5 % and 1.3% of aggregate populace respectively. Hindus and Muslims are to a great extent found among the shaded and Indian ethnic group. Blacks are additionally Muslims on extensive scale. The most of the Hindu populace came during colonial period, but later migration in post-colonial times also added to the immigrant Hindus there.

Among Black populace 0.2% is Muslim, 87.9% are Christian and 9.5 % have no religion. Among white populace 71.8% are Christians, 1.4% are Jewish 0.2% are Muslim, and 23.8 % have no religion. South Africa is a multiethnic culture with populace of diverse origins, societies, dialects, and religions. The number of inhabitants in South Africa is close around 52 million according to last census held in 2011. There are four most vital racial populace groups of various origins in South Africa. These are Black African, Colored, White, Asian,

or Indian. As per 2011 census figures for these classifications are Black African at 79.2%, White at 8.9%, Colored at 8.9%, Indian or Asian at 2.5%. The other/unspecified group is 0.5%. The first census in South Africa held in the time of 1911 and that time white populace was 22% of aggregate populace. The white populace of South Africa is slowly declining. In 1980 it declined to 16% and now it has declined to approx 9 %. It is a prominent change. Coloured populace is currently about equivalent to white populace. There are 5 million illegal immigrants including three million Zimbabweans living in South Africa too. The real piece of South African is Black populace which, however, are not socially or linguistically homogeneous. The significant ethnic groups are Zulu, Xhosa, Basotho and Bapedi.

On account of this differing religious presence social structure is also diversified. Christianity is a big religion of South Africa. It accounts 80 % of the aggregate populace. Among white populace 71.8% are Christians, 0.2% are Muslim, 1.4% are Jewish and 23.8 % have no religion.

**Table 1.2: South Africa' ethnic compositions**

<b>Ethnic group</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Black African	79.2%
White	8.9%
Coloured	8.9%,
Indian or Asian	2.5%
other/unspecified group	0.5%.

Source: Statics South Africa-Official Government Statics

End of colonial regime in South Africa, Britain gave over power to a little white minority government on 31st May 1910. These white people joined together and maintained the political, economic and military control over the black natives. In 1948, when Nationalist party came in to power in South Africa the apartheid turned into the official policy of the White Ruling Class government. Apartheid is an African word which signifies 'state of separation' or 'apartness'. It depicts the framework which theoretically expects to the different region for occupation and responsibility for whites and non-whites (Asians Africans, and Coloured). Apartheid arrangement of South Africa depended on political and financial misuse of the larger part of its natives, who were black, Africans and Asians, for the

advantage of white people. This arrangement of standardized racial control and isolation attacked human values of equity, brotherhood, freedom and the pride of the person. It implied that whites can set a policy which discriminates people financially culturally and socially based on colour. It rejects the human qualities and rights of coloured or black peoples in all circles of life.

## **1.2 Conceptual Framework:**

Overseas Indian are officially considered with the identity of Non-resident Indians (NRIs) of Person of Indian Origin (PIOs). They are the people of Indian origin, who reside from the outside of their origin country. The identity of these PIOs are usually be fragmented in various ethnic group associated to India as in the form of different ancestral background, nationality, citizenship. These group of people affiliated to the same origin place but be fragmented with multiple identities live in abroad and overseas. The formation of PIOs came into being with the migration of Indian people as Indentured labour and Passengers Indians during 1800s.

If we talk about migration, migration as a concept involves a source and a destination, a cause and an effect, and each stream of migration has its own push and pull factors. According to the Ravenstein's Law of Migration "Most migrants move only a short distance. There is a process of absorption, whereby people immediately surrounding a rapidly growing town move into it and the gaps they leave are filled by migrants from more distant areas, and so on until the attractive force which can also mentioned with pull factors is spent" ([www.2harpercollege.edu](http://www.2harpercollege.edu)).

In south Africa, there was the instant demand of cheap labour due to the expanded cultivation of sugar plantation so as per the strategically planning of colonial government many Indians went to South Africa. They went to South Africa in two categories, "Passenger Indians", and "Indentured Labours". First they went in South Africa on contractual basis, because Indian government had a deal with South Africa. According to that deal certain terms and conditions of employment were imposed on them. Both governments were benefited by this deal. Indian government had benefited because it provided opportunities of employment for its less skilled, "lower classes" while South African government had got cheap labour for sugar plantations and other works. Among one of these categories was "Passengers Indians", who

came independently in South Africa without any government agreement, with their own expenditure, from the province of Surat.

For the People of Indian Origin (PIO) in South Africa battle never ends. In the apartheid period they needed to battle against repatriation and isolation policies of the Whites and White regime, which regarded Indians as near threat to White economic dominance in the nation. The battle of the PIO started in 1893 with the landing of Mahatma Gandhi. In the initial period of the battle Indians remained alone leg yet in its last stage they distinguished themselves with the blacks. So the struggle of the PIO till 1994 was set apart by trade off and convenience for identities and marks on one hand and united resistance alongside Blacks or Africans against apartheid for the South African identity on the other. They alongside the non-Whites, including Blacks, shared a long way to constrain the White-led regime to work for the annulment of apartheid and peaceful transition to democracy.

Initially Indians struggled on their own but later they identified themselves with the black and stood for a united struggle for the abolition of apartheid and peaceful transition to democracy. However, in the post apartheid era, animosities mushroomed and various issues started to emerge, which to a large extent , overshadowed the solidarity among ethnic communities. PIOs in the post apartheid era feel that in the past they were not white enough and today are not black enough. “In the post apartheid era, the PIO community, although a Historically Disadvantaged Community (HDC) is not considered to be black enough since the black community perceives them in different way. So problem of the Indians in the post Apartheid period is how to accommodate with black of African Community” (Pradhan sanjay 2014, p15).

The relationship of the PIOs with the ‘homeland’ is contextually much discussed topic. The understanding of the nature of relationship is deeply associated to the various factors of interlinking social and cultural aspects.

In 1930s and 40s came some radical leaders in TIC like Dr Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo. The organisation started running under the influence of radical leaders who felt South African Indian Congress should be cooperated with National organisation and represent African and coloured People. Dr Dadoo was active in formation of Non-European united front and during this (or these) years he participated the South African Communist Party (SACP) Conference.

After this conference (1939) he joined South African Communist Party. In March 1939 Dr Dadoo formed Nationalist bloc of the TIC with the purpose of transforming the then existing ideological and political stands of various political characters associate to the congress. Monty Naicker was an anti-apartheid activist, he proceeded the Nationalist block within the sphere of Natal Indian Congress (NIC). He significantly contributed in the liberation movement of South Africa.

Monty Naicker and Dadoo together made the course of South African politics and both got united on the sphere for the various sections of the suppressed people. These two men had much of similarities but there was also the much which made difference between them about their ideas. Dr Dadoo and Dr Naicker came in India with the intention of mobilising support for the South African liberation movement. They met Gandhi, Jinnah, Nehru and other Indian leaders in regards of their political purpose.

### **1.3 Historical Background**

The accuracy of the PIO migration to the present day Republic of South Africa (RSA) can be ascribed to the inescapable European provincial involvement in the affairs of the RSA. The simple appearance of shapes of the European involvement in the RSA goes back to 1852 when the Dutch East India Company set up a station at the Cape of Good Hope to serve its oceanic exchange trade route to the Far East. The prospering agricultural settlements in various parts of South Africa likewise allured extensive scale White migration especially from Germany, Britain and France. The essential thought process of the colonial Britain was expected to make RSA a vital trading base-imperative for direct access to the Indian Ocean and toward the South Atlantic Ocean. So Britain applied its colonial impact in the Cape, and inevitably attached the region of Cape in the year 1806. This in turn, be that as it may, chafed the Dutch<sup>1</sup> agriculturists, who were settled well before the Britishers. This joined by the abolition of slavery in the year 1834 made the indigenous Dutch farmers hard squeezed for land and they along these lines viewed a northward trek to set up an independent polity. Exploiting the Dutch departure towards the north, Britain added Natal (now KwaZulu Natal Province) and be that as it may, conceded authority to the Dutch for the making of two Dutch Republics, for example, the Orange Free State and the South African Republic of Transvaal.

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<sup>1</sup> Dutch people are also called Afrikaan or Boer in South Africa.



Disclosures of diamonds near Kimberly in the 1860s and ensuing substantial stores of gold in the Transvaal created a economic revolution which encouraged the augmentation of the white expert into the rest of the zones of South Africa for labour. The fast improvement of gold mining in Transvaal and emergence of South African Republic of Transvaal as the most capable State in the entire of South Africa was seen as a danger to Britain and its enthusiasm for the nation. Acknowledging along these lines, Britain exerted pressure on the Transvaal and Orange Free State, which thus brought about Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. After the war, the Boer Republics went under powerful British control, and on 31 May 1910 the Union of South Africa was formally declared as a territory under the British crown.

However, the farming trek of Cape and Natal in course of time couldn't considerably build the volume of South African trade to be sufficiently focused in contrast with the trade with different parts of the world. Further, South Africa was to a great extent and underdeveloped and essentially a slave-labour centric pre capitalist economy. The production pattern was generally bound to a couple of products and items, for example, wine, wool, conceals, ostrich quills and consumer crops. The nullification of bondage in 1830s and hesitance of the Europeans to permit move to Natal and Cape colony because of their underdeveloped nature of economy brought about expansive scale labour deficiencies in these colonies.

As the labour force was lacking, the land assets couldn't be created and land revenues being low in the Cape, it was hard to fund additionally white migration. By a similar time, there was exertion in the British settlements in South Africa to move from primordial economy to happier agricultural crops. Natal was the first settlement to start cotton production. Nonetheless, as cotton production was not economically feasible, they offered way to sugar production which thrived in due time. For the commercial and qualitative production of sugar, expansive supply of labour force was required. The colonialists initially swung to enlist local workers however as the locals did not show their enthusiasm for the sugar homesteads of the white people, the Natal authorities viewed another stream i.e., abroad migration. In their first exertion they moved towards China, yet it did not work out as the Chinese showed their hesitance because of lower compensation in Natal.

In addition, some unsuccessful plans and endeavours were likewise coordinated to procure labour from numerous different sources, for example, little agriculturists and convicts from Britain, Portuguese from Madeira Islands, Creoles from the French settlement of Re-union, Chinese coolies, and Negro slaves from North America, before migration of Indians to Natal.

Around the same time, accomplishment of sugar plantation in Mauritius turned into a case of how Indian labour force were crucial in benefitting sugar manors, which allured the colonial capitalists in later years.

The significance of Indians as indentured labour in South Cape in South Africa was at first mooted by the Governor of the Cape, Sir George Gray in 1854. The Natal Government in the year 1855(or 1855) kept in touch with the British Indian government for giving authorization of migration of Indian workers for sugar plantations in Natal. Before taking any decision, the legislature of India looked for consent from the territories of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. However because of some basic issues and particular inward impulses, Governor-General in Council in India turned down the request of the Natal government. A large number of labour immigration was already on the way to Mauritius and the West Indies, the presidencies themselves needed labour for agriculture and public works. Particular inner compulsions of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay constrained the Government of India to go adversely towards the request of the administration of Natal.

‘Since there was high and abundant demand for labour in the Presidency of Bombay, the amount of wages was higher in Bombay than in Natal and in consequence, there was reluctance of persons being induced to migrate. In the province of Madras, it required no less than one lakh labourers for implementing various projects of public utility like building of Railway from the Coromandel Coast to the Coast of Malabar and the construction of bridges.’(Iqbal Narain, 1962, p20)

As the cheap and plentiful labour was required for the sugar plantations, the grower in Natal in collaboration with the Natal government put pressure on the Government of India to allow migration of labour to Natal. During the same time issue of migration was brought before a Select Committee of the Natal Legislative Council for discussion in 1857. According to the recommendations of the Committee, growers were allowed to import coolies or workers were permitted to do on their own cost, not by the administration of South Africa. Further, the government of Natal was asked to modify the terms and conditions of the workers and migration was permitted on an experimental premise.

The government of India after a prolonged discussion and arrangements with the provincial legislatures of Bengal, Madras and Bombay and with the colonial administrations of Cape of Good Hope and Natal, gave its assent in 1859 and the first bunch of coolies boarded in a ship

'Truro' from the Madras Port and they landed in Natal on 12 October 1860. That was the beginning point of migration of indentured labourers to South Africa. The migration of Indians to South Africa amid the initial years was for the advancement of sugar industries and the need of an Asiatic group to contain indigenous non-white populace and the Boers, who in turn outnumbered settled White populace. This is best found in the Cape region. In the first census held in the Cape Colony in 1865, total population was about a half million, of which European populace was 1,81,000. Indians who moved to South Africa had no expectation to contain indigenous or Boer populace, rather for the need of the Britishers, and were fundamentally from peasants and workers communities in India, enlivened by pull factor.

“They had come in the light of glib of tongue of the recruiting agents who promised them of better market for their traditional skills and fascinated them through the gold-paved streets and idyllic evenings of bow strings and dancing feet.” (T.G. Ramamurthi 1995, p20)

The migration of Indians to South Africa was restricted amid the period 1866-1874. As there was more demand of Indian worker in the vast majority of the British and non-British colonies throughout the world, there was issue of sending Indian worker to South Africa. This was more problematic as the grower did not implement their guarantee of allowing crown land and return passage for/ to the indentured workers who finished their five years term. So for securing contracted workers in future, the Natal province needed to concur the appointment of a defender for Indian immigrants and affirmation from Her Majesty's Government and Indian Government in 1875, in view of the guarantees that Indian settlers who have finished the terms of service will be free men in all regards with the benefits equivalent to some other class of Her Majesty's subjects.

The total number of Indian migrants to Natal until 1866 was 6,448 including 4,116 men, 1,463 women and 869 kids. In terms of caste, dialect and religion, they were heterogeneous. The greater part was low-positioned Hindus, Alternatively: few high caste Hindus, around twelve percent were Muslims and five percent were Christians. Between 1860 and 1911, a constant flow of Indians to Natal numbered 1,52,184 workers, comprising people, 35,716 (around 23%) laborers came back to and of the total immigrants, just India amid the period 1862-1911 and whatever remains of them remained in South Africa. Of the total Indian indentured workers in South Africa, around 66% were selected from the Madras Presidency and the rest were from the Presidencies of Bengal and the Maharashtra Province. The Madras

Presidency selected mostly the Tamil and Telugu speaking people , and the of presidencies Bengal, United Provinces and Maharashtra enrolled primarily Hindi or Bhojpuri speaking workers. Indians selected from the Madras territory were fundamentally of people of low-financial status, comprising landless peasants and low manual workers and north Indian recruits were basically peasants and craftsmen.

**TABLE 1.3 Recruitment, Caste and Religion of Indentured Indian Migrants from Madras and Bengal Presidency, 1860-1893.**

Recruited at Calcutta (N = 22,256)		Recruited at Madras (N= 31,650)	
Caste and Religion	%	Caste and Religion	%
Aheer (Ahir) Yadav)	9.11	Muslim	3.54
Bania	0.66	Christian	1.77
Bhooyear	0.70	Agamudi	1.68
Bhur (Bhar)	1.71	Balji (Balija)	3.61
Brahmin	2.67	Boya	0.49
Chamar	14.87	Ediya	1.23
Chuttree	5.05	Gentoo	2.90
Dharkar	0.11	Goalla (Shepherd)	1.30
Dhobi	0.66	Kavarai (Cavarai)	1.32
Jat	0.66	Mala	1.26
Kahar	0.57	Malabar	6.88
Koiree	3.46	Oddai	2.22
Koombar	6.11	Padiachy	1.22
Koormee	0.58	Pallah	1.35
Kunbi	4.64	Pariah	15.04
Lodha	0.15	Reddi	1.26
Lohar	1.47	Vanniah	12.07

Mala (Mallah)	0.56	Vellalah	5.75
Moosochur	0.87	Other Castes*	35.11
Muslim	1.19		
Moonia (Noonia)	2.32		
Pariah	0.30		
Pausee (Pasi)	1.86		
Rajput	1.71		
Thakur	2.24		
Teili	0.48		

Source: Surendra Bhana, "A History of the Indentured Indians in Natal: Review and Prospects", pp.324-325, in U. Bissoondoyal and S.B.C. Servansing (eds.), *Indian Labour Immigration* (Moka, 1986).

The most extreme number of indentured workers were youth aged between 20-25 years, of which males were 70%. Women, who constituted 33% of the indentured workers, were conveyed to Natal in spite of the fact that they were hesitant to move. They proved helpful in the sugar domains. Notwithstanding sugar plantations, a portion of the women workers worked in the tea estates. Based on religion, 90 for each penny of contracted workers were Hindus, 8.5 / Muslims, 1.4 for each penny Christians and a little part of Jains and Buddhists.

The indentured workers were trailed by 'Passenger Indians'. All the Indian traders and non-trader experts who came to South Africa are called 'Passenger Indians' as they paid for their ahead entry and like the greater part of the transients from Europe, proposed on making merchandise as opposed to on making home, and getting a charge out of equivalent citizenship rights like Europeans in South Africa. Maximum number of peoples were from Gujarat and they were mostly Muslim. The main focuses of migration of traveller Indians were gathered in Western parts of India, for example, Surat, Porbandar and Bombay.

About half of the 'passenger Indians' were Muslims, mainly Gujarati speaking and maximum number of Hindus were from Gujarat particularly from Kathiawar, Surat and Porbandar. There were also a small fraction of Jains from Bombay and Gujarat. Over 50 families came

from Mauritius, East Africa and Sri Lanka. Also a small number of Indians were from Portuguese Mozambique.

The migration of passenger Indians began in 1860s. In the underlying stage, migration was only to Natal and from mid-1970s some migration proceeded from Natal to Transvaal and from the mid 1880s there was immediate migration of Indian passengers to Transvaal also. Passenger Indians began settling in expansive number in some significant areas like Johannesburg, Pretoria, Germistone, Lenasia, and furthermore alongside indentured Indians, packed to a great extent in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Cato Manor and Pine Town. On the off chance that considered two major provinces (Natal and Transvaal) of Indian settlements, it could be discovered that in Natal there were three classes of peoples, for example, indentured, free and passenger Indians. However officially both free and passenger Indians are distinguished as 'Free Indians'. In Transvaal just two classes of Indians, 'free' and 'passenger' Indians settled.

**TABLE1:4. The Number of "Free" (including 'passenger Indians') and Indentured Indians in Natal, 1884-1910**

Year	'Free' Indians	Indentured Indians
1884	19,217	10,497
1890	23,793	9,701
1893	26,312	16,655
1910	65,917	42,777

Source: Mauns Webb, "Indian Land Legislation" ,p.214,m E. Hellmanned's *Handbook on Race Relation in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1949).

The TABLE 1.4 shows the aggregate number of Free Indians as well as Indentured Indians amid a specific traverse of time. For example when we look at 1884, we find that the Free Indians were 19,217 when contrasted with the indentured Indians involving just 10,497. Thus when we take the case in 1910, we find that the Free Indians are 65,917 and Indentured Indians just 42,777. This shows that total strength of the Free Indians in this period was high.

Indian traders or passenger Indians were brought in different names, for example, 'Coolie Traders' and 'Kafirs' and their issues as the 'Coolie Question'. Muslims being majority of free passenger and originally from the Western India, they were also called 'Arabs',

The PIOs in South Africa have a long history. PIOs contributed and played an outstanding role in the political, economic and social transformation of South Africa. First time Indians went to South Africa as Indentured labourers in 1860, however they had already arrived there much earlier, in 1853. Most of Indians went South Africa as indentured labour from Bengal, or the Coromandel Coast, and also from UP, and Bihar. In apartheid period PIOs had to fight against segregation policies of the whites. PIOs had started united resistance along with blacks or Africans against apartheid for the South African identity on the other. The major turning point came in South Africa, when Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi came in South Africa for assisting a Gujarati businessman over some legal issues. Gandhi was subjected to existing practices of racial discriminatory system.

While opposing the colonial rule and powerful white settler administration he developed tools and tactics of mass mobilisation and non-violent struggles. Gandhi started to mobilise the Indian community against the colonial rulers and mobilised the oppressed people for liberation which was later taken over by the native African community. On the other hand PIOs in South Africa after initiating the resistances, civil disobedience and peaceful agitation against the resist regime joined hand with the majority Black community in South Africa who were the worst victim of racial discrimination. PIOs struggle in South Africa started in 1893 with the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi.

Initially Indians struggled on their own but later they identified themselves with the black and stood for a united struggle for the abolition of apartheid and peaceful transition to democracy. However, in the post apartheid era, animosities mushroomed and various issues started to emerge, which to a large extent , overshadowed the solidarity among ethnic communities. PIOs in the post apartheid era feel that in the past they were not white enough and today are not black enough. "In the post apartheid era, the PIO community, although a Historically Disadvantaged Community (HDC) is not considered to be black enough since the black community perceives them in different way. So problem of the Indians in the post Apartheid period is how to accommodate with black of African Community" (Pradhan sanjay 2014, p15).

## **1.4 Organisations of the Study:**

Organisation of Study will include following aspects of Ph.D thesis.

### **1.4.1 Literature Review**

Literature review will find out the contents of Subject matter. It will also discuss the gap where the literature does not focus some of the aspect of subject.

### **Apartheid Policy in South Africa**

The development of apartheid in South Africa can be divided in four periods. The first era of colonial conquest witnessed the white settler's force in the indigenous people. The second era was the era of mineral discovery. While the third era was the era of segregation, the final era of apartheid witnessed the earlier trends consolidated as crucial elements in the states' policy of racial domination in the interests of effective functioning the capitalist mode of production (Padhi and Dash 2004). Nationalist Party largely influenced by Nazi ideology came to power in 1948. The legacy of racism was fortified by fascism. The German and the South African versions of racism shared several common features.

Hitler's Nazi Party was also committed to the superiority of German race as like the Nationalist Party of South Africa. But South Africa did not copy the Nazi example of gas chambers, concentration camps and brutal killings of innocent people. However, the apartheid regime's action of setting up ghettos and so called reserves was no less sinister in the slow extermination of the blacks. It is an established fact that the apartheid policy has roots in the same racist and aggressive ideology of Nazi Germany (Chhabra 1989). The point of the apartheid were to guarantee the continuation of racial oppression, while in the meantime controlling the pace and heading of African nationalism. Ethnic division was not only the goal of apartheid system but South Africa's peculiar institution of neo-slave was also built on severe racial segregation (Padhi and Dash 2004). A United States diplomat at the UN in 1959 called apartheid a legalised violation of human rights. He said, "Apartheid is a violation of human rights, buttressed and sanctified by law" (Addison 1981). The Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act (1949) and the Immorality Act (1950) outlawed marriage and sexual intercourse between whites and blacks. The Population Registration Act (1950) segregated the mass into racial groups and from 1966 it became compulsory for all citizens to carry their identity cards. The Group Area Act (1950) stipulated that each racial group must



live in specifically demarcated areas. Under the Bantu Education Act (1953), Coloured Peoples Education Act (1963) and Indians Education Act (1965), education for Africans, Coloureds, and Indians were separately administered, separately financed and followed different curriculum.

In 1956 Coloured voters in the Cape were removed from the common roll. In 1968, this representation system was called Separate Representation of Voters Act, 1968 and in 1970 all political and social rights outside the 'homelands' were abolished as per Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, 1970. (Racism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, UNESCO Press 1974). During the 1950s a series of laws which reinforced racial segregation were introduced. In public places such as in all buses, trains, taxis, parks, zoos, museums, galleries, cinemas, theatres, public lavatories, beaches, sports grounds and restaurants, Separate Amenities Acts (1953) along with (1960); Motor Transportation Amendment Act (1955) and State-aided Institutions Act (1957) were enacted. Racial segregation was also applied to hospitals, where blacks and whites were treated separately by staff of their own racial group. The same policy also applied in sports, where people of different races were prohibited to play together. Factories provided separate entrances, clocking-in devices, pay offices, first-aid rooms, crockery and cutlery, washrooms, lavatories, changing-rooms, rest-rooms, dining-rooms and work-rooms (Factories and Machinery Act, 1960) (Racism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, Unesco Press 1994).

Above literature is helpful to understand the apartheid policy in Africa but there is little literature if we want to know about the the implications of apartheid policy that had been so deeply rooted in society and this needs to be researched more too substantiate the arguments around the theme.

### **Role of PIOs in fight against Apartheid.**

They contributed a lot to the struggle for freedom and human rights in South Africa. The South African Indian congress worked in close alliance with the African National Congress which came into being in 1912 and was initially inspired by the Gandhian ideology of non-violence. The alliance between the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress and the ANC was made in the famous "Three Doctor Pact". PIOs in South Africa after initiating the resistance civil disobedience and peaceful agitation the racist regime joined hand with the

majority black community in South Africa who were the worst victim of racial discrimination.

The majority of PIOs joined ANC formation to oppose apartheid and many of them emerged as top leaders of this party over the years (Dubey Ajay 2010). For the PIOs in South Africa struggles never ends. In the Apartheid period they had to fight against repatriation and segregation policies of the white regime, which treated Indians as near threat to white economic dominance in the country. The struggle of the PIO began in 1893 with the arrival of Gandhi, In the initial phase of the struggle Indians stood on their own legs but in its later phase, they identified themselves with the black and stood for a united struggle against Apartheid for the abolition of apartheid and peaceful transition to democracy ( Pradhan sanjay 2014).

### **Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo and fight against Apartheid**

“Dr Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo played an outstanding role in the South African Liberation movement for over half a century- in persuading the Indian community to link its destiny with that of the African majority, in building the unity of all the oppressed people and democratic whites of that country in a common struggle against racism, in promoting fearless and militant resistance to the oppressors, and in developing the international outlook of the movement and international solidarity with it” (E.S.Reddy 1990). The struggle in South Africa was in need of sincere, courageous revolutionaries who could capture and fire the imagination of the toiling masses, who could speak the language the people understood and were prepared to make the personal sacrifices demanded by a life and death struggle.

“Dadoo was one of such revolutionary. He grew in stature, political experience and maturity and developed steel like resolve never to rest until South Africa was free from the triple scourge of racism, colonialism and capitalism. He bent all his efforts towards building the unity of the national liberation in working class movements in South Africa” (Yusuf Pahad1990).

“Dadoo’s political activity occupied three spheres. The first being that of the local Indian politics, which found its footing in the Transvaal Indian Congress affiliated to the broader South African Indian congress. Dadoo headed up a nationalist faction within the Congress in opposition to the ruling moderate faction. His faction propounded the theory that the Indian community should abandon their meek political attitude of compromise with the government

for a more assertive approach. While Dadoo led the nationalist in the Transvaal, Monty Naicker led the nationalist in Natal in a bid to reform the Natal Indian Congress. A contrast springs up between the two: Dadoo being a Communist and Naicker, a Gandhian. Dadoo's second sphere of political activity was South African politics. He was concerned obviously with the dismantling of racism and its replacement with more democratic measures, to this end it could be argued, he joined the communist party and became one of the founding members of the Non European United front. The third political sphere occupied by Dadoo, was that of the International world. When in exile he frequently travelled throughout Europe, organising alliances and funds for the cause. His contacts with communist parties the world over bears reference to his thoroughness" (Shauna Mottiar 2000).

Above the literature does not sufficiently focus the role of Yusuf Dadoo in fighting for the entire society. Many authors argue that Yusuf Dadoo fought against apartheid only for Indians but Dadoo was fighting not only for Indian people, but also for Africans, and coloureds; he was fighting for all oppressed. The present literature only mentions that he was a communist leader but also very much close to Gandhi.

### **Role of Monty Naicker against Apartheid**

Monty Naicker was not a simple politician, he was a dynamic leader. He was much closer to Marxist philosophy but he was also a Gandhian. He was driven mainly by Gandhian ideals. Monty accepted the challenge of leading the NIC after the conservatives had been ousted: he challenged the white power structure during the passive resistance campaign of 1946-48; he moved the NIC and also the SAIC into the congressional alliance with the ANC when it became clear to him that Indians alone could not defeat segregation and apartheid; and he subscribed to the multiracial vision of the Freedom charter (Surendra Bhana, 1997). Monty also played a crucial role in developing the international campaign against discrimination in South Africa. He was aware of the importance of independent India in the struggle to focus attention on South Africa and in 1947, at the height of the passive resistance campaign, made a trip to India that was both significant in developing his political outlook and garnering the support of India in opening up new front against apartheid in the United Nations (Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, 2010). "Naicker's contribution was all the more remarkable for it was at its height when the campaign for a non-racial democracy was still in its infancy, the African National Congress, still in a conservative bind, the church yet to be awakened to its social responsibilities, and the universities, voluntarily entrenched in racial practices. Monty

voice rose clearly and fearlessly from those doldrums, demanding justice for all, a demand which was taken up 20 to 30 years later by the universities, churches, and the liberal party” (Fatima Meer, article published in the Naicker Commemorative Supplement, *The Leader*, January 27, 1978).

### **Definition, Rationale and Scope of Study**

The apartheid policy of racial discrimination and segregation was adopted by the ‘Nationalist Party’ as its official policy, when Daniel F. Malan came to power in 1948 and proclaimed a strong colour policy, known as *Apartheid*.

My thesis research period is 1948-1983. In 1948 apartheid officially implemented in South Africa and till 1983 Monty Naicker and Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo died therefore this period as significance for the proposed research.

Apartheid government suppressed both Indians and Africans equally. Indians and Africans were suffering same type of suppression under the apartheid policy.

Yusoof Mohammad Dadoo and Dr G M Naicker had played an outstanding role against apartheid in South Africa. This role is a symbol of great affiliation between India and South Africa. India considered South African liberation movement as the ‘liberation of humanity’ from colonialism and racism. Yusuuf Dadoo and Monty Naicker were of the opinion that South Africa must be liberated. Indian people have played an outstanding role for ushering in equality and democracy in South Africa against apartheid regime.

The rationale of the present study is to re-examine the Yusuf Dadoo and Naicker role in the struggle against colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid policy to protect human values.

Yusuf M Dadoo and Monty Naicker raised the issue of racial discrimination, oppressive policies of South African apartheid regime multi-lateral era which led to the marginalisation of South African white government among international Community.

From historical perspective, there is scope to evaluate their method or process of fighting against colonial rule, white racist policies in South Africa and to establish a system or constitution based on equality, liberty, justice and human values. There is scope to find out what was the Yusuf Dadoo’s and nNaicker’s role, position and contribution in fighting

against apartheid in South Africa. There are various issues related to Yusuf Dadoo and Naicker role and contribution at multi-lateral era against racist policy of South African government which makes it meaningful to examine Yusuf's and Naicker's role in South African liberation movement.

#### **1.4.2 Research Questions**

- What were the basic features of Apartheid in South Africa which compel PIO people to protest?
- What was the role of Yusuf Dadoo in TIC and passive resistance Movement?
- What was the role of Monty Naicker in NIC and Passive Resistance Movement?
- What was the role of other PIOs in comparison to Yusuf Dadoo and Monty Naicker?

#### **1.4.3 Hypotheses**

- As a consequence the racial, social, and economic discrimination led the PIOs to oppose Apartheid.
- Under the influence of Gandhian philosophy, Monty Naicker actively mobilized PIO's and suppressed people of South Africa against Apartheid.
- As the chairperson and an active member of South African Communist Party, Yusuf Dadoo played a significant role in the anti-apartheid movement by successfully mobilized PIOs, along with South African People, in various resistance movements against Apartheid.

#### **1.4.4 Research Methodology**

The study will be based on historical, descriptive and analytical methods. It will use both the primary and secondary sources. The primary sources consists of the government documents, speeches, writings and statements of the Yusuf Dadoo and Naicker, correspondence with Gandhi, parliamentary debates, Indian political parties resolutions and foreign policy, ANC's official website, South African embassy in India, United Nations and other international organisations' documents, official records, archival records, reports, speeches and interviews. The secondary sources will consists of books, journals, articles, newspapers, magazines and

sources available on the internet. The study will also follow a field visit to South Africa in order to broaden my horizon on the Indian role against the apartheid system in South Africa. It will help me in my research work by providing me an opportunity to further more primary recourses in the context of my research work.

#### **1.4.6 Chapterisation of the study**

The proposed study will have the following chapters:

1. Introduction: Introduction focussed on historical background of Apartheid policy, the resistance of African people before 1948, and also focus on PIOs in South Africa against Apartheid as well as focussed on Yusuf Dadoo and Naicker appearance in the struggle and their perspectives on Communism and Gandhism.

2. Role of PIOs in fight against Apartheid:

2<sup>nd</sup> chapter focussed on role of PIOs in South Africa against Apartheid gives a historical perspective of the migration of PIO to South Africa. Migration is analysed two stages: Indentured Labor and Passenger Indians. Further, it tries to investigate different unjust laws and reports of the commissions set up to enquire about the charged infiltration of Indians to White economy and White land. It additionally centers around the part of Gandhiji in the battle of the PIO against prejudicial laws and practices of the government like brutal treatment at the work place, repatriation and isolation. Keeping in mind the end goal to imply the interest of Indian women in the battle through Satyagraha, the chapter also focuses around the part of PIO women. The end of the chapter manages the profile of the Indian community through the markers of populace, religion, caste and dialect.

3. Role of Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo in anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa.

3<sup>rd</sup> chapter focussed on role of Yusuf Dadoo in TIC and Passive resistance movement in South Africa. This chapter will also focussed on Dadoo's ideology as a Marxist.

4. Role of G M Naicker in anti Apartheid movement in South Africa.

Fourth chapter focussed on the role of G M Naicker in the anti Apartheid movement in South Africa and his Gandhian method which he applied in the course of struggle.

**5. Role of Yusuf M Dadoo and Monty Naicker:**

A Comparative assessment. Fifth chapter focussed on what is the basic different between Dadoo and Naicker as a passionate Gandhian or as a Marxist.

**6. Conclusion**

Sixth chapter is concluding in nature which will attempt to respond the research question and hypotheses considered to research study, being prove or disprove

***Chapter 2***  
***Role of PIOs in fight***  
***against Apartheid***



## CHAPTER 2

### ROLE OF PIOs IN SOUTH AFRICA'S FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID

#### 2.1 Apartheid and Issues of PIOs

Apartheid as a phenomenon was essentially a classification planned by the colonialists to isolate the then South African culture along the lines of race, group shading and ideology. This is a side-effect of the political control by the white regimes to declare their predominance however they have generally lost their colonial legitimacy among their own particular group. As the Republic of South Africa moved toward the General Elections of 1948, the White Government driven by General Smuts never again directed his previous authority and his representative, Vice President Jan Hofmeyr, also had lost popularity because of enormous scale discontent of the white community over the developing competitiveness with the Indians, Black and other coloured group in various areas of economy. In 1948, the White Government driven by General Smuts never again summoned his before expert and his agent, Vice President Jan Hofmeyr, likewise had lost ubiquity because of vast scale discontent of the white group over the developing aggressiveness with the Indians, Black and other shaded group in various parts of economy.

Afrikaner agriculturists, who dreaded the loss of their low wage African work to the towns and Afrikaner specialists in the towns, who feared black rivalry bolstered heightening of racial segregation, which the National Party (NP) called Apartheid. In 1948 the NP secured greater part in the Parliament and its pioneer Danie Malan framed government and presented politically sanctioned racial segregation around the same time. In 1954 J.H. Strydom, a hard-liner in apartheid, supplanted Malan. After his demise in 1958, Hendrik Verwoerd depended on intense stands on apartheid and in this way viewed as a main ideologue and boss designer of apartheid. The term 'Apartheid' is an Afrikaan expression, which signifies "separateness" of the races, or political and social isolation of various races.

The Malan Government contended with regards to apartheid on the premise that the way of life of the white people, being not quite the same as those of non-Whites (Black African, Asians, Indians or Colored), the best appropriate approach to advance all-round improvement of the two communities is keep them separate and to provide them with isolated circles so they would create and advance individually along their particular lines of progress. In any

case, the goal and purpose behind apartheid was not quite the same as it announced targets. The genuine goal was to toss the non-whites away from plain sight by denying them equal opportunities. Further, improvement of the White was planned to guarantee physical and cultural separation between the two communities in order to keep up a yawning inlet between the two races in regard to expectation for everyday comforts, education of other aspect of life. As a doctrine the State connected apartheid in its state exercises were the non Whites denied measure up to circumstances in advance the operational substance of apartheid fall into four particular substance.

- “1. Racial bias and separation;
2. Racial isolation and division;
3. Economic misuse of characteristic and HR; and
4. Legal, regulatory and police fear” (K. Mathews, “India and the struggle against Apartheid,” (World focus journal (New Delhi), vol.138).

The framework and structure of Apartheid does not imply that there is a departure from the policy of segregation as applied in various socio-economic and political spheres previously 1948 however an expression that substitutes isolation which sounds hostile.

It is an systematic mechanism to legitimise isolation by the State with the supposition that the Whites are better than the non-Whites in the social frameworks, economic arrangement and legal structures. While implementing apartheid, the White regimes focused on Black Africans all in all and Asiatic or Indians specifically i.e. keeping the overwhelming of the white minority by the black majority part and to shield the white human progress from subversion. The English speaking whites in Natal and the Afrikan- speaking whites in Transvaal saw the Indians as their opponents in the field of trade and commerce and charged them in charge of unjustifiable and sharp practices in commercial pursuits. Biased on economic and sanitary grounds the whites in South Africa influenced the government to apply the policy of Apartheid. A turning point came in South African society when Gandhiji came in South Africa for handle a legal case and himself faced discrimination by white community.

## **2.2 Gandhiji and his Satyagraha in South Africa**

Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi (Gandhiji) went to South Africa to handle a case for Dada Abdullah, in 1893. But, amid his journey, he himself became a casualty of abuse in South Africa. Notwithstanding having a first class ticket on his way to Charles town, Gandhiji

was forced to leave the compartment at Pietermaritzburg Railway Station as he was a 'Coloured Man', a dark-skinned Indian. While holding up in dark and lonely sitting area for the dawn to break, he plunged in idea about himself and his fellow countrymen in South Africa. This was the primary experience of Gandhiji about knowing the racial bias and separation of white South Africans. In the wake of finishing the undertaking as a legal advisor, Gandhiji had two choices either to leave South Africa or to remain in South Africa to address the issues of Indians.

Gandhiji ran over the embarrassing treatment dispensed against Indians who were brought in various derogatory terms, for example, 'coolie', 'coolie shippers' and 'coolie attorneys'. In June 1894, the 'Natal Mercury', a daily paper in South Africa specified a passage 'Indian Franchise', which stayed with the presentation of such a Bill in the Natal legislature with a view to disfranchising all Asiatics whose name were not there in the voters' rundown. This was the defining moment and quick factor for which Gandhiji changed his choice to sail to India and decided to struggle for Indian reason.

The techniques adopted by Gandhiji for the grievances of the Indian issues was peaceful in nature by adopting strategies like signature campaign, protest and demonstrations through open social occasions and petitions to the White government experts. By protesting the Franchise Bill of 1894, Gandhiji led the pack in submitting a 'monster petition', marked by 10,000 Indians to Lord Rippon, the then Secretary of State of Colonies .The petition was effective somehow as the Secretary of State for Coolies declined to assent the Bill.

However, the Bill was passed in 1896 in its revised frame and it did not explicitly say the Indians yet expressed that no people would be qualified for establishment in Natal 'who not being Europeans origin, are natives or relatives in the male line of natives of nations which have not until now passed elective agent foundations, except if they will initially acquire a request from the Government-in - Council, exempting from the operation of this Act. Despite the fact that the revised Franchise Bill was passed, Gandhiji's leadership caused a buzz in the Indian people group in Natal and instructed it not to respect shamefulness but rather to challenge it united and 1893 was set apart as the time of enlivening of the Indian people group in Natal Gandhiji endeavored at uniting Indians under political forums.

In such manner, the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) was set up in 1894, with Abdullah Haji Adam as the 1st President and Gandhiji as its honorary Secretary. However, he was criticised

that the NIC was bourgeoisie in nature and sectarian in standpoint as its membership fee was no less than three pounds which was too hard to be in any way paid by the poor Indians. Further, procedures in the Congress was directed in Gujarati dialect. However, it was the way that the NIC was fundamentally a gathering of Indian traders, generally from Gujarat, who were fortunate than many Indians. Gandhiji disagreed with all of these assertions as he regarded every Indian as a member of an 'Indian Community' Keeping this in mind, the end goal of which was to connect between Colonial Born Indian Association (CBIA) and the NIC, he framed Indian Education Association (IEA).

It was proposed to urge the colonial born young people to think about free Indians (Passenger Indians) as their kids and family members and to regard for the last in the minds of former. Gandhiji who was focused on the reason for Indians in South Africa and wanted to help them in such manner conveyed his family to South Africa. A few days before his takeoff from Durban to India, the Indian people group appealed to him to press forward the grievances of the Indian settlers previously the Government of India. In consistence with the request, Gandhiji published Green Pamphlet. The handout proclaimed that the Indians in Natal are victimized and ambushed and treated like brutes, unfit to get redress. The leaflet was generally welcomed both by people in general and the press in India. He additionally spoke to the Britishers in South Africa through 'Open Letter', or 'an Appeal to each Briton' in South Africa.

From his earliest phase of administration, Gandhiji admonished Indians in South Africa to recant viciousness and to take after principles of Passive Resistance. As the movement of Passive Resistance developed, the movement's name was changed from 'Sadagraha' ,proposed by Mangallal Gandhi, into Satyagraha by Gandhiji. For Gandhiji, Satyagraha suggests 'Satya'(truth) and 'Agrah' (love). So the term satyagraha infers adherence or solidness to truth. There are contrasts between Passive Resistance and satyagraha. In latent obstruction there is an extension for the utilisation of arms when an appropriate event arrives however in satyagraha physical power is illegal even in the given opportunity. Passive resistance is regularly viewed as a readiness for the utilisation of power, while satyagrah can never be used all things considered. Passive Resistance might be offered one next to the other with the utilisation of arms. Satyagraha and savage power, being each other a refutation, can never go together. Satyagraha hypothesizes the victory over Satyagraha hypothesizes the triumph of the adversary by enduring in one's own person. From the idea of

Indian South African movement under Gandhiji, the word satyagrah is very much appropriate.

The first passive resistance of Gandhiji started with the Draft Asiatic Ordinance of 1906 by the Transvaal Government. As an outcome of Gandhij's dissent, the Bill couldn't turned into an Act however in the consequent year the Government passed the Bill with little adjustment under the name of Asiatic Law Amendment Act of 1907. The Act required all Asiatics of the Transvaal to be necessarily enrolled by 31st July 1907 and to convey certificates set apart with their fingerprints. In dissent to it, Gandhiji established the Passive Resistance Association and sorted out a mass gathering of the Indians, which was managed by Yusuf Ismail Mian, the acting Chairman of the British Indian Association (BIA). Tending to the gathering, Gandhiji clarified, "If we submit to the law, there is no guarantee that this legislation will be final .The natural consequences of such legislation would be segregation in locations and finally expulsion from the country"(Pradhan. SK, 2005, p51). The campaign of Gandhiji was successful only in the way of low registration of Asiatics in Transvaal. To intimidate and coerce the Indian resisters, the white authority in Transvaal arrested Gandhiji and 24 other Asians.

Gandhij's next move was to oppose another endeavor of the Transvaal government, which expected to influence a new advance on the privileges of Indians by passing the Asiatic Registration Amendment Act of 1908. It disallowed the movement of Indians from Natal to Transvaal. The violation of the Act was composed. As a result of this, Gandhiji and other law breakers were arrested and sentenced to three months detainment. The dissent of Gandhiji was not restricted to the Natal and Transvaal government but rather likewise against the unjust laws of the Union Government of South Africa. The Indian Immigration Regulation Act of 1913 gave a new attack against the Indian people group and denoted the start of another satyagraha in 1913. The movement prompted the foundation of a Commission by the legislature under the Chairmanship of Justice W.H. Soloman to enquire into and investigate the reasons for Natal Indian Strike and their general grievances.

The complaint of Gandhiji before the Commission were, nullification of three pound tax, maintaining Indian marriage system, passage to the Cape and having relentless property of Indians in Orange Free State. In light of his dissent, the proposed question of not enabling Indians to possess unfaltering property, limitations on trading and cultivating tasks in that area could not appear in the Law Book. Comparable achievement was found in Cape entry

questions also, where Indians were kept from entering the Cape Colony except if they qualifying educational test. The Commission delved into the insights about Indian grievances and recommended no test of any sort would be required for the Indians; born in South Africa would be of least complex conceivable nature and could be fulfilled by anyone who had even the elementary education. Because of the steady exertion of Gandhiji and came about suggestion of the Solomon Commission, Indians Relief Act was passed in 1914. As per the provisions, three Pound Tax was nullified and Indian oversees question was settled. But, Indians denied entry into the Orange Free State. Gandhiji independently talked about certain administrative issues which were not considered by the Indians' Relief Act, with General Smuts. As a result Smuts - Gandhi Agreement was signed around the same year.

The passing of the Indians Relief Act and Smuts-Gandhi Agreement at last finished the passive resistance, began in 1906 and which made much physical enduring and pecuniary loss to the Indian Community. After his first experience, Gandhiji understood that he should remain in South Africa and fight with his back to the wall. The legacy of Gandhiji and the pretention by him is subjected to exhibit day evaluation. Researchers like V.S.Naipul, Frene Ginwala and Maureen Swan have seriously charged Gandhiji and his activities and fitted it with class-cognizance and auxiliary separations in social orders. Interestingly, researchers like E.S. Reddy and Fatima Meer committed significant regard for Gandhiji in South Africa. In the assessment of E.S. Reddy, "some of the criticisms in scholarly studies results from preconceived notions based on ideologies, or looking back at 1970 and by hind side or not studying or that Gandhiji has said or written or done."(ES. Reddy, 1991, p17-19) In any case, Gandhiji was successful in bringing Indian's issues before the Commission and going of Indians Relief Act in 1914. Accordingly Indian marriage practices and customs proceeded and 3-pound impose got abrogated.

Gandhiji's accentuation on the status of Indians as British subjects turned into a less point in as much as that appeared to affirm their 'alien' origin and furthermore subjected them to undue impact of the British Indian Government. Additionally Gandhiji's conviction that if Indians received themselves to western ways of life, their mission for quality will be a ton less demanding let the contemporary 'elitist' Indian leadership to seek after "a policy of accommodation and compromise". It was just when another new leadership emerged amid the war years that Gandhiji's other legacy that of obstruction came to be imitated. Whatever reactions might be, Gandhiji was the main representative of Indian grievances, despite the

fact that he represented diverse gatherings on partitioned events and there were numerous groups and interests whom he did not represent.

Gandhiji was aware of the separations inside the community. So he picked issues that could unite as opposed to divide/ partition them. It could be inspected from two illustrations. For example, the Franchise Issue which may have been the interest of the first class bunches like vendors and merchants yet he made the indentured labourers also a piece of it. Around them, there was also the emerging elite from among the indentured Indians and their relatives. Further, the Asians Registration Issue, albeit worried about the trading group in the Transvaal, the emerging elite and even the supposed under-classes in the indentured and ex-indentured Indians were similarly worried about the issue.

All through the South African battle, Gandhiji had unfalteringly set his face against including the African populace in the Indian Passive Resistance. He referred to three important reasons for the cause. Firstly, in the Satyagraha, it was not the numbers that check but rather the immaculateness of the battle. He wanted the Indian people group to figure out how to depend without anyone else interior quality. Secondly, the indigenous individuals were not at that stage adequately stirred or disciplined. To draw them into the battle would have added up to misusing them for narrow minded closures. Thirdly, Gandhiji perceived the contrasts between the Blacks and the Indians. The Negroes were considered 'the sons of the dirt' and they were battling for significantly greater stakes. They had been looted of their legacy, which they needed to recover.

The Indian people group, then again, had no political aspiration. All it wanted was to be permitted to live in the nation of its appropriation which on account of a large number of them was likewise the place where there is origin with self-respect as free and equivalent residents. Blending the enormous with the little would be a cause of weakness to the huge and humiliation to the little. It would profit not one or the other. He thought about the rights of Colored and the Africans, being indigenous, were to beat the interest of the Indians and even the Whites. Both being settlers, Gandhiji had a very practical reason to abstain from giving any impression of impelling or actuating the Africans. It is apparent that one reason for the pressure in Southern Natal was because of the across the board gossip that the Indians were approaching the blacks for support or that the blacks would turn out in support of the Indians regardless. It was additionally revealed that the blacks were sitting tight for the Indians to give the word for a general uprising against the Whites. To keep away from this

burden and false impressions, Gandhiji asked Indians battle not alongside the Africans but on their own calls. By producing a feeling of solidarity, they could stay away from peril of expelling by the white administration and brutality in the hands of indigenous individuals.

Gandhiji was not against 'coordinating with the blacks'. In his own quality, Gandhiji carried himself into intimate touch with the indigenous populace and gave profound knowledge into their strengths, weaknesses and the issues they faced. He comprehended and felt for them and missed no chance of rendering them whatever service he was equipped for. He served them amid the Zulu rebellion (1906), when he was accountable for an ambulance corps. When no white medical attendant was prepared to deal with them, he breast fed the Zulu detainees of war who were with gashed backs because of being put under the lash by the whites. He urged the associates of the battle for learning the African dialects and a significant number of them gained a reasonable sprinkling of the Zulu dialect. Most importantly, he urged the Indian people group the need of having the friendliest relations with the Blacks and not setting of against their fair desires and acting towards them on the square always. Subsequently, the Africans\_ had dependably the most warm relations with the individuals from the Phoenix Settlement who were totally encompassed by them, confided in the Indian people group all in all and favored having dealings with them endlessly more than the whites

### **2.3 PIOs struggle against discriminatory laws**

In 1948 when Apartheid was officially implemented by the National Party led Government lots of discriminatory laws and regulations were also introduced. The Prohibition of mixed Marriages Act of 1949 was the first major step of the National party-led Government. It precluded marriages between the whites and the non-white South Africans. Any such marriage occurring inside or even outside the Union of South Africa was proclaimed unlawful. In spin-off of the Act of 1949, Immorality Amendment Act passed in 1950. The clause no. 21 of 1950 Act, disallowed any unlawful association between the whites and the non-whites, and if such relation happen, relations will be dealt with as a criminal offense culpable with detainment for five years for men and four years for ladies. Keeping in mind the end goal to limit citizenship rights of the Indians, the South African government passed the South African Citizenship Act, 1949.

The Act No. 44 was expected to denigrate social status of the Indians by confining their rights to nationality. Further, a person born in the Union after the Act, will be denied



citizenship if his father is among the class of disallowed outsiders in the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913. Conceding of British Commonwealth citizenship right moved toward becoming prudence of the Minister of Interior. So the South African citizenship which was conferred automatically on the citizens of the British Commonwealth nations following two years residence in the Union wound up confounded and prohibitive. The arrangements made it difficult for the Indians to secure South African domicile rights and benefits immediately.

In 1950, the Registration of Population Act articulated separate enlistment for the Europeans, Asians, Natives and other non-European races. It was composed and expected to push the Union Government to carryout strategies of apartheid forward and dispose of the non-European races from the voters list. Under the Act, each non-European resident over 16 was subjected to get issued an identity card, which depicts and mention the ethnic groups to which he has a place. So the Mixed Marriages Act, Immorality Act and Registration of Population Act were proposed to keep social collaboration amongst European and non-European races at a straight. Apartheid and its limbs spread to limiting Indians and Black Africans in getting certain territories, for example, communication facilities.

The railways and harbours Regulation Control and Management (Amendment) Act (1949) carried the discrimination in the communication and transport system forward. As per the provisions of the Act, the administration approved to save any rail route premises or any prepare or any segment of the prepare for the utilization of various races and classes of people. Post offices in South Africa carried separate passages and counters for European and non-Europeans. In 1949, Transvaal Government embraced a determination to stretch out apartheid to the telephone booths. Separate telephone booths were set up in various parts of the Union. The development in excess of four stories structures was denied unless there were plans and arrangements for particular lifts for Europeans and non-Europeans. The social and cultural life of the Indians and also other non-Europeans were influenced by a considerable measure due to the segregatory and biased measures.

The non-Europeans were not allowed to enjoy the cultural nights and programmes of a theatrical company which came from abroad. They were denied grants-in-aid for their cultural bodies, having mixed membership and mixed audience. A large number of non-Europeans, fond of the European sports like rugby, football, basketball and boxing, could hardly get opportunity to share their fondness with the European players. Public services

reserved for the Europeans and non-Europeans as its non-combatant personnel such as cooks and there was difficulty for the non-Europeans patients to avail European hospitals. Three Indians who qualified as doctors were unable to get employed because of the protest of the white nurses who declined to work under non-European doctors (ibid, pp. 131-133).

The most infamous and brutal provisions of Apartheid were found in the Group Areas Act of 1950 and it was modified many times in ensuing years.

The Act divided South Africa into three areas: Controlled, Special and Group. In the first two categories, acquisition of property by any person of a race other than to which one belongs was prohibited unless a special permit was obtained from the minister of the Interior. The Group Areas were demarcated for different races. In the Group Area, as proclaimed for a particular race, the members of that race only could acquire or occupy land or premises situated therein. No person who was not a member of the racial group for which an area was demarcated could be entitled to own any immovable property within that area after it was proclaimed a Group Area (Chattopadhyaya, 1970, p252).

Further the Act made no provision and arrangement for elective convenience or remuneration for those were affected a considerable measure and became homeless.

Before the sanctioning of Act, non-Europeans were bound to save, yet the Act of 1950 made an obvious division and isolation of one community from another and whites maintained a sensible separation from the non-whites. The provisions listed in the Group Areas Act planned not only to force generous confinements on the flexibility of settlement and residence of non-whites however their entitlement to resolute property. Non-whites including Indians were efficiently and savagely expelled from the regions they had set up and with which they had a sense of belonging. Between the 1950 and 1972, around 38,000 Indian families were precluded. What was more troublesome was that they moved starting from one area then onto the next.

In 1980 around 225,000 Indian and 375,000 other non-Europeans were removed from their established homes to their recently set up territories, which counted 258 and 581 respectively (Survey of Race relation in South Africa. 1981, (Johannesburg: Institute of race Relations, 1982). Indians were additionally hard hit by the Act in their trade and commercial activities. Between 1950 and 1971, 4,546 trading licenses of the Indians were repudiated, out of which 547 were renewed and 3,999 traders denied of their trade . Between 1972 and 1980, the

quantity of Indian merchants who denied of their trading licenses expanded to 5,000. The impacts of the Act on resettlement and trading exercises of the Indians are as:

“Resettlement of the evacuated traders and others was an extremely difficult proposition. They often had to sell their land and properties at a very low price to the Group Areas Board, the largest estate agent and property dealer during apartheid, which fixed prices and had the first right to purchase. At the same time, the price of land used to be extremely high and beyond the reach of most of the Indians”(Prakash.CJain,1999,p75).

**Table 2.1**

**Number of Indian Traders and Businessmen affected by the Group Areas Act in South Africa (1950 1971)**

Provinces				
	Natal	Transvaal	Cape	Total
Number of Licenses revoked	1,061	2,407	1,078	4,546
Number of Licenses revoked	1,061	2,407	1,078	4,546
Number of Licenses renewed and Resettled	231	181	135	547
Number of Licenses not resettled	830	2,226	943	3,999

Source: *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1971* (Johannesburg: Institute of Race Relations, 1972), p.49.

The first major impression of the Group Areas Act was found in Durban under 'Zoning' of Group Areas inside the district. Thus, 146,000 Asians were asked to oust their homes and property worth of £28 million was reallocated in Durban. Correspondingly, Page view, a suburb of Johannesburg, confronted the rage of the Act. Page view, which was once regarded as a zone of mixed races, was pronounced as 'whites zone' in 1956, and in outcome, the greater part of the Indians were asked, badgering and scared to move out of the area. By

1982, 300 Indians were ousted and just 42 Indian houses were left to sustain under the rubbles. From the above analysis it is obvious that the Group Areas Act, which was focused on the strategy of isolation, executed as a practical policy for racial separateness and denial of equivalent rights and privileges.

The expanding protest and agitation of the Black Africans, radicalisation of PIO governmental issues and increase of India's exertion in resolving Indian issues, pushed apartheid led White administration in South Africa to take extreme measures against the non-Whites so as to suppress their voice at the world level. As a result, the government presented the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950. The term 'Communism' characterized comprehensively in order to incorporate each one of those person and organisation which oppositely contradicted to apartheid and such people or organisation who were qualified for an extensive range of restrictions including banning of the South African Communist Party (SACP).

The Group Areas Act, reinforced by the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, explained legal framework for the advancement and maintenance of isolated and unequal facilities. However, the Bantu Education Act (1953), Bantu Self - Government Act (1959) and Bantu Investment Corporation (1960) were key advances taken by the Union government to start 'Black Development' inside the groups. In any case, the Indian people group was not permitted to get those facilities. Further, the Colored people group could benefit of employment through enactments of the legislature of Cape Province. The main reason behind serious oppressive approach of the white administration towards the Indians can be referred to the aim of sending Indians back to India.<sup>2</sup>

The period between 1960s and the early phase of 1970s in South Africa was set apart as the time of 'State suppression' over open challenge, agitation and uprisings. In 1979 the Government built up a Commission, led by Botha to detail procedure for assist established changes in the nation. Based on suggestions, the Government turned out with its auxiliary approach of 'divide and rule' and created trilateral Parliament in 1983, which came to operation in 1984. The major provisions of the Act of 1983 are as:

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<sup>2</sup> The situation of the Indians in South Africa was translated as amazingly hazardous by National Party. After every one of the endeavors to secure the repatriation of the Indians fizzled, the N.P came in 1961 to acknowledge that the Indians could live and settle in the nation. In any case, the union was effective in evacuating Chinese between 1907-1910.

“The parliament was divided into three Houses. The House of Assembly was to consist of 178 representatives of the white community, the House of Representatives was to consist of 85 members of the Coloured community and the House of Delegates was to consist of 45 members of the Indian community”(Chris Alden, 1996, p138).

However, the Parliament was outlined in a way in order to reflect 4:2:1 proportion of White, Colored and Indian population by which the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates would not the only one or together be in a situation to rule the House of Assembly in the Parliament. Further, the Black Africans who constitute biggest piece of the aggregate South African population were suspended from the newly established course of action. It demonstrated Europeans push to debilitate united struggle of non-white races against apartheid structure and creating friction between the Colored and the Indians in a single-handedly and the larger part of the Blacks later.

#### **2.4 United Struggle**

The Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946 was not successful in accomplishing its target, for example, the repeal of the Ghetto Act. In any case, it had a significance effect in mixing united struggle (PIO and Black Africans) against the white administration and creating public agitation. The second period of Indian interest started in the later piece of 1940s, where resistance and struggle practically eclipsed legislative issues of convenience and bargain and the new period of political collaboration between Indians and Africans rose. We can say the accompanying elements in charge of radicalization of Indian politics and united struggle between Indians and Africans against Apartheid are:

1. The rise of Communist Party and trade unionism sought wider cooperation between the non- white communities in general and working class people in particular;
2. Failure of passive resistance in 1946 resulted in realization among the PIOs that Africans cooperation is essential for a sustained and result-oriented struggle;
3. The ANC was impressed with the satyagraha and sacrifice of the Indians; and
4. Rise of highly educated radical leaders like G.M. Naicker and Yusuf Dadoo”( G.M. Carter, 1973, p38).

The Joint Declaration, signed by Dr. J. Xuma of ANC, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo of TIC and G.M. Naicker of NIC in 1947 was significant from the acknowledgment that 'without a unified exertion, struggle would be half-achievement'. Further, the Pact was fixated on democracy, human rights and widespread establishment. The Declaration of 1947 communicated the eagerness and expectation of the three Congresses. Those were:

1. Full economic and industrial rights and opportunities and the reorganization of African trade unions.
2. Removal of land restrictions against non-Europeans and adequate housing facilities for them.
3. Extension of free and compulsory education to non-Europeans.
4. Guarantee of freedom of movement and the abolition of pass laws.
5. Removal of all discriminatory and oppressive laws from the statute book”( Ibid, P.38-40)

The pact was point of interest however before it, their existed relations between two groups on some particular issues despite the fact that in a low power without a typical program. This is obvious that in 1927, the conservative leaders of SAIC went to a non-European conference called by Abdurahman and Jabavu on the Class Areas Bill. In 1943, a Ismail of Cape Indian congress moved a determination in the SAIC on cooperation with the Africans and the coloureds. Regardless of these moves, Indian in extensive number separated from the Africans. The Indian Congress were against joint program and activity with the trust that Indians are unique in relation to the blacks on numerous grounds like culture and education. Within the black community, there was contrast of conclusion in cooperating Indians. This is apparent that in 1946 the ANC had solidarity towards Passive Resistance, however along these lines, the ANC was divided.

James Calata, the Secretary General of ANC was sarcastic over Indians for tossing their parcel with the Bantu and the coloured communities and contending in the Africans market. Natal leaders like, A.W.G. Chaplian restricted any formal help to Passive Resistance due to 'miserable relations' there. Regardless of a few hiccups that existed on organisational basis between the Indians and the Africans, there was a seed of participation between Indians and

Africans which in course of period would be developed as it found in 'Three Doctors Pact', campaign for defiance against unjust laws in 1952, and challenge over trilateral assembly in 1983.

While the 1940s denoted the start of radicalisation of Indian politics and struggle, the 1950s saw change in relations between Indians and Africans to level of Maturity where Indians distinguished themselves as Africans. The South African Indian Congress (SAIC) was the first Indian Congress to move from the situation of supporting the political desires of the Africans by accepting the political power of the ANC. The SAIC remained for total resistance to apartheid and upheld the ANC's Annual Conference in 1949 and Program of Action detailed by the ANC's Youth League which chose to act conclusively as opposed to negligible talk. Dr. Moroka, the President of the ANC, in a Convention responded Indians bolster by saying Africans as the non-European populace of the nation and let our collective effort not permit any government or Individuals in nation to partition us. In the 1952 conference of the SAIC, a resolution was passed.

The Conference was of the opinion that with a specific end goal to address the difficulties of the National Government and assaults on the freedom of the general population of South Africa, the SAIC must consolidate the Indo-African cooperation that had just been manufactured in the struggle for flexibility and liberation and tried to fortify further cooperation between the Indians, the Coloreds and the European democrats. Reacting to a progression of banning orders of the NP-led government over opportunity of the non-whites, the TIC joined hands with the Transvaal branch of the ANC and Communist Party of South Africa and sorted out a 'Defend Free Speech' Convention in March 1950. The convention, by its substance, was more extensive in its goals, and non-racial in its gatherings. It was present by 528 delegates, speaking to 23 Advisory Boards, 15 Residents and Vigilance Associations, 20 Trade Unions, 6 Churches, 3 peasants' associations, 8 sports bodies and 7 women's organisations from various racial groups.

## **2.5 Unlawful Organisation Bill and PIO**

The developing turmoil, especially caused by the working class and trade unions, was a worry to the White administration. So in 1950 the government turned out with an extreme step by proclaiming the Unlawful Organization Bill or Suppression of Communism Act. In challenge to the Act, a rally of the NIC and the ANC (Natal Branch) was held in Durban. It

was the greatest ever and first joined rally in Durban which was mutually assembled by these two Congresses which was by presided A.W.G. Champion, President of the ANC (Natal Branch) and the appreciated letter to the President was stretched out by Dr. Naicker of the NIC. Further, Indian and Indian pioneers alongside Africans watched 26 June 1950 as the National Day of Protest and Mourning against the Act of 1950 and killing of 40 protestors who were marching and killed by the police canons. In Durban, the National Day of Protest and Mourning was successful mainly due to mass interest of Indians and Indian Trade Union Organization (ITUO). The white authorities additionally played the divide and rule strategy by rejecting many Indians employed and, complimenting their African partners who were not engaged with the agitation. In any case, the ANC censured the strategies of the administration. Selby Msimang, the Secretary General of the ANC commented:

“In almost all the industries, one finds Indians, Africans and Coloureds working side by side in perfect harmony. The government is now busy throwing a spanner into the wheels of our unity movement by separating our racial groups in employment, and the Durban municipality is getting rid of its Indian employees to make room for Africans. We must prevent this by all means at our disposal” ( The Deccan Herald (Banglore), 5 Oct 1996).

## **2.6 Defiance Campaign**

The expanding participation and joint action by the Indians and Africans met with suppressive measures and enactments. As a result, the ANC and Indian Congresses united together in 1952 for 'Mass Defiance Against Unjust Laws' or 'Defiance Campaign'. The plan of Defiance Campaign (DC) was against racially biased and unlawful laws, which included suppression of Communism Act, Press Laws, Group Areas Act, Separate Representation of Voters Act, Bantu Authorities Act and Stock Limitations Regulations Act. The 26 June 1952 was set apart as the day for the initiation of Defiance Campaign.

The hardship confronted both by the Indians and the Africans in the campaign was a considerable measure than any past dissents and campaign. Between June and December 1952, the pinnacle time of the Defiance Campaign (DC), 8557 volunteers in 37 distinct centers in South Africa were detained, yet month-wise the campaign topped between August and October and aggregate number of detained volunteers were 6,627. The DC spread like an out of control fire. Factory and officer workers, doctors, lawyers, lawyer, teachers, students



and varying backgrounds reacted to the call and opposed unjust laws and preventive and reformatory directions of the government. Numerous lost their occupations, students boycotted schools and people boycotted consumer goods so as to realize a radical change in the societies. Prominent leaders Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Nanasita (Gandhian), Marks Kotane, Naicker and Luthuli were detained. Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, the President of the SAIC, together with ANC leaders, M. Kotane, J.B. Imprints, D.W. Bopape and J. Ngwevela were captured for opposing the banning orders and tending to open gatherings in contravention to the Suppression of Communist Act of 1950. In Natal, Dr. G.M. Naicker (NIC) and P.H. Simelane (ANC-Natal) led the campaign while in Transvaal Nana Sita (TIC) and Walter Sisulu (ANC-secretary General) led the campaign. In Natal, when the main group of campaigners opposed the laws, there were ten Indians including two women and eleven Africans, and along these lines the number expanded overwhelmingly.

In spite of the fact that the DC campaign could not prevail in its objective and destinations of revoking the unfair and unjust laws. However it politicized Indians and Africans, welding an unbreakable, indistinguishable solidarity and singleness of reason and development of common South African viewpoint between Indians and Africans. In resulting a long time of campaign, both African and Indian congresses progressed toward becoming signals in the tempest. Every one of these occasions and development brought about creating and fusing more progressive groups and parties to join the mainstream struggle. It was best reflected in 'Freedom Charter' of 1955 where Indian and African Congresses, South African Communist Party (SACP), South African Congress of Trade Union (SACTU), Colored People's Congress (CPC) and Congress of Democrats (CD) of progressive Whites marked the Charter.

This was the foundation of motivation against apartheid. The Congresses of the people who were available at the launch of Freedom Charter (FC) in Clip Town, included all sorts of individuals, for example, peasants, factory workers, teachers, medical attendants, doctors, legal counselors, students, farm workers and numerous others of any age. Walter Sisulu and Yusuf, Chachalia were the joint secretaries of the committee, which was planning game plans for the congress of the people. The primary substance of the freedom charter is its make progress toward non-racial law based South Africa. Its preamble declares South Africa has a place with every one of the people of South Africa and no government can legitimately guarantee expert unless it depends on the will of the general population.

Indians played very significant role in the Congress without minding the risk of arrest. Indians in large number went to it even without having grants to venture out from Natal to Transvaal. G. Harbans, the VP of the NIC led one of the sessions of the congress. Urdu was one of the dialects utilized as a part of the congress and Albert Luthuli, Yusuf Dadoo and Trevor Huddleston were awarded with the most elevated respects, presented by the ANC for the outstanding leaders.

## **2.7 Contribution of Indian Women among PIOs against apartheid**

Women of Indian origins played a significant role in anti-apartheid movement. The commitment of Indian women towards passive resistance call in 1913 was significant. Indian women were the first to walk in the noteworthy strike in 1913. The arrest of every one of these women gave a new energy to the strike development by instilling strong responses among the Indians. On first November 1913, the Indians alongside their spouses and children started their historic walk under the leadership of Gandhiji. Numerous Indian women challenged every one of the hardships and sufferings and experienced the trials in South African jail and were treated cruelly.

It was the Tolstoy Farm from where Indians began their march. Significant among them were Thumbi Naidoo, N. Pillay, K. Murugasa Pillay, A. Perumal Naidoo, K. Chinnaswami Pillay, R.A. Mudalingam, Bhavani Dayal, N. Minachi Pillay and Bakium Murugasa Pillay. The women of Tolstoy Farm Phoenix Settlement were for the most part from the trading Gujarati people group. Among the groups were Kasturba Gandhi and two of her nearby partners, Kashi Chaganlal Gandhi and Santok Maganlal Gandhi, and Jayakunvar Mehta, daughter of a close friend of Gandhi.

Miss Valliammah Manusamy Moodaliar, who passed away in jail for opposing white administration, turned into an exemplification and undying name for the women and Indians in their future battle for freedom. With the infants in their arms, Indian women entered the battle and sought court arrest. They confronted hardship of detainment and abuse in the jail. The Satyagraha of 1913 was fruitful if contrasted with passive resistance of 1907 which was suspended in 1911. The important of the Satyagraha lies with the reality:

“The consequence of the march and the viciousness of the government were such that almost Indians particularly every Indian workers in Natal, in the towns and sugar plantations, went on strike. In its nature, it was the first general political strike in South Africa. The Indian

Relief Act in 1914 abolished the £3 tax and the Indian marriages were validated. Gandhi proclaimed it a great victory” (Ramamurthi, 1995, p182-83).

They were influenced by the Gandhian ideology and participated in Natal strike of 1913 and Passive Resistance of 1946. Addressing a social occasion of around 800 women at the Avalon cinema in Durban in June 1946 and Ms. Zainab Asvat a Satyagrahi, addressed the crowd:

“Let us pledge that we shall continue the task which we have undertaken. We have sown the seeds of our struggle; Let it not perish; let us water it with our hearts' blood; let us pledge; long live resistance”(Michael west, 1987, p102).

Other significant Indian women like Veeramah Pather, Khatija Mayat, K. Goonam (first Indian Doctors in South Africa) and Z. Gool spoke to every Indian women to join and play their dynamic role in the anti-apartheid movement. Bringing up the need of Indian women in the Satyagraha Z. Gool a representative of the Indian Women's Action Committee expressed that “without women, the struggle will be weakened”(Dowlat Bagwandeem, 1991, p66). Ms Fatima Meer, who was a school student, effectively indulged in agitation politics.

The contribution of Indian women during 1950s especially in Defiance Campaign of 1952 was prominent. In 1950, Dr. Goonam again showed up on the stage against apartheid. In her effort at women's anti-pass meeting in Durban, she promised the support of the Indian women in the struggle against pass laws. Women's Federation of South Africa (WFSA), a national organisation of white and non-white women was founded in 1950 in dissent against pass laws. Various Indian women also played prominent role in the formation of the organisation and its smooth working. Fatima Meer was instrumental for the development of WFSA and furthermore embellished its president ship.

The Federation came to activity in 1950, under which 20,000 women from all parts of South Africa joined in Pretoria against the inconvenience of pass laws. Participation of the Indian women in the Defiance campaign of 1952, notwithstanding, was consistent and unremitting. At the point when the principal clump of Defiance crusade (DC) started, four women in Natal sought detainment. In Boksburg of Transvaal four Indian women were arrested on the 1st day of the campaign. We can say that all section of Indian People even men, women, trade unionist, businessmen, students and youth all played their significant role against Apartheid. The political support of the Indian women was extremely important in South

Africa's freedom movement and it set a point of reference for others. Motivated by gallant activities of the women in the Satyagraha, numerous women associations like the Cape Town Separate Women's Organisation, Transvaal Women's Organisation, Lamont Vilhe Women's Group and Women's Federation of South Africa shaped a national alliance of the White and the non-White women which was set up in South Africa.

## **2.8 Ideological streams among PIOs**

In 1950s contradictions found among Indian political forums like Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and South African Indian Congress (SAIC) and the organisations like Natal Indian Organisation (NIO) and South African Indian Organisation (SAIO) on their ways to deal with the issues faced by the Indian community, yet their goals were indistinguishable. While the Congresses focused on the requirement for resistance to the Government's colour strategy and improving help to the non-white group, organisations thought about active resistance as impracticable and destructive to the interests of the Indians community, and on a similar balance restricted collaboration with the African National Congress. The Group Areas Act of 1950 was a proving ground for these two forums.

The Congresses rejected to take part in dialogues the Congresses would not participate in discussions preliminary to the notice of group areas by the administration, However organisations felt that taking an interest in the talk discussion could save something and impact the government on its policy towards the Indians. Manilal Gandhi's approach on conveying small time Satyagraha by entering the European library of the Durban Municipality and possessing seats and seats on transports was interpreted by Congresses as individualist. However, the organisations were segregated due to mass Indian support for the congresses and fortifying bond inside the Indians especially developed by the defiance campaign.

The Defiance Campaign and Freedom Charter strengthened relationship between Indians and Africans. However, their relation neglected to support thereafter, although for a brief span. The African causes inside the ANC, especially in the Youth League did not bolster the Indian Congresses and Organisations. Further, Pan Africanists rose inside the ANC who contradicted foreign elements of Marxism. So they split far from the ANC in 1959 and shaped the Pan African Congress (PAC). The distinction between the two lies with the way that the ANC totally dismissed any idea of racialism, white or black, while PAC was militant

in its thought of African Nationalism i.e. 'Africa for Africans' while dismissing 'Exceptionalism' of the ANC.

Disregarding the contrasts between the ANC and the PAC, both the organisations united against the pass laws. In 20 March 1960, the PAC President Robert Subukwe led people to the police station of Orlando, where they damaged pass laws and courted arrest. ANC additionally began hostile to pass law campaign and volunteers of both the Congresses assembled at Sharpeville in Transvaal for an unarmed protest. Be that as it may, the police opened fire against the demonstrators, killing 69 people and injuring 180. This Sharpeville Massacre disturbed open shock and internationalised apartheid issue. The government took extreme measures to stifle open turmoil by declaring State Emergency, banning ANC and the PAC, arresting and detaining large number of non-Whites including every one of the individuals from the TIC and NIC for supporting the ANC. Because of onerous measures the TIC, NIC and ANC were incapacitated.

## **2.9 PIO's participation in struggle against Apartheid**

People of Indian origins (PIOs) struggle started 1893 when Gandhiji landed South Africa. People of Indian Community participated various movement against apartheid. They formed many Congresses like Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), South African Indian Congress (SAIC) for their rights. PIO's struggle never ends against Apartheid.

### **2.9.1 PIOs and Armed Struggle**

The accumulated grievances of the people in general and horrendous Sharpeville massacre specifically, trailed by police brutality, left no alternative for the non-white South Africans to fall back on armed struggle against apartheid. Further, the ANC understood that the civil disobedience alone could not topple the administration. So the ANC framed Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK-'Lance of the Nation') in 1961 under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. It went about as the militant and Guerrilla wing of the ANC. As opposed to killing people, the ANC executed its brutality at government establishments, various symbolic spaces of apartheid, and economic infrastructures.

The MK got support of the Indian youth activists. It is prominent to note that Ahmad Kathrada, a South African Indian, was one of the establishing members of the MK. At the point when the MK was set up, a portion of its first enrolls came from Indians. Among the

first volunteers to be arrested for armed struggle incorporate three Indians, for example, Indres Naidoo, Reggie Vandeyer and Sirish Nanabhai who were detained and tormented for ten years. In Natal, Billy Nair, a writer, turned into an member of the regional command of the MK and sentenced to 20 years in prison for his association in the MK. Krishna Rabilall and Lenny Naidoo were killed by the police. Vijay Ramlakan, Jude Francis and Derek Naidoo were captured and detained. In the main sabotage trial in Natal, 9 of the 18 denounced were Indians. Different revolutionaries who were sentenced including, Nato Babenia, Isu Chibba, George Naicker, Sonny Singh, Siva Pillay, Kisten Moonsamy, Kisten Doraswamy, M.D.Naidoo, M. Pather, Laloo Chiba, Mac Maharaj (known as 'canny devil' for his secret exercises) and Solem Essop. While Iqbal Shaik was lucky in leading armed activities without being caught, Yusuf Akhalwaya and Prakash Napier were killed amid carrying out their tasks in 1989. Babla Salojee, a member from the TIC, was killed while he was in confinement. To show disdain toward frontal activities, Indians likewise went about as intelligent wing and organizers inside the militant wings. Dynamic in co-organizing every one of these exercises, including revolutionary, for example, Ismail Aboobaker and Mac Maharaj.

Nelson Mandela and Ahmed Kathrada were sentenced to life detainment in 1962. Nelson Mandela, before his arrest, was encouraged by Indians to do his activities in the middle of the armed struggle. Regardless of prohibitory measures, Nelson Mandela left for Ethiopia in 1962 to attend a meeting of Pan African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa. On his arrival to South Africa, he crossed the border without looking for government consent and the auto, sitting tight for him, was driven by an Indian.

All these demonstrates the degree of Indian support to the ANC and their commitment for freedom struggle. Notwithstanding government's severe measures, damage of the government property like power plants, military stops, transport and communication links and so forth affected the white administration a great deal. By the mid-sixties, the armed struggle was killed by the legislature, however the ANC proceeded with its activist tasks estranged abroad and assembled universal help and popular sentiment for it. Among the individuals who were conspicuous in producing international support including Yusuf Dadoo, Abdul Minty and MP Naicker. With the development of the Revolutionary Council of the ANC in 1969, Oliver Tambo was chosen as the Chairman and Yusuf Dadoo as Vice

Chairman in the Council. In 1962, the Pan African Congress additionally shaped an armed wing, the Poqo where numerous Indians joined the positions.

### **2.9.2 Student Organisations and PIO against anti apartheid movement**

The militant and revolutionary way of the non-whites spread its circle to intellectual communities like the students' movement and the teachers' contribution. Students publicised political awareness among the general population. Meanwhile a student organisation named National Union for South African Students (NUSAS), multi-racial in nature, was set up for the struggle. Be that as it may, the sidelining of black community inside the NUSAS brought about rise of South African Students Organisation (SASO) in 1969 (Gail. M. Gerhart, 1978, p132). Steve Biko and Satho Cooper were prominent founders of this Black Conscious Movement (BCM). Indians like Strini Moodley, Jay Naidoo and Aswini Trikamjee played their dynamic role in the movement. However, one might say that in light of the dynamic leadership of Steve Biko, numerous Indians were influenced by the movement. The teachers supported and helped the BCM through establishing Teachers Council of Natal (TECON), an aesthetic platform. However, the BCM was multi-racial and hostile to ethnic in nature, which included Indians and the Colored alongside the Africans. These organisations of students and teachers endeavored for achieving the conscientisation drive through their cultural activities like poetry recitation, dance and drama. In this way the BCM filled the vacuum made in 1960s after the restricting of the ANC and the PAC.

While the 1960s was a time of armed struggle and State Repression, the period in the vicinity of 1970s, and 1990s was the restoration of the mass movement alongside armed struggle against the administration. In the 1970s the student activities were more successful than alternate types of political protest and agitation. In 1972, there was far reaching boycott of government institutions and delivers by the students. Many student pioneers were banned or arrested for these activities. Satho Cooper and Strini Moodley were arrested and discharged later along with other BCM activists. Around the same time, SASO activists formed Black People's Convention (BPC) where Satho Cooper, one of the founders of the BPC, elected as its Public Secretary. The BCM set up South African Council on Sports (SACOS), which in course of time was effective in secluding South Africa from worldwide sports. Prominent Indian, who supported SACOS, were M.N. Pather, Morgan Naidoo and George Singh.

The 1976 was the watershed year in the battle against apartheid because of Soweto Rebellion. Natal Indian Congress went under the impact of students movement and black consciousness movement in mid 1970s. Contention encompassed over the recovery of the NIC. New generation of students supporting BCM, rejected their Indian character and recognized themselves as the Black, and contradicted the recovery of the NIC, as its approach was parochial and ethnically troublesome. However, those who were against the recovery of the NIC were cornered by the majority of Indians. In 1971, the NIC was resuscitated by Mewa Ramgobin, Rabbi Bugwandeem, George Sewpersad, Paul David and Ela Gandhi. Ahmad Timol, a SACP and ANC dissident, died in prison and his comrades Mohd Essop and Amina Desain were detained with the students who were campaigning for the pardon of the political detainees, unbanning of the political organisation, arrival of political leaders and evacuation of house-arrest for the political pioneers.

### **2.9.3 PIO's and Trade Unionism in South Africa**

The struggle against apartheid was increased in mid-1980s. The period was joined by political strikes, consumer boycott, students' dissent and militant activities; household agitation and worldwide protest wound up widespread and anti-apartheid struggle developed significantly. Meanwhile, the trade unionism and trade union movements developments included fuel for more self-assured part of the non-whites. One of the significant labour movements in South Africa was driven by the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) in 1985. The COSATU was political and socio-economic in its points and goal. It connected to underground activities of the ANC and got support of the UDF in directing its battle against apartheid by uniting laborers. Most conspicuous among the Indians was Jay Naidoo who was likewise connected with the FOSATU and engaged with arranging Sweet Workers Union, Textile and Garment Workers Union and Leather, Tanning and Footwear Workers Union.

There was significant cooperation of Indians in communist parties and trade unions. Notwithstanding getting to be member and activist of the communist these platform, number of the Indians arranged to direct action to accomplish their objective of freedom. Monty Naicker and his peers communicated politically dynamic thoughts and were active in Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) and trade unions associations. H.A Naidoo, T.N. Naidoo and M.P. Naicker were very much indulged in trade unions. M.P. Naicker edited news releases, for example, Guardian and New Age of the CPSA and later the ANC journal



The Sechaba. Others in the CPSA philosophy were incorporated attorneys like N.T. Naicker, J.N. Singh, George Singh and I.C. Meer, and Debi Singh and Ahmad Seedat.

Dr Yusuf Dadoo joined CPSA in 1938 and till his last time in the party as its most dedicated part and engaged with the underground activities. Ahmad Kathrada came to Johannesburg from the Transvaal farmland to complete his schooling and drawn into an existence of political activism in the CPSA alongside TIC, SAIC and ANC. These denied restricted isolation on a fundamental level favored militant actions and were anti-imperialist. Some of the CPSA activist were enthusiastic communists like Dr. Dadoo who bought in to communism. After 1945, the NIC did not want to ideological virtue among its members as long as they acknowledged expansive multi-racialism and were focused on an uncompromising stand against isolation. The NIC embraced a 10-Point Program in 1945 that reflected precisely its position and decided its agenda for next 15 years.

#### **2.9.4 PIO and United Democratic Front (UDF)**

After the chilling off of the Black consciousness movement (BCM), Indians, Coloreds, Africans and the individuals who believed in the movement build a political wing, known as Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO). It focused on civic amenities of Indians, for example, rates, rent, water and power charges. They felt that the most ideal approach to activate Indians was to center the issues around bread and butter and civic organisations like cultural and women organisations; participating in these civic struggles the connections could be attracted to the battle to overthrow apartheid. Significant Indians like Praveen Gordhan, Yusus Mohammad and Roy Padayachee were effective in driving this approach inside the NIC.

In 1980s the majority of these civic organisations brought under one united umbrella, the United Democratic Front (UDF) to campaign against election for South African Indian Congress (SAIC). An effective boycott of SAIC election was sorted out where around 10 percent of Indians voted in the 1981 elections. Further, the counter SAIC campaign was restored and revived. Meanwhile, another generation of Indian activists and pioneers came to scene under Transvaal Indian Congress. These new generation activists like Mohd. Valli Moosa, Ismaim Momoniat, Feroz Cachalia, Reggie Vandeyar and Azhar Cachalia who began their campaign from basics and in doing so they were in close participation with the older

generation activists like Essop Jassat, Cassim Salojee and Ramlal Bhoolia. The counter - SAIC campaign was fruitful.

Enlivened by against SAIC campaign, all the nearby, CIVIC, political and different associations united at a Conference in Johannesburg in 1983 to shape the United Democratic Front (UDF). The points and targets of the UDF were planned in restricting tri-cameral legislature of 1983 and election to it. In auxiliary terms, the UDF worked as an umbrella association of various political forums for an assortment of anti-apartheid activities. It coordinated activities of various associations and groups and filled in as a representative for the associate organisations. The UDF, to put it plainly, centered on the slogan 'Apartheid Divides and UDF Unites'. The prominent Indian figures in the UDF were Zac Yacob, Prof Jerry Covadia, George Sewpersad, M.J. Naidoo, Farooq Meer and Paul David. At the same time they played dynamic role in NIC and other platforms.

The root of the UDF in outcome prompted the formation of National Forum (NF). It was framed by non-whites, which included coloured, Indians, Africans and their non-racist organizations. The slogan of NF, 'Apartheid Divides and UDF Unites' was radical and socialist in its belief system and opposed white nearness in the nation.

### **2.9.5 Struggle of PIO during Apartheid Period**

While before 1961 the People of Indian Origins were not regarded as a part of the South African populace and were fairly or unfairly regarded as 'Sojourn, subjected to repatriation. But, the South African government in 1961 made strategies to announce Indians as integral part of the South African population. While government built up the Department of Indian Affairs at the Union, no such arrangement was made for the black Africans to care for their administration. Extensively, there could be one central point for regarding Indians as a part of the South African population i.e. the bleak disappointment of repatriation approaches of the administration as a result of the relentless demand of the Indians for better redressal of their grievances. The South African Indian Council (SAIC) was formed in 1968.

The SAIC comprised of 25 members all selected by the administration. They all were representative of PIOs who were present POIs interest in the Union government, which included regions, for example, religion, culture, education, welfare, sports, trade, industry and finance. Nonetheless, it had mere advisory powers like in the form of suggestion, recommendation, and advice to the government on the previously mentioned issues. There

was no consistent acknowledgment of the SAIC by the Indian community. Indians were partitioned over it and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) opposed the South African Indian Council (SAIC) in a most grounded conceivable sense based on The acceptance of the Council would shatter their hopes over elected and democratic representation in governing bodies. The aspirations of the Indian community could never be fulfilled in terms of separate development. But on the other hand, a few Indians argued that since this was the only body, which would have access to be minister and better acceptance of Indians, as it offered an opportunity to present views of Indians at the highest level.

In 1983 the South Indian Council converged with the House of Delegates set up for the Indians in the parliament. Indians in huge number contradicted the House sacred course of action as it had suspended Africans from the new administrative arrangements. Regardless of low turnout of Indian votes (16%) in the Elections (1984), some of the opportunist leaders like Amichand Raj Bansi, D.S. Raja and, J.N. Reddy elected to the House. The Black South Africans were precluded the opportunity of political participation; rather Black Authorities Act of 1983 was gone as a measure that would suit those black people who lived in urban zones and could not be delegated falling under any of the homeland governments.

These black local authorities were selected by the Department of Co-operation and Development. If compared with the Africans, Indians were in better position as the House of Delegates was pretty much self-governing body black local authorities and specialists were neither chosen nor self-ruling in their capacities. Be that as it may, the political participation of the Indians in the House of Delegates made Indians in essence noticeable as partners inside the oppressive system keep running by whites and the black Africans felt deprived when they compared themselves with the Indians. After that, conflict started between Indians and Africans during anti-Apartheid movement. Two major riots happened between Africans and Indians. First was the Durban Riot of 1949 and second was the Inanda Violence, 1985. As a result united non-European struggle especially Indians Africans unity started to weaken gradually.

## **2.10 Conflict between Africans and PIO during anti-apartheid movement**

### **2.10.1 Durban Riot 1949**

In January 1949 racial uproars broke out between the Black Africans and the People of Indian origins in which there was big harm of property, loss of lives and this led to increased

vagrancy among Indians. As indicated by the Report of the Riots Commission of Inquiry, which was appointed to investigate the issue, the immediate reason for the riot was as:

“The spark which caused tragic explosion was almost ludicrous in its significance. The probable facts appear to be that a native boy had words with an Indian shop assistant of 16 years age, and slapped the latter's face. The Indian youth lodged a complaint with his employer and an Indian who came out of the Indian market into Victoria Street assaulted the native boy. In the argument and tussle, the native's head accidentally crashed into glass of a shop window and received cuts behind the ears. The natives saw an adult Indian assaulting a boy of their community and bleeding of the boy. This was instigation enough for the Black African community to go berserk and attack every Indian within sight” (Margarett Ballinger, 1975, p410-11).

The Durban Riot in 1949 was unordinary as a result of its across the board and efficient nature. There was boundless claim by the Africans in supporting their assaults on Indians with whom they lived in closeness for quite a long time. The African police completely bolstered the whites and taken all measures to secure them and yet it was slow in its methodology not to give an early end. All European ladies were guaranteed by the rioters that the Government was with them and the police are not going to hurt them or shoot them. The police demonstrated its 'benevolent neutrality' on the 1st day of riot where all the victims were Indians while on the succeeding days each one of those killed were largely natives because of police and military activity despite the fact that the Indians had a little retaliatory action. The loss of lives and property in the riot was a big.

‘The last toll included 137 people dead (1 European, 53 Indian and 83 Natives) and 1883 harmed (30 Europeans, 1085 locals and 768 Indians). In addition, 1532 homes, 710 stores and 3 processing plants were demolished or harmed’ (Fatima Meer, 1975). The violent activities made a matter of concern the Indian and African pioneers. Both the African and Indian pioneers were worried about the implications of the riot than the quantity of setbacks. The National leaders of the ANC and the South African Indian Congress worked all things considered and definitively. Dr. A.B. Xuma, President of the ANC and Dr. G.M. Naicker, President of SAIC and R.T. Charry an Indian ambassador went to the refugee camps. Further a memorable joint meeting was held in Durban on Sunday 6 February 1949, to investigate ways and means for reestablishing normalcy, and the reasons for the tension and violence.

The explanations behind the outbreak of riot are unpredictable and complex. Vital among them could be studied on social parameters. It was discovered that the Africans felt Indians were tyrannical, disdainful and cited to a few occasions incorporating isolation in cinema houses, claimed by Indians, reserved for Europeans . On the economic front, it was discovered that the Africans were dissatisfaction with the Indian businessmen and the charged. The Commission, built up to investigate the reasons for outbreak, found that there was minimal social contact and the issue was intensified by the isolation of the Africans in areas. Further, in transport there were two problems: grievances of the travelling public and the grouse of the aspiring transporters.

As the transporters were obliged to give administrations at a low levy, it was discovered that the first class service was demanded at fourth class tolls. Inflexible laws allowed veto on the licenses and restraining infrastructure of Indian Bus owners and Associations. On the Housing issue, the Inquiry Commission had basically exonerated Indian property owners from charges of rack-leasing and different misuse of the deficiency of settlement in Durban.

Political parties like the National Party and also the ANC were in charge of touching off the tension between two groups. Dr. Xuma, the ANC President addressed, what do the Indians have in Orange Free State? A Nationalist Party Natal Secretary and member from the South African Parliament while looking for help for his party candidates for the 'natives seat in the House of Representatives, endeavoured to conciliate the natives by saying that 'the policy of the Nationalists is to repatriate Indians and if the Natives support them, they will get advantages of Indian business and trade. This induction was communicated through the Riot and the media portrayed the outrage of natives who asked that the police prepare their boats for the Indians. Hlengwa, a Zulu chief told to the Commission, looking into the Durban Riot stated, "Let Indians come back to their nation where they have self-rule and bring back to us the Europeans who are in India.

### **2.10.2 Inanda Violence, 1985**

The outbreak of Inanda<sup>3</sup> savagery in (1985) was a result of death of Victoria Mxenge, attorney cum-activist of the African community, which in turn led to extensive school boycott

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<sup>3</sup> Inanda is a semi-urban local location, arranged on the edges of the city of Durban in Kwalulu Natal Province. it is adjacent to the Black-settled and Zulu regulated townships. At the time of violence, the both Indians and Africans had likewise lived next to each other. Verifiably inanda is huge for being the first zone in South Africa where Indians have been settled since their landing in 1860.

in the African townships. Semi government establishments like schools, State structures and vehicles were the main focuses of the Black Africans. In doing as such, they stood up to the police and associated people with Inkatha. All these circumstances caused provocation for plundering and annihilation of the shops, houses and clinics of the Indians. No less than 42 Indian claimed shops, the same number of as Indian houses and 3 surgeries worked by an Indian doctor were obliterated by fire, 3 bodies of an Indian family burnt alive and one driver was shot dead The Inanda viciousness had affect in Phoenix township also.

The Phoenix Settlement, set up by Mahatma Gandhi in 1909 and kept running by an Indian trust, was infringed by the Zulu squatters who were expelled over some undefined time frame from their traditional homes from the zone under the Group Areas Act. All these breaking down circumstances in Inanda constrained 2,000 Indians to leave such place and move to neighboring townships of phoenix. Amusingly, the zone that was infringed earlier by the Black squatters, a blazed by the Indian young people who called themselves as "Phoenix Boys"( Anand Singh, 1992). While none of the political associations straight forwardly worried about the violence, what occurred there was critical for every one of them.

The NIC, senior accomplice of the Natal UDF, denounced Buthelezi of Inkatha party for perpetrating violence, plundering and loss of property. The Crisis Committee, to which the Inkatha did not partake, called for peace. However, Buthelezi blamed the disquietude for students, the UDF and the ANC and held that there was no enemies of India opinion engaged with the assault against Indians and their homes and shops, in spite of the fact that he included that there was lot of resentment over Indians support in the tricameral assembly. The Azanian People's Association (AZAPO) pointed the finger at it to the adversaries of the community for advancing ethnicity and division.

In the assessment of Ela Ramgobin, a social worker and NIC executive member charged the State for perpetrating violence. For him, people around there have been asking help for quite a long time. It is clear that the culprits of violence were local people who were in intense destitution and deprivation, envy of riches and prosperity of Indians. For Y.S. Chinsamy, the leader of Reform Party, believed that it had not been racially inspired in light of the fact that no Indian people had been ready to leave before the plundering of their properties.

Both riots was planned by the white regime led government because they did not want unity between Indian Africans. The contention in 1949 provided the State defence to push ahead

with its radical arrangement of isolation which was unequivocally communicated through Group Areas Act, and Inanda violence of 1985 was a final result of that procedure. While Durban revolt was the after effect of low social contact and economic monopoly of the Indians, the Inanda violence in 1985 was a greater amount of hatred of the Africans over the PIOs interest in the tri-lateral legislature. In any case, the segregate policies of the white administration and subsequent low contact of the Indians with the black Africans brought about enmity of the blacks and advancement of unpleasant circumstances.

In a larger point of view, the outbreak of Durban riot and Inanda violence were the consequence of wide socio-economic gap between two groups, blast of more profound economic dissatisfaction, conflicted position of the Indians in South African political order and the lack of relations between leadership and ground floor levels in major political associations. The political organisation of both the Indians and Africans in consequent years realised that they should cooperate to contain the circumstances and enhance the unity, started by the 'Three Doctors Pact'. The NIC and the ANC endeavoured to infuse courage among the people to remain calm. Africans realised that keeping detached from Indians just served European interests and misshaped their liberation movement. On a similar balance, Indians felt that fending off Africans from the political battle so as to determine their concern was limited and foolish. So from a brief hiccup, they joined hands to dive into united struggle, which was plainly found in subsequent years.

### **2.11 Consequences of PIO's struggle against anti-apartheid movement**

At the beginning time of struggle against racial segregation the PIO community battled on the lines of ethnic personality i.e. 'Indian interest', which in turn prompted formation of political parties or political forums for the redressal of their grievances. The Natal Indian Congress (NIC), the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and Colonial Born Indians Associations (CBIA) were simply planned towards enthusiasm of various segments of the Indian community. However, in the later part of the battle, started with 'Three Doctors Pact' where Indians identified with the African identity. However there were contrasts amongst NIC and TIC and CBIA. The TIC was essentially a gathering of Indian traders though NIC was a political association of the Free Indians. The CBIA had faith in relationship with the White administration to accomplish a few increases from the government.

From the above analysis we can say that there was discontinuity of the Indian people on hold of economic interest, and the political developments depended on it. Despite the fact that they had some normality with the Africans in the battle which is proclaimed with 'United Struggle', none of the Indian political platforms could order the Indian community all in all. In the post racial segregation period they have either been broken down or ended up unessential or emerged with the ANC. The TIC dissolved and the (NIC) which was never prohibited in its history of freedom struggle, confronted a difficulty not long after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990. There were contrasts of conclusion inside the NIC about its future role. Disregarding its different character in the CODESA, the NIC did not work as a separate organisation branches and activities had been consumed by the ANC. Despite the fact that the NIC merged with the ANC and a number of the Indians in Johannesburg and Transvaal joined in the ANC, the Indians community in Durban feared the rough responses from the counter ANC Zulus of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) which was occupied with common war with the ANC and its activists. So they were wary about joining the ANC, and the ANC membership card for the Indians was a solicitation to catastrophe regardless of whether their hearts remained with Nelson Mandela or not. However the ANC did not see Indians as alien to what the National Party treated Indians before 1961.

The minority issue in South Africa has exceptional attributes in the political preparation of Indian people group. It was the white minority that oppressed the vast majority for quite a while and in the transitional stage also, they controlled every one of the switches of intensity. They raised the issue of minority rights which Indians included to square advancement in negotiations for a non-racial and democratic South Africa and needed to force a perpetual 'minority veto' later on administration. This was additionally upheld by the IFP. So it was amazingly hard for the ANC to address authentic minority issues through the Bill of Rights which was meant for the Indians, the Coloureds and the whites in future.

The official position of the ANC was that the privileges of minorities will be secured by Bill of Rights which will stand the scrutiny of constitutional lawyer and human rights advocates in the new constitutional set up. As a result of the history the privileges of 'groups' under apartheid, the ANC kept away from the term of 'Group Rights'. Because of its own interpretation and comprehension of the national question, the ANC was not able to manage the minority issues. The outcome is that numerous Indians feel that the ANC has either ignored them or underestimated them.

There was additionally another dread in the community i.e. the ANC subsequent to coming to power may overwhelm over the property of Indians and Whites. So Indians by and large did



not vote in favour of the ANC despite the fact that they valued its leader Nelson Mandela wholeheartedly. The Minority Front, which bolstered trilateral legislature and profited in the White administration advocated its help to the ANC in the formation of the government and attempted to take Indian people group to support it by declaring itself as the representative of the Indians and ANC as the defender of the Indian interest.

***Chapter 3***  
***Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo and***  
***anti-Apartheid Fight***  
***in South Africa.***

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **ROLE OF YUSUF M. DADOO IN ANTI-APARTHEID FIGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA**

#### **3.1 Yusuf Moahmad Dadoo-A life profile**

In 1800's, many Indians went to South Africa. They went to South Africa in two categories, "Passenger Indians", and "Indentured Labours". First they went in South Africa on contractual basis, because Indian government had a deal with South Africa. According to that deal certain terms and conditions of employment were imposed on them. Both governments were benefited by this deal. Indian government had benefited because it provided opportunities for less skilled, "lower classes" while South Africa had got cheap labourer for sugar plantations and other works. Among one of these categories was "Passengers Indians", who came independently in South Africa without any government agreement, with their own expenditure, from the province of Surat.

They went to South Africa only for achieving good trading opportunity, while "Indentured labour" were forced to go with government expenditure. Among these "passengers labours" Yusuf's father, Mohammad Dadoo went there for good trading opportunity. Mohammad Dadoo who known as "Mamoojee" went to South Africa for his bright future; his younger brother also went with him. Their steamer arrived at Natal in 1886. Now finally two brothers had arrived from (Surat) India. Firstly they worked in various gold and mining sectors. In 1898, both took decision to move on Krugersdorp, which is a mining town. Krugersdorp offered substantial opportunity for trade, and further may be they got attracted to kholvad, who were in Krugersdorp.

Actually kholvad is a community of people living in Surat India, of course it's also would be a region, we can say that they were attracted to the sense of community filling. Mohammad Dadoo had well settled in new home. He was very popular as a good person among the local kholvad community. In kholvad society Mohammad Dadoo was trustworthy man. Kholvad community was very concerning about their girl and they want son-in-law like Mohammad Dadoo, and finally Dadoo married with Fatima Wadee. She was from a reputed kholvad family. Both were settled in President Street in a house behind his shop, from there both were began their life together.

On 5<sup>th</sup> September 1909, their first boy child was born, and that boy child was Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo. Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo had very much comfortable younger days. In small kholvad community, his father had a respectable name and was famous for economic success, a sign of which was the ownership of a car within this community. Only four Indian families had car, and Mohammad Dadoo was one of them. Yusuf had a big family. Yusuf was to be the eldest of eight children. When Yusuf started his primary level schooling, he faced many problem because there was no good teaching facilities in Krugersdorp. He used to go Indian government school every day by train. The trains were divided in two sections, because European did not want to travel with any African and Indians. Yusuf always was worried about these issues and discussed with his friends regarding this type of discrimination. Yusuf was growing in racial environment; and of course his political and social views were also growing. In 1924, Yusuf came to India. He was not alone. He was along with his two friends. The first Ahmad Tilli was already in Aligarh and Essop Timol came with Yusuf.

AMU was founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, as Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College in 1875. The Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College became Aligarh Muslim University in 1920. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was a pragmatic, Islamic reformist and philosopher of 19<sup>th</sup> century in British India. When Yusuf arrived in Aligarh he saw students of Aligarh college or university was influenced by Gandhi and becoming a true nationalist. However, Indian land was not completely unknown to Yusuf because his father went to South Africa from (Surat, Gujarat) India. He visited his ancestral home in Kholvad therefore he knew about our mother land. In Aligarh Yusuf always proved himself as a good student and impressive scholar. He performed very well in academics as well as a good sports person. Yusuf had wide social circle as students around Yusuf came from all over India. Interestingly those students around him were all supporters of Gandhi and of course that was not a magic, as at that time freedom and political struggle was going on in India, Gandhi led most of movements.

In 1920sand 30s India was facing political disturbances, during that period Gandhi led some political movements. Like in 1920, Non Cooperation Movement was started by Gandhi after the incident of Jalliawalah Bagh. Gandhi wanted to create a movement with peace and non violent war against British rule. For him non cooperation movement was rejection of the laws and regulations passed by government. He appealed to all Indians to disown their tittles and

to boycott the law, institutions and also the legislature's elections. The Khilafat Movement was also going on during the 1919-1924.

Basically Khilafat movement was a protest by Indian Muslims. They were allied with Indian nationalism. Gandhi played a key role in establishment of Hindu Muslim unity in that movement. The combined movement of Khilafat and non-cooperation was the first all India protest against British rule. Gandhi led also another very important movement with the name of Salt March, also known as Dandi march in 1930. In Dandi March, non cooperation movement, and khilafat movement, thousand of Indians came with Gandhi. Gandhi was doing Satyagraha against British rule, therefore Indian students very much influenced by Gandhi.

Yusuf also joined many meetings and programs of the Indian league with fellow friends. While Yusuf was taking interest in politics then one of Yusuf's primary school friend also was there Molvi Chachalia. Chachalia was studying Islam, as he wanted be a Muslism priest. And he wanted to acquire the title of "Molvi". Interestingly while one friend wanted to study law and politics another was studying religion. Mottiar stated that:

"Certainly, his stay in India broadened his awareness about social and political issues but surely, the better part of his time was spent doing more what average boys his age do. Interestingly enough Pahad's version probably comes from Yusuf Dadoo himself from a series of interviews in London before his death. The emphasis is purely political and it is a well-known fact that Yusuf always had an active social life. Hardly any mention is made of this" (Mottiar. S, 2000, p17).

Yusuf completed his education in Aligarh, and now he wanted to study law. He had interested with social life therefore he wanted to pursue his education with social and political activity.

Yusuf completed his education from Aligarh and returned home. His family was happy to see him. Mohammad started planning for Yusuf's life. Yusuf was oldest son of him; it was very obvious, he wanted Yusuf to join his business. Now Mohammad started to teach Yusuf about business policy because he felt one day his shop would be handed over to his son. But Yusuf was not ready to do that because he wanted to achieve higher education especially law. He denied to join his shop.

His thought was widened and his social life was bigger. He did not want to spend his life in small town and as a shopkeeper. His ambition was high and wider. Mohammad was also not convinced with Yusuf's argument. Of course generation gap was also issue between them. His father was worried and wanted to basic stable especially economically and save family life. He had hard worked for this entire thing while Yusuf's thought bigger than his father. He wanted to do something for exploit people and society. His father completely annoyed him and decided to ignore his argument to be allowed to attend university. Yusuf started to convince his brothers, sisters and mother.

His mother Fatima was already proud of his achievement at Aligarh. Now Mohammad had no other responsibility, Yusuf's younger brothers had no need to go Aligarh for Matriculation because now Matriculation facility was available in Johannesburg. His sisters also married fairly with their customs. Even though Mohammad was not convinced with him. His father started to request him to join shop, now he had no any option, he started work in his shop for him. Yusuf was a very social and political person, he could not tolerate any kind of exploitation. When he saw his father was not paying overtime payment to his labours then he questioned Mohammad. He blamed his father; he was also exploiter because he was not paying overtime to his labours. He raised question in favour of workers. He began uniting workers, he said and suggested that workers should call a strike until their terms were met. Workers came and politically gathered for their right, and their strike was successful.

Mohammad and Yusuf were two generations working under the one roof with different angles. Mohammad was worried about how to tackle with this problem, because he knew that type was agitation not good for their business. Now Mohammad waited to see what Yusuf would do next. Yusuf began "Passive Resistance", and politely refused to sit in the shop. Actually Yusuf wanted to continue his education and he also wanted to do political activity but his father refused his idea. One day Yusuf thought to run away from his home. However, Mohammad waited to see when Yusuf become frustrated. Yusuf packed his bag and with some money run away, but he knew, he had not enough money. He sought for shelter at the home of a family friend, Aboobaker Kajee.

But Mohammad traced Yusuf or maybe Kajee called him. Mohammad went there and brought Yusuf Dadoo back and decided to talk with him. Yusuf was aspiring to study law. Mohammad thought that if Yusuf would continue law than he would be in political activity. Mohammad did not want to see his son in political activity; therefore he suggested him to

choose medicine as a carrier. That time doctors as a profession were much respected in Indian community. Yusuf had no other choice. It was very difficult for Indians that time to be admitted at South African Universities therefore he went to England for his medical education.

Finally, Yusuf went to London in 1929. Yusuf immediately began to make friends especially within Indian community because already he stayed with Indians friends at Aligarh. He had no other friends and contacts except Indian community. However, it was very difficult to gain admission in Medical, and of course Yusuf faced difficulty on that front. Shauna Mottiar wrote about that issue, “While his dabbling in political issues is stressed during this time, his university details are vague. Essop Pahad suggests that he was registered for medicine, which university he does not say. It is most likely to have been the London School of Medicine, which catered only for men. It was a difficult school to gain admittance to. Perhaps Yusuf was having difficulty on that front. ES Reddy on the other hand believes he may have been studying law during his sojourn in London” (Mottiar. S 2000).

If above line was right whatever Shauna wrote about this issue with Essop Pahad and ES Reddy lines than maybe Yusuf was challenging his father idea. As we know that Yusuf in London went with his friends at the YMCA, and he went into the Indian League based in London. There he came to know about Krishna Menon. Yusuf was always against imperialism; he fought against imperialism from his early time. When his Indian friends joined in a protest against the Simon Commission then Yusuf also joined this protest.

Many protesters were arrested, along with those people, Yusuf was also arrested. They were taken to Bow Street Prison. All of them were charged with trespassing. However, after short while they were free. After this incident Yusuf had been suspended for six months from his school. However, due to his age and lack of previous record he was let off in terms of the first probation offender act. Yusuf parents become disturbed and worried about him. His Father had contacted with Yusuf and asked him to go from London immediately. His father suggested him about Edinburgh. Edinburgh in Scotland was also an alternative option for study of Medical; it had a well-known Medical School. Yusuf moved to Edinburgh and attended the University. Yusuf had good time at Edinburgh; there were a good and kind hospitable people. In Edinburgh students were from all parts of the world.

There were Indians, Trinidad, Fiji, Mauritius, and Africans from the entire African Continent. Yusuf's socialization was bigger. At Aligarh, he met many students who came all parts of India and in Edinburgh he had lots of friends from all parts of world. Now Yusuf's political maturity and socio-political views was growing for all over the world. Now his political concept and struggle was not only around Africans and Indian community. Now he was understanding exploitation on the basis of race, language, creed, nationality, and ethnicity or any kind of exploitation is not tolerable. Therefore he always took a stand against discrimination and with suppressed people.

Yusuf passed the Medical entrance exam and he enrolled as a Medical Student. Now he found lodge and best Medical bookstores near university. No doubt, Indian students were serious bunch, of course they were conservative in their ways but laborious in their studies, Yusuf was not a single South African Medical Student in Edinburgh. Monty Naicker and Gonarthanam Goonam already came in Edinburgh in 1928 one year before him and both were from Durban. Monty Naicker and Goonam both came from South Africa and from South India. Gonarthnam says in the autobiography especially about Indian students,

“They were intensely patriotic, highly critical of the British and passionately supportive of Gandhi. It was easy to feel a kindred spirit with them for I too was Indian and though closeted in the Grey Street complex, and sheltered on my idyllic Umgemi bank where I had rarely come face to face with the indignities of racism, I understood what it was and responded whole heartedly to their arguments against empire and their commitment to freedom. Winds from the world blew around me and ideas of justice, injustice, freedom and exploitation began to excite my imagination and awaken my political consciousness” (Goonam, G, 1991, p44).

Yusuf felt also “Wind of the world” with new better situation. That time working class was uprising in Britain. Voters threw away Conservatives and Labour Party came to power. Behind this story was continuously increasing unemployment and strike, protest, demonstrations were going on. At that time Yusuf joined the Independent Labour Party. He convinced with the philosophy of Independent Labour Party that talks about the unity of workers across the world. Yusuf made friend influential figures like Jimmi Maxwell and Salif walla, who was the first communist MP in Britain.



Now he wanted to know who reaped the profits of workers. He had taken also interest in knowing about the communist party of Great Britain, which led him to the Marxist theories. He started to study about Marx, Lenin and Engels. After reading them he had taken interest in Soviet Union. Now Yusuf felt only reading was not enough, now he wanted to express his views and started to mobilise people towards these theories. He began to express his views in speakers' corner. People crowd came across the line, university students and of course trade unions were listening to him. Apart of that side, in India, people started boycott British goods and cloth and got self employment with 'Charkha'. 'Shauna Mottiar' further wrote,

“It seems that Yusuf's political endeavours were passionate enough to arouse interest of the British special Branch who began to keep an eye on him. His movements within and without the country were monitored and his landlady frequently complained that they had been looking for him and asking her a multitude of questions about him.”

When Yusuf got very much absorbed in politics, he forgot his studies. He had no attention in his courses and he regularly skipped his class and lectures. In fact his registration slip was filled up by his friends on behalf of him, even though he passed his required examination. Yusuf refused to go home in every vacations but he went to home in 1932.

Now Yusuf was at home during his holidays, he took interest in local Indian politics. He attended a conference in Johannesburg held by the South African Indian Congress (SAIC). The topic in conference was being discussed the 'Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act'. That Act meant stop the Indian ownership of Land and their business, the SAIC was not giving him political aggregation because he felt who were seating there, they were not opposing strongly but they were willing to compromise and accept. Now he could not listen to the meeting therefore he decided to talk some of the speakers and would suggest a more active response. 'SAIC' members dismissed his idea because they know about his participation and influence of 'Labour Party' in Britain. They know very well his capacity of political struggle. They felt threatened for him, Yusuf was a dangerous rebel for them therefore SAIC' members refused to accept his ideas.

Yusuf returned to his university. Now his final exam was coming at last he wrote his final paper in 1935. He fulfilled his father's desire. After this responsibility he wanted to change himself. Actually he wanted to start his life anew with political responsibility.

Finally, Yusuf visited the 'Indian League' in London. He admired with Krishna Menon, who was leader of the 'Indian League'. He has small office in Esses Street. Dr Mulk Anand was working with Menon. He was very much inspired with Yusuf. Yusuf talked to Menon and he said to him he came here to meet him for his advice. Menon replied to Yusuf, South Africa needed young Indians to become politically active; actually Menon was referring two young Indians boys. Of course one was Yusuf and secondly Monty Naicker. He added the suggestion that Indian Congress must not separate itself from the African National Congress. Infact he said that "black, brown and coloured people should come together".

Yusuf got his medical degree and moved to South Africa. He started working with suppressed people. Twenty seven old Yusuf was very much clear with his idea and his political views. Yusuf was also influenced by Gandhi and his political strategy. He started his struggle against racial discrimination and imperialism with his high spirit.

### **3.2 Ideological understanding of Yusuf Dadoo**

In 1936, Yusuf returned to South Africa with his medical degree as well as with clear political views. "Indian Views" published their welcoming note for him in their editorial., They described him as, "the son of Mohammad Mamoojee Dadoo, a well known merchant of Krugersdorp and a prominent member of the Indian community in the Transvaal." (Indian Views, July 3 1936) Yusuf's parents were very happy and felt proud of his educational and political achievements.

In Krugersdorp Indian traders organised a welcome reception for him. The Deputy Mayor, WG Delpport addressed the guests. The hall had been filled for look Yusuf. Mayor Delpport said he wished Yusuf's work would be crowned with success in which ever area he decided to practice. Secretary of TIC, SM Nana, closed friend of his family was also welcomed Yusuf and said how proud the Indian community were to have him among them.

In beginning, Yusuf stayed with his family's home in Krugersdorp, he had started his medical practice in Johannesburg. SM Nana had organised to open his first practice in the Nana's house on eleventh Street in Vrededorp, yet end of 1936, Yusuf had moved to Johannesburg. Yusuf purchased with Mohammad help a semi-segregated property in Doornfontein.

After that his medical practice settlement he had turned out to be required with the Transvaal Indian Congress and prior association had included with Gandhian technique of protest

however observed it to be ruled by the interest of wealthier Indians over the working class, and by the conservatives hesitant to participate in 'Passive resistance' against the administration.

Yusuf had moved toward becoming establishing part and secretary of Non-European United Front (NEUF) in 1938. In 1939, both younger veterans of Gandhi's campaign founding a nationalist bloc within the TIC for fulfilled their goal against recently passed Asiatic Land Tenure Act. TIC set the date of 1 August, 1939 for the commencement of Passive Resistance. At that time, Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and SAIC was not officially supported the campaign, despite this fact that campaign was popular among the Indians. However, campaign was postponed with a personal request of Gandhi. Yusuf joined the Communist Party of South Africa and focused on the anti-war activism with the outbreak of World War II.

In 1941, the German invasion of Soviet Union prompted the Communist party of South Africa for their position and participation of the war, they wanted to CPSA would change their position of support for what it saw as a people's war. After saw the exploits of the Red Army in the defence of the Soviet Union, Non-European movement in South Africa became more militant. End of the war, African National Congress was dominated by Water Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela, while the TIC and NIC were headed by Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo and Monty Naicker.

Apart from this side, people were talking of kholvads community that Yusuf Dadoo "opened" the minds of the Indians in terms of socio-political their rights. Indeed most of political organisations were undergoing some awakening program. The ANC had been failure with their efforts to secure the land issues, which were important to the land owning chiefs. Mid of 1930s ANC became weak organisation, behind that reason ANC was not properly reaching mass of the Africans.

Gumede had very much sympathetic to the cause of Communist Party of South Africa, which has been established by number of whites and alliances with trade unions, while Dr Pixley Seme of African National Congress did not share any views with Communist Party. In fact when he came in power in ANC, then ANC and Communist Party parted ways. ANC had become conservative in spirit and they rejected Communism. Dr Pixley did not care for the anti-aristocratic ideals it set out, this threatened the tribal chiefs. Actually those people were

coming from missionary school, they did not like atheism. Communist Party disappointed from Dr Pixley behaviour, of course Communist Party could not influence over the ANC because CP always stand basis of class struggle, which did not provide anything an African Nationalism determined on black political power. ES Reddy said about the Indian Congress leaders in South Africa in the 1930s, “docile and selfish and engaged in petty squabbles and shameful compromises of the dignity and honor of the Indian people” (ES Reddy, 1991).

Yusuf was frustrated after the seeing apathy of South African struggle because he had experienced workers and labour movements in Britain; therefore he had very much hope from South Africans. Indians, coloured and Africans when came in power with the United Party were becoming rapidly marginalised in 1935, passage of the Hertzog Bills affirmed as did the portrayal of Native Bill of 1936, which would expel the African Franchise.

In 1937, saw a broad legislative output. Four Acts affecting Indians were: one was The Marketing and non advantageous Land Occupation,. Second was The Industrial Conciliation Act, third was the Immigration Amendment Act, last was Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act. These Acts were defended in parliament by JM van Brink NEC, “We know that the Indian Population objects strongly to segregation. We, on the other side would be accused of hypocrisy should we not emphasis as strongly as possible our great dislike of that dangerous phenomenon which we call penetration” (Joshi. PC, 1942, p231).

Yusuf began to indulge himself in the local political activity. TIC was suitable political place for him. TIC was open their membership to any Indian could take membership in Congress above the age of sixteen. In fact everybody could attend their meetings. From his beginning time Yusuf had strong sentiment for workers or labour therefore his strong objection for the idea of accepting the Feetham Commission. TIC needed to some change after this gathering.

Yusuf associated with Indian Social Reform, he conducted first meeting of Indian Social reform in 1937. No doubt its small but significant enough to proceed. Yusuf was elected President with Hajee Mohammad Moosajee. Two Coovadia brothers in Johannesburg, they were attracted to the idea of modernisation for they had no further politisation after the reform society. The objective of the society was to: “Carry out drastic social reforms in the local Indian mode of living so as to make it conform to modern’s conditions, Eliminate all unnecessary rituals and customs in religious social ceremonies, establish complete suffrage

for women by encouraging female education, by abolishing the purdah system and all social sex distinctions and to abolish all caste and class prejudices”.

Ten shillings per year was membership fee and ten shilling for enrolment charge. In meeting some decisions were taken that members would adhere to certain conditions which were in the following of declaration.

**They are**

“I shall disregard all form of oriental headgears, except when demanded by religious necessity

I shall wear proper modern attire which requires the wearing of tie and collar with suit I shall not attend a funeral ceremony outside a radius of twenty five miles except in exceptional circumstances

I shall not indulged in extravagant expenditure him engagement or marriage ceremonies

I shall prevent child marriage

I shall abolish the purdah system in my home

I shall give my wife, sisters and daughters the benefit of a modern education

I shall not take part in religious or communal factions

I shall keep myself, my wife and children healthy and physically fit-and my home clear

I shall endeavour to encourage knowledge of all progressive movements that will lead to a better understanding of contemporary events and an enlightened relationship between men and women” (Indian Views, January 28 1938).

Yusuf addressed the meeting:

“Our ways are the ways of a community that is gradually but surely descending into the infernal depths of degeneracy and devitalisation. We are blindly following the customs of old without pausing to think whether they are good, bad or indifferent. This stereotyped subservience of the ancient customs and superstitions comes out of centuries of slavery and serfdom. We want reforms and improvements that will give

us a new spirit, new life and new outlook so that we may be able to play our roles as respectable men and women in the affairs of this world. We either conform our life to the rapidly changing conditions of modern time or perish in the muddles and confusions of an obsolete past. Let not the ostracism of your elders keep you back, let us go forward with courage and determination to success.”

These are Yusuf’s own words by which he wanted to awaken Indians .

Early in 1939 Yusuf created a commotion with the land issue in TICs meeting. However later when the nationalist faction of the TIC was officially established. According to Pahad, “a left wing ‘ginger’ faction had been formed in 1938 and became known as the, ‘radical group’. The nationalist bloc went on an active campaign; calling meetings, putting up posters and distributing propaganda material. The nationalist bloc, attempted to transform the TIC into a radical body undertaking militant action. And in spite of losing the 1943 election continued to act as a catalyst for change and a pace setter” (Pahad. E, thesis, 1972, p150).

Yusuf was the leader of the Nationalist faction and that time executive committee was also formed. Committee members were Molvi Cachalia, MD Baruchi, SB Medh, Naransami Naidoo, Solly Desai, Yusuf Patel and NN Bhatt. All members of the faction continued to meet at 31 End Street or at the Kholvad Madarsa. PC Joshi described about them, “Sincere, youthful and courageous they commenced their activity in cultivating public opinion in offering resistance and standing erect with a consciousness of their cultural heritage” (Joshi, PS, 1942, p227). He also wrote, “Saw the sands slipping away from under their feet, the tide turning and the sleeping soul awakened” (Joshi. PS, 1942, p255).

Yusuf and his colleague were continuously trying to mobilise and connect people for the cause of their rights. They were always met and conducted a meeting at their End Street office. No doubt the national faction was doing well, they always raised a voice for the working class but the problem was that they did not have proper support from ANC and SAIC. During this period Yusuf moved to all Transvaal and addressed the all meeting and of course he gained people support.

Gandhiji left South Africa in 1914 after 21 years. He was in South Africa as an attorney and public worker. He wrote; “I have left South Africa, but not my concern with that country” (Indian Opinion, August 26, 1914). Before his going he established the concept of satyagraha in South Africa. He said about himself in his prayer meeting in India, “he was born in India but

made in South Africa". He spend almost two decade of his life in South Africa. Most of African scholar said about Gandhi, "Indians send him as a Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi but we send him as a Mahatma."

Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo was very much influenced by Gandhi. Gandhi also played a big role in Yusuf's political understanding. Gandhi addressed a meeting at Indian University where many South African students were present, Gandhi said, "I am hoping that some day from among the youths born in South Africa a person will rise who will stand up for the rights of his countrymen domiciled there and make the vindication of those rights his life mission" (Harijan, Feb 18 1939,). In present time we are reading about Yusuf then we can link Gandhi's word with Yusuf's life. "Tom Lodge points out that while Gandhi's search was for the truth Yusuf Dadoo's was for power" (South African Historical Journal, 28, 1993).

When Yusuf returned in South Africa from London he started work for national liberation and working class movements in South Africa. After formation of Nationalist bloc Yusuf began a correspondence with Gandhi. He wrote a letter to Gandhi in 15 March 1939 as:

My Dear Bapu,

"We beg to seek your advice and guidance in the present difficulties facing the Indians in this country....The leading officials of the Congress Mr Valod, the chairman and Mr Nana, the secretary, are strongly against my decision at the present moment as to the definite step of Passive Resistance to be adopted by the community in the event of the segregation bill going before parliament. Their argument is that the government and opposition may take it as a threat and that may enrage them. Therefore, the question of the final move to be made by the community should be left to the South African Indian conference, which compromises.... Property owners and the licensee holders in the Gold Area, those who founded the Transvaal Indian Commercial Association for the cooperation of the Feetham Commission, are strongly supporting them. They are so much against it that they are prepared to go to any length to nullify this decision about Passive Resistance and to expose it to ridicule. I do not wish to impute any particular motive to them at this stage. Of the rest of the community, in the rural district and in the suburbs of the Transvaal, the property owners and licensee holders are wavering in their decision...the rest of the community is by a vast majority wholeheartedly in favour of the decision and seem determined to follow the

path of Satyagraha to stop the segregation measure from passing on to the statute book” (Reddy, ES.1990,p366).

Further Shauna Mottiar wrote, “Yusuf, holding firmly to the idea that the down-trodden within South Africa ought to unite in a struggle, became very involved in the formation of the Non-European United Front, NEUF” (Mottiar. S, 2000, p41).

In 25 April 1939 NEUF was established in Cape Town Conference. “Cissie” Zainunnissa Gool led this conference. Later on she was elected President of the NEUF and also she was very important figure among the coloured people in Cape Town. NEUF was always gave assistance and support to every section of the oppressed people who were engaged in struggle against segregation or colour bar laws. There was the accepted opinion that it was premature for a group within the Indian community to launch a separate and independent campaign against the government. Cape Town conference motive was to bring all natives, Indian and coloured community together under one umbrella against the colour bar in South Africa.

Forty five organisations throughout South Africa presented that conference included ANC and SACP. In Transvaal, Yusuf played an outstanding role for publishing this program. He was also addressing audience within Indian Coloured and African communities. Moderate group of the TIC did not agree with that struggle because they felt it was not beneficial for their business. At the conference Yusuf was elected secretary of nationalist faction of the TIC. During the formation of NEUF Yusuf met JB Marks. Marks had joined CPSA in 1928 but later on he was expelled from Party because of the breach of discipline in 1937. Subsequently he had come and served both district committees in 1946 and the central committee in 1950. He became Chairman of the party in exile in 1969. He also joined the ANC. He was elected Provincial president of ANC in 1950.

It was very important that all oppressed people should come together but fact was different Indian community was itself divided on the desirability of initiating passive resistance so soon as the 1 August 1939. The government was the past had enacted law after law against the non-European for divided apart the various races. Non-European replied to government, struggle should not be a separatist or isolated struggle by only part of the Indian people. At that time Passive Resistance was only method of struggle.



Pampallis claims that, “The NEUF was neither as successful or as long lasting as its founders had hoped it would be but it did exercise considerable influence for a few years especially in the Cape and in Transvaal” (Pampallis, 1991, p148).

No doubt that was influential during early war time when they did campaign against the participation of South Africa in the war. Simon and Simons added about the NEUF, “The seed of a Grand National alliance had been planted but seventeen years were to pass before it bore fruit” (Simon and Simons, 1968, p504).

Gandhiji was unhappy with formation of NEUF. Actually his main concern was according to ES Reddy, “for the security of the Indian settlers in South Africa, it was important to him that they live with self-respect; the honour of India was affronted by racial legislation.” Gandhiji was worried mostly about protection of Indians and their land, business and trading licenses. It is fact that he did not show much concern about the aspirations of the Africans in South Africa. He acknowledged that:

“Men who see far believe that the problems which are connected with the natives will be the problems of the future, and that, doubtless, the white man will have a stern struggle to maintain his ascendancy in South Africa. When the moment of collision comes, if, instead of the old ways of massacre, assegai and fire, the native adopt a policy of Passive Resistance, it will be a grand change for the colony.”

Indian activists were worried about African political consciousness as well as these were important to Indian-African dialogue and links with intellectual and organisations. Africans and Indians began to see their struggle with Africa under the leadership of Yusuf, they were too small population therefore they could not totally depend on Indian government to solve their problems.

Already Gandhi was completely against formation of NEUF therefore he said about that,

“It will be a mistake. You will be pooling together not strength but weakness. You will best hope one another by standing each on his own legs. The two cases are different. The Indians are a microscopic minority. They can never be a menace to the white population. (The Africans) on the other hand are the sons of the soil who are being robbed of (their) inheritance. They are bound to resist that. There is a far bigger issue. It ought not to be mixed up with that of the Indian. This does not preclude the

establishment of the friendliest relations between the two races” (Harijan, Feb 18 1939).

Gandhiji fully believed that Africans are the main stakeholders of South Africa and Indians could only be allies there. Therefore he was not convinced for the formation of United Front. Dr Lohia (the head of the foreign Department of the Congress) suggested an amendment of the resolution of the Indian South Africans in 1939 at All India Congress Committee. The amendment tried to unite Indians with other non-European against segregation but Gandhi did not agree with that amendment and it was later on withdrawn at the request of Nehru. Syed Raza Ali criticized this move of withdrawal.

He said, “The trouble is that Mahatmaji’s knowledge is a quarter of a century old” Gandhi replied that criticism, “I have no doubts about the soundness of my advice. However much one may sympathies with the Bantus, Indians cannot make a common cause with them....But neither the All India Congress Committee resolution, nor my advice need deter Indians from forming a Non-European United Front, if they are sure thereby of wining their freedom.”

However Joshi argued that, “The TIC did raise a feeble opposition to it by labeling it uncalled for and unwarranted” (Joshi, PS, 1942, p243).

On the May 7, the Nationalist Bloc called a mass protest, which 3000 people were attended. They started once again Passive Resistance campaign and as told to listeners, Yusuf would be main speakers, “Mr Hofmeyr has already hinted at a United Party caucus that a Passive Resistance Campaign was possible and General Smuts is declared to have replied, ‘Well let the Indians carry on we take up the challenge’, and we shall carry on” (Joshi, PS, 1942, p249).

The nationalist Bloc did not received essential support from SAIC during the Passive Resistance Campaign. SAIC president noted that, “although the provincial bodies might make representations it was only the SAIC in, a conference assembled, which could take such decision” (Indian Opinion, May 26 1939).

According to Joshi, no doubt Nationalist bloc had huge support from Indian community, “the decision by the Nationalist group for Passive Resistance was acclaimed with enthusiasm by the Indian masses throughout the country” (Joshi, PS, 1942, p255).

The gap between Nationalist Bloc and the Moderate Bloc continuously was widening. Al kajee had also added that “when Gandhi launched strike and respond the Passive Resistance Campaign in 1913 then situation was different within Indian community were different to their situation 1n 1939, therefore in present time Passive Resistance would not benefit at this point.”

Media’s reaction about ongoing movement was; “Indian Views, hinted that Yusuf and his group were reckless and radical referring to Nana as having a, statesmanlike view”. The Rand Daily Mail was against the Campaign, “We are convinced that Passive Resistance would be a tactical mistake of the first order. It has of course been employed with success in the Union by Indians. However, that was thirty years ago when liberalism was the air. Liberalism is no longer in the air and the background of opinion which helped Mahatma Gandhi to success does not exist today” (The Rand Daily Mail, august 6 1939).

Gandhiji was also following all the political situation of South Africa. 12 May, 1939 associated press of India reported an interview with Gandhi:

“Gandhi ji said that he was deeply grieved that the Union Government seemed to have no finality about their policy in respect of Asiatic. Their past declarations were being disregarded and...there was no wonder, he said, that a section of the British Indian settlers in South Africa resented this policy and in despair were thinking of resorting to civil disobedience” (Reddy, ES, 1991, p368).

Gandhi started communication with Smuts on the issue but Gandhi was not getting full assurance by Smuts. Smuts replied to Gandhi “situation was being carefully examined.” Immediately Gandhi cable Yusuf to, “Postpone the Passive Resistance until further instruction.” That time Yusuf was completely confused because already he had been called a mass meeting on 9 July 1939 for launching a Passive Resistance Campaign. “In a discussion with the Nationalist Bloc, he expressed fears that calling of the campaign at the last minute would place him in a precarious position with his supporters and that he may be held as having made misrepresentations to them” (Ramamurthi, TG, 1995, p89). Gandhiji gave statement to the press on 19 July 1939, his statement was...

“I have no hesitation in asking the Passive Resistance Committee to postpone, for a time, the proposed launching of the struggle on 1<sup>st</sup> August. I do so because I have some hope of an honorable settlement. I know that the Government of India as well as

the British Government are trying to obtain relief. I have put myself in touch with the Ministers. In the circumstances I think a brief postponement of the struggle to be necessary. I am fully aware of the enthusiasm of the resisters. They have proved their mettle before, and they will do so again if it becomes necessary. But it is a code with passive resisters to seize every opportunity of avoiding resistance, if it can be done honorably. Every cessation in search of peace adds strength to real fighters. Let them remember that the Cape Town settlement of 1914 was the outcome of a cessation of struggle for the sake of peace. I hope that the proposed cessation will lead to a similar result. Should it unfortunately prove otherwise and should the struggle begin, let Dr. Dadoo and his fellow-resisters know that the whole of India will be at their back” (Reddy, ES, 1990).

After the announcement of postponement Yusuf also gave a statement to the press and said that

“Mahatma Gandhi has been our guide and mentor in all that the Passive Resistance Council has been doing in this matter, and we shall wholeheartedly await his advice; for we realise that his interest in the cause of the Indians of South Africa has not abated one whit, even though many years have elapsed since he left South Africa” (Reddy, ES, 1990, p370).

Yusuf also informed Gandhiji by telegram about postponement of Passive Resistance. Apart from that now nationalist group were continuing the discussions about Passive Resistance. Actually after the postponement of that campaign main topic for discussion was only Passive Resistance within nationalist group.

Perhaps Gandhi was happy to see political courage within Indian community of South Africa. He wrote a letter to Yusuf in 19 August 1939,

“It has stirred me to find you leading the Satyagraha band. You know I am watching your movement as closely as I can. You have done well in sending me the relevant literature. There is just a ray of hope that we shall reach a settlement. But you will not expect anything heroic nor will you promise great things. If you have to fight it will be a fight for honor. You won’t get anything very substantial. Too much has already been surrendered during these years. You are engaged in a very hard struggle. And if as a result of the present effort a handful of you make it the mission of your life to

serve the cause there you will gradually build up prestige that will stand you in good stead” (Reddy, ES, 1990, p305).

Yusuf had completely absorbed himself in the resistance; everything was secondary for him. Yusuf continued to keep correspondence with Gandhiji in 1939. And also Gandhi had received a complaint of Muslim Women. He had also explained on the issue. Yusuf also wrote a letter to Gandhi ji about this issue and also he wrote a sarcastic way of about Ismail Bhabha on the date of 4 Nov, 1939.

“My dear Bapu

I was very glad to receive your two letters as well as a cable reply advising us to have patience.

There is no truth whatsoever in the allegation of Haji Ismail Bhabha. I can assure you that the Satyagrahis remained ever loyal to the principles of the non-violence and never for a single moment did they countenance violent methods. Some Muslim women out of sheer enthusiasm and in complete accord with the desires and wishes of the chief members of their households did attend our meeting. In my opinion, it was an event of tremendous value to the progress of our community. I shall most certainly see him but might I proffer a medical opinion, without malice affecting it, that his mental stability is open to question. As you rightly say, our duty is to win our opponents by love and understanding” (Reddy, ES, 1990, p313).

### **3.2.1 Yusuf as Left Progressive**

Yusuf was heard to claim someone, “If one wants to do real work in the political field, one has to be a communist, but more than that a member of the Communist Party” (Pahad, E, 1990, p36). It was clear that Yusuf needed membership of Communist Party. He joined officially South African Communist Party in 1939. It could be argued that after the postponement of Passive Resistance Campaign Yusuf got disappointed; therefore he joined the CPSA. While he was influenced by Marxist theory from his University times in Britain, he joined Independent Labour Party and got influenced by ongoing working class movement in Britain therefore that argument was completely illogical. The Communist Party of South Africa stated,

“The Communist Party is a political party of the working class based on the principle of scientific socialism. Guided by the theory and experience of the international labour movement, the Communist Party of South Africa aims at the establishment of a socialist Republic based on the common ownership of the means of production and the role of the working class and providing equal rights and opportunities for all racial and national groups. In order to achieve this aim the Communist Party seeks to organise and unite all sections of the working class, intelligentsia, poor farmers and progressive elements of the middle class, in the common struggle against capitalism”(Programme of the CPSA booklet).

### **The CPSA**

In South Africa compared to other resistance parties at the time the CPSA was more organised and well facilitated. Yusuf was elected CPSA district committee and very soon being elected as Chairman of the district committee for the first time in 1944. Reddy said about Yusuf, “it was strange that the mantle of Gandhi should fall on a Marxist. However that Gandhi fully supported Yusuf and was happy to guide and fellow his movement, brushing aside all criticism he was faced with regarding a communist influence” (Shauna Mottiar, 2000, p54).

Further Reddy says about Gandhi that, “for Gandhi objectives of struggle and the means employed were more important rather than the ideological thoughts of participants.” Gandhi was happy to seeing his courage and willingness to sacrifice. In an interview with the United Nations Radio, Yusuf said of his relationship of Gandhi.

“I hold Gandhi ji in very high respect and affection. He, as a matter of fact, had a great deal in molding my thinking and subsequently my political activities. I believed in Gandhi ji to the extent that there must be resistance, there must be struggle for justice and righteousness. But after Gandhi ji went back to India there arose another great revolutionary fighter, Pandit Nehru whose broad views on politics attracted young people at the time. I believed in the policy of Nehru who also did not believe completely, implicitly, in absolute non-violence” (Reddy, ES, 1991).

Yusuf become a star within Indian Community because of his socio-political struggle and as well as he had completed his medical degree from Britain . He had attractive personality and was good orator. He was always wearing suit and tie; smoked cigar and always had a book in

his hand. In public his appearance was attractive and appealing to audience. He was described by Ahmed Kathrada as, “a fiery and charismatic public speaker”, but not the “intellectual conference speaker” (Mottiar. S, 2000, p54).

Actually when Yusuf speak on the public platform his reticence disappeared and his vibrant personality emerge in front of audience. Further Pahad adds, “He was a famous orator in South Africa, well known for his fiery trenchant and eloquent attacks on racism and exploitation. At mass meeting, he exhibited an instinctive feeling for the mood of people. He possessed that rare quality of being able to communicate with people whatever their age group, class origin or ideological belief” (Pahad, E, 1990, p32).

Yusuf was addressed mainly in English but he also knew Gujarati and Urdu. He had widened support base and his appeal was not only within men but also within women. It was very strange that women also contributed in political struggle. However generally women were shielded and removed from politics and economics. Firstly women came out behind Gandhi and Kasturba for their rights in Natal but it was not happening in Transvaal Indian women. But now they were going to behind Yusuf. No doubt it was revolution within the Indian community. Pauline Podbrey writes, (she was active in Indian trade unions and the nationalist faction of the NIC) “the Indian women, “were shy, they never left their homes.” Further she added, “They did not thirst for knowledge but acted out their roles of obedient wives or daughters even though some of them found it irksome” (Podbery, P, 1993, p60).

Indian youth were very much attracted by Yusuf’s modern and more radical appeal. Dr Zainab Asvat remembered that Yusuf, “had a profound effect on the youth. Her brothers following Yusuf up the city hall steps in Johannesburg trying to shake her off as she trailed behind them” (Reddy, ES, 1991, p45).

And very soon Yusuf become a “mota” within Transvaal Indian Youth Congress. In 1940 he was constantly in headlines. Actually he was against South African government’s decision to join the war on behalf of CPSA and the NEUF and he realised his involvement after the war of Europe in 1939. For the CPSA, “The war was an imperialist one, for raw materials, market, capitalist domination and the power to exploit colonial peoples in Africa and Asia” (Mottiar. S, 2000, p56).

The CPSA’s essential motive was to unite the people against the government who claimed to defend democracy abroad and same government enforced a racial discrimination system in

South Africa. It was completely dual slander of South African Government. In June CPSA central committee meeting an idea was propagated that fight against fascism should begin in South Africa. That fight was against system of poverty, racial discrimination and social and cultural backwardness. Committee announced that it was responsibility of every worker to fight for equal and free South Africa. Simons argued that:

“Africans, Coloureds and Indians would gladly join the army if they were given full rights of citizenship, but they would not be expected to fight as long as the army segregated them, limited them to manual labour, denied them the right to carry arms and paid them half or less than half the white soldiers pay” (Simons, HJ, and Simons, RE, 1968, p528).

Yusuf addressed the Indian National Youth Organisation in radical language to discredit the South African war effort. He said that, “robber imperialist powers filling the coffers of finance capitalists. There is only one logical and righteous attitude that the Indians together with the African and coloured people could adopt to the question of war, and that is to render no support to the present war, but to unite amongst ourselves and bring about a powerful front of non European peoples” (ibid, p83).

Yusuf edited and wrote some circulars, pamphlets. When he distributed pamphlet he was arrested, he wrote in pamphlet, “Don’t support the war where the rich get richer and the poor get killed.” In other pamphlet, “You are being asked to support the war for freedom, justice and democracy. Do you enjoy the fruits of freedom, justice and democracy? What you enjoy is pass and poll tax laws, segregation, white labour policy, low wages, high rents, poverty, unemployment and vicious colour bar laws” (Pamphlets issued by the NEUF, 1940).

The charge on Yusuf was; he was publishing a statement which statement was unlawful. “the wrongfully and unlawfully publishing a statement which was calculated to incite a section of the public, to wit the non European people, to resist or oppose the government in connection with the measures relating to the state of emergency as a result of the war.” Alternative he was charged with; “publishing a statement which is calculated to engender or aggravate feelings of hostility in a section of the public, to wit, the non European public towards any other section of the public.” (The Guardian, August 22 1940)

In 27 August 1940 in Johannesburg Yusuf had come in front of magistrate. Outside courtroom thousands of his supporters gathered for him. Police were ready to lathi charge the



crowd but they ended their procession peacefully. They had placard with the slogan of, “Democratic right for all” and, “Long Live the Democratic Front.” Crowd was waiting his speech. Yusuf addressed the crowd; he said that “his present trial was not of that of him as an individual but of all the non-European in South Africa.” He had huge support of Indian community as well as Africans.

When CPSA saw under the threat of Soviet Union, CPSA did not understand how to tackle capitalism because they felt that was a victory of capitalism. The Central Committee was advocating for change of view and support of war effort therefore many party members did not agree for that change and as a result there were divisions among the party members.

Eddie Roux blamed the

“CPSA of subordinating the South African struggle to the needs of the World situation. This was refuted by those who claimed that the change of view was consistent in principle; a complete mobilisation of resources would lead to complete liberation from national operation. It has been advocated however that the change in policy could not be said to have been determined by local considerations or in the best interests of the workers in South Africa”(Mottiar. S, 2000).

Furthermore adds that, “The CPSA’s grievance at this point was the refusal of the government to fully train, arm and pay non-European soldiers. Nonetheless, the CPSA called for complete mobilisation of the war effort.”

Yusuf and Kotane had responsibility to ready his supporters for this change of view. Slovo argued that “if any medals for bravery and dedication were to be issued during this period of course then Yusuf should have been one of the recipients for trudging the country with the unpopular mission of explaining the new line to the inhabitants of South Africa’s ghettos. Yusuf was not initially convinced that support for South Africa’s white war cabinet should now be propagated, yet, albeit unhappily, he felt bound to act like a disciplined musket bearer”(Solovo, J, 1995, p28).

Yusuf and Kotane began to move throughout country and addressed meetings with CPSA’s outline of change of policy regarding the War effort and they tried to convince countrymen but they were received unfavourably by their audience. In fact when Yusuf began to address meeting in Pietermaritzburg audience booed him and he left the venue in rather a

hurry. Essop Pahad said that, “Dadoo and other speakers continued to explain the issues honestly, clearly and simply” (Pahad, E, 1990, p20).

However, when in December 1941 Japan attacked on Pearl Harbour then CPSA began to warned that people should not put their faith in the Japanese, hoping to be liberated themselves by such an invention. CPSA started campaign about this policy with the slogan of, “Defend South Africa.” Once again Yusuf began to address many meetings but now his hardest task was convincing the people who were closest to him.

He was advocating the people of the world come together under one umbrella and create a united front for stopping the Nazis and fascist power. He added that, “although the Japanese did not belong to the white race they were not waging their war to defend the non-European people, but rather in the interests of capitalism and for financial reasons” (Mottiar. S, 2000).

He gave new slogan, “Do not support this war where the rich get richer and the poor get killed” and other was also, “Non European peoples of south Africa, Forward to the defense of our homes and our country, forward to victory over fascism, forward to freedom” (Guardian, March 12 1942).

Actually Yusuf had leadership quality, peoples were like him. His popularity was not only in Johannesburg, it was widespread. He was genuinely attached with people’s problem and he tried to help them and fight for them. Peoples usually said about him, “When Mota comes he will help us with so and so.” Wealthy merchants often financially helped him for social movements.

Apart from that side, TIC and NIC’s situation was changing and becoming favourable for nationalists. TIC’s moderate’s leadership had taken on eighteen members of the nationalist bloc its own working committee after the pressure of High Commissioner of India and they agreed that nationalist bloc also represented the Indian Community. After death of S. Nationalist bloc had gained ground on the TIC executive and its policies, like rigorous campaign against segregation and co-operation with other non-European organisation, began to take hold. Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo formally became President of the TIC in 16<sup>th</sup> December 1945.

### **3.3 Yusuf Dadoo and his involvement in anti-Apartheid struggle**

Yusuf moved to Durban and Pietermaritzburg keeping in mind the end goal to spread the campaign opposing the new isolation proposals. He addressed to gatherings where he called for, “united action of blacks, coloureds and Indians. He included that the administration, the chambers of mines and the big farmers all cooperated for their own riches, a riches that depended on misusing cheap labour. Naicker was also addressed many meetings. According to him, it was claimed that the pegging Act would be in position until the ‘Indian question’ had been investigated, implying that the grievances of Indians would be addressed” (Shauna Mottiar, 2000).

In 13 June 1946 Guardian published, “NIC refused to co-operate and caustically pointed out that in view of the financial enumeration it would not be difficult for the Minister of Interior’s office to find quislings or levels to fill position” (Mottiar, S, 2000).

The TIC called a meeting in Johannesburg on 26<sup>th</sup> March and 21<sup>st</sup> April in order to rally support for a Passive resistance campaign. On that meetings 4000 people were present with their huge support to launch a passive resistance under leadership of Yusuf. The group cried, "We shall resist." The conservatives in participation at the gathering were likewise constrained to mouth the slogan in the wake of swearing to loan their help to Yusuf’s gathering if that was what the general population called for. Their claims however were not exactly respected. A leaflet was distributed which read,

“Passive Resistance is sponsored by the most insincere and unenlightened political charlatans...the bewildered communists...those leaders who sponsored Passive Resistance will send you to purgatory...Both the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress party of India will not support you in your Passive Resistance. Do not smirch Indian Honor with renegade acts...” (Shauna Mottiar, 2000, p86)

With the entitled of “Facts about the Ghetto Act” Yusuf published a pamphlet. Michael Harmel wrote a introduction who claimed that, “Dadoo is one of those far sighted leaders who has understood that freedom for any group is dependent upon the freedom of all.” Pamphlet criticised the Bill and said that as a result it would be economically and socially ruination of the Indian community. Pamphlet pointed out that this Bill would restrict the Indians for trade in all over the world, would cripple their finance income, restrict their rights to own land and acquire the residential areas. This would result in overcrowding of areas in

some cases, and they will be compelled to live in slums. This Ghetto Act will brand the Indian community with the stamp of inferiority.

Some moderates (Indians) were advocating the Bill and saying Bill was giving them security. Yusuf challenged them to come out into the open and admit their actions. He went on, "They are, by such acts of treachery stabbing the Indian community in the back and betraying the confidence of four hundred million people of India who are moving heaven and earth to help the South African Indians."

Apart from Transvaal and TIC, the NIC was also campaigning throughout Natal. Passive Resistance council jointly formed Natal and Transvaal and become known as joint Passive Resistance council.

Passive Resistance council declared June 13, as a "Resistance Day". Council appealed to all Indians, "The Ghetto Act is now law, they declared 13 June would be Resistance day, they appealed to all businessmen close their shops, offices, factories and other business for the whole day, requested to all Indians parents not to send their children to school on that day. All Indians workers were asked to remain at home." No doubt, Indian community responded well. Yusuf said during the address to the audience, "It must not be forgotten that the Indian people are sons and daughters of a country with a proud and cultured heritage. Their ancient motherland is the bearer of a tradition of a civilization as old as any in the world." (Shauna Mottiar, 2000, p87)

Yusuf Wanted to mobilise women to join the Passive Resistance in Durban. They were Amina Pahad, Zhora Bhayat, MS Nayagar, Zueida Patel, Chella Pillay and a "Choti Bai". On June 13, more than 4000, people gathered at the Indian games ground in Johannesburg to hear Yusuf speech, He addressed to the people,

"In the next few hours the struggle will have started in Durban. Brave and patriotic Indian sons and daughters of South Africa who have volunteered for the freedom of their people will defy the law and court imprisonment. They are prepared to suffer and sacrifice come what may. We in the Transvaal can take pride in the fact that six courageous sisters from our province have crossed the border into Natal without permits in defiance of the unjust discriminatory provincial barriers, in order to convey our message of solidarity to the gallant Passive Resisters of Natal." (Mottiar. S, 2000, p88)

Bagwandeem contends that, “the areas immediately surrounding Durban elicited only a half hearted response while areas further away paid no attention whatsoever to the call for hartal” (Bagwandeem, DR, 1983, p295). Indian Views reported that, “In Johannesburg most of the Indian shops remained closed and school children stayed at home”. (Indian Views, July 17 1946)

First night was peaceful for resisters. It was treated as political not as a criminal offence. Therefore police did not harass resisters. After that big and small disturbances were continued going on. On 22<sup>nd</sup> night of June Naicker and Yusuf witnessed an attack: resisters had been sitting in a group when mob of whites attacked on them from behind the trees. Mob came with armed with knuckle-dusters, bicycle chains rocks and broken bottle which they fully made use of. No doubt that attack caused quite a stir. After that incident Naicker said that,

“These raids, these assaults and deliberate damage and destruction of property by the upholders of white civilisation will not deter us. It only gives us added impetus to our movement. It opens the eyes of the civilised world to the intolerance and intolerable conditions under which Indians and other non European have to live in this so called democratic land.” (Guardian, June 27 1946)

Naicker speeches always reflect a call to humanity and he always emphasise peace while Yusuf would often call on his supporters to fight back. And with attitudes they reflect their ideological content as a Gandhian and a communist.

Yusuf assured his audience that the Passive Resistance would go on. Yusuf cabled to Gandhi, “Consider police action and arrest first victory. Spirit of resisters excellent. Their non-violent behavior under extreme provocation and assaults magnificent. Struggle continues. More and more volunteers will come into action according to plan” ( Ramamurthi, TG, 1995, p112).

The ANC said about African volunteers and resistance, “to the gallant men and women of the Indian community...who have by their great Passive Resistance Campaign, resisted the Ghetto Act, and who by their sacrifice, directed the attention of the world to the policy of race discrimination” ( Ramamurthi, TG, 1995, p115).

The CPSA’s views on Passive Resistance were mixed because communism believes in active resistance not Passive resistance. Passive resistance method was of Gandhi. When Yusuf gained support from certain party members like Harmel, he said that, “by expressing our

support for the Passive Resistance Campaign...we show the world that the democratic spirit still lives amongst the ordinary folk in our country.” There was discussion within the party that Passive resistance be conducted in accordance with communism.

The resister were arrested yet charged under the Trespassing Act rather than under the Ghetto Act. This was an endeavor, by the authorities, to draw consideration far from the issue. In July Yusuf, alongwith Naicker and MD Naidoo were arrested for the major roles they had played in the resistance. They were charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act. In court at his trial Yusuf confessed to this charge yet made his position clear, “In accordance with the code of Passive Resistance we have committed a breach of law in a passive and non-violent manner and are prepared to pay the penalty.” (Guardian, July 4 1946)

He was sentenced to three months imprisonment with hard labour yet before serving his term told his supporters that the battle was simply starting and that dull, troublesome days lay ahead which should be faced with bravery, duty and commitment. On 26 September Yusuf was released from prison. He declared himself to be pleased with the Indian people who he accepted were impacting the world forever Further he said that, “The government of South Africa miscalculated the determination of the Indian people...the active participation of the Indian women, our brave sisters, indicates the depth of the political consciousness and readiness of the people to struggle...the support from other sections of the non-European peoples and also from the genuine liberal section of the European population is an indication of the emergence of a new force in the political field of South Africa.” (Passive Resisters, September 30 1946)

Tom Lodge states that “the Indian Congresses became more popularly oriented during the 1940s owing to the increase of the Indian industrial working class and consequently the spread of Indian trade unionism as well as the development of a professional, non-commercial middle class, and the spreading influence within these groups of the CPSA. The small retailers were also becoming more threatened in the light of legislation and Afrikaner nationalist boycotts”. (Lodge. T, 1983)

Upon the arrival of the election he got a letter, which shows famous demeanor toward him among his supporters, it read

“I feel proud to be a member of the Indian community for in you we have a leader who symbolises our hopes and aspirations to be free...we all feel that with you as our

leader our community is destined to make a glorious contribution to bring about democracy in South Africa...and in the new dawn of freedom, men women and children will forever remember your name, the name of Dr Dadoo, the torch bearer of freedom” (Passive resister, March 5 1948).

Yusuf explained with fact to press that the first time, women were in executive of the TIC, they were, Zainab Asvat, PK Naidoo, Suriakala Patel.

In 1948 National Party under the leadership of DF Malan came in power. Rev Calata of the ANC said to the African people should accept the new government co-operate with government for their welfare but ANC refused claiming that it opposed policy of segregation and demanded African representation on all governing bodies. After coming most reactionary political party in South Africa. All organisations were fighting for democracy and freedom, because after coming new government apartheid was officially implemented. CPSA claimed that, “The defeat of the united Party and the victory of the Nationalist flows directly from the fact that the majority of South Africans were prevented from taking any part in the struggle against reaction, which was waged at the polls. All democratic elements must henceforth devote themselves to the task of developing a broad democratic front” (Bunting, B, 1975, p153).

On 10<sup>th</sup> July 1948 Yusuf and Naicker were released from prison. NIC Pietermaritzburg branch conducted a reception at the people’s Square in Pietermaritzburg for two own prominent leaders. Yusuf in his speech said that,

“We the Indian people a quarter of a million Indian people born in South Africa we whose home is in South Africa-we who are the sons of the soil, we who have contributed our share in the prosperity and making of South Africa, we are declared outlandish elements. We say to the government of South Africa, South Africa is our home cradle, and South Africa will be our grave- no one dare put us out.” (Mottiar. S, 2000, p104)

Naicker back to Durban and Yusuf back to Johannesburg, he was greeted at the station by his supporters. His supporters conducted a rally with banner “Welcome Dadoo”, crowd standing on the street eager to catch a glimpse of him. Transvaal Passive Resistance Council organised a meeting at Red Square, in that meeting Some leading political personalities from ANC, CPSA and TIC were attended. Yusuf was garlanded. He said to eager crowd, “Apartheid and

fascism over our dead bodies” and he also pointed out that, communism was being used by the South African government in international sections as a “bogey”.

Further Shauna wrote that, “under the pretext of fighting communism Minister Ben Schoeman would interfere with the policies of trade unions while Minister Erasmus was concerned with the formation of a plat eland army all this would lead inevitably, said Yusuf, to fascist police state” (Mottiar. S, 2000, p105).

Yusuf also criticised the Transvaal and Natal Indian Organisation blaming them for holding hands with Malan concerning their despise for communist or any communist action. The Passive Resister issued a special publication for its two respectable and prominent leaders because both Yusuf and Naicker had sacrificed their successful lives for the cause of human freedom. They played a role for rallying their people to fight injustice and operation. It also claimed that

“their respective fighting speeches at their welcome meetings proved that they had grown in stature as political leaders during their imprisonment in spite of having shrunk in the region of the waist” (Shauna Mottiar, 2000, p105).

When Yusuf and Naicker was in imprisonment there seemed to be some contention over the handling of the TIC and NIC. “Passive Resister published editorial as well as an article on Yusuf’s views on the matter, Shauna wrote editorial claiming that, “Both leaders have refuted the gossip tongues which have been spreading the rumour that they are opposed to the actions taken during their absence by the Natal and Transvaal Congresses. Both have declared their confidence in the elected leadership of the Indian people.” (Shauna Mottiar, 2000)

After National Party came in power then Joint Passive Resistance Council decided to stop own campaign. Bagwandeem said that by that stage the campaign was waning, further he said, “the Campaign had spent its force, only a small dedicated coterie resisters continued.” (Bagwandeem, D, 1983, p308)

But Cachalia said about suspension of campaign, the campaign was suspended because it was widely predicted that segregation would worsen. Ben Schoeman’s (Labour Minister) asserted that the Africans and non-Europeans would not be allowed to do skilled work under the National Party. Furthermore he said that, any trade unions representatives Africans or non-Europeans would not be recognised. Further Defence Minister Erasmus had declared that



non-European military corps was to be abolished and emphasis build a new force that would ensure internal security. After coming to power National Party officially implemented apartheid, policy of segregation everything was changing in South Africa and no doubt Africans and other non-Europeans conditions were going to be worse.

After seeing new Apartheid system TIC believed opposition would have to come with all non-European organisation under one umbrella. TIC and NIC said that they wanted to take from the new government, “an unequivocal statement before declaring to the people a line of action” (Mottiar. S, 2000, p106).

Passive Resistance had run almost two years, from 1946 to 1948, however it had failed. Surendra Bhana said that, “total number of people involved in the Campaign, directly and indirectly was close on 20,000. With regards to actual volunteers, however, there were 1,386 from Natal and 289 from the Transvaal” (Bhana, S, 1997, p76).

Simons and Simons claimed that, 1946 Passive Resistance proved that how much the Indians were, “the most cohesive and politically mature community in the subjugated population” (Simons, HJ, and Simons, RE, 1968, p552).

Nelson Mandela also claimed that Passive Resistance impressed the ANCYL with its organisation and dedication, further he said that

“The Indian Campaign became a model for the type of protest that we, in the Youth league were calling for. It instilled a spirit of defence and radicalism among the people, broke the fear of prison, and boosted the popularity and influence of the NIC and TIC. They reminded us that the freedom struggle was not merely a question of making speeches, holding meetings, passing resolutions and sending deputation’s but of meticulous organisation, militant mass action and above all the willingness to suffer and sacrifice” (Mandela, N, 1994, p119).

Lodge suggested that, “The Indian Passive Resistance, unsuccessful though it was in gaining the repeal of the offending legislation, was nevertheless important in impressing upon the ANC national executive in 1949 the need to adopt rather more forceful tactics particularly in the light of the 1948 election” (Lodge, T, 1983, p26).

Many authors, scholars and freedom fighters pointed out their views on the Passive Resistance Campaign. Yusuf was later to say that

“The Indian Passive Resistance Campaign...brought together in a united struggle all sections: the working people who constituted eighty per cent of the Indian community, the professional class and traders...furthermore it laid a strong basis among the Indian people for the subsequent unity with ANC and the other organisations of the Congress Movement in the struggle for liberation” (Reddy, ES, 1991, p237).

No doubt Passive Resistance was a first campaign which mobilized every oppressed class especially women. First time women came out for their rights and whole Indian community. However that campaign was failed but it was successful in various aspects. Passive Resistance played a big role within the Indian community as well as within Africans, and coloureds. People awakened and united for their liberation movement in South Africa.

On March 9, 1947 in the midst of Passive Resistance Yusuf signed Doctors pact. Actually it was not only signed by Yusuf but also signed by Naicker and Xuma. It is called three Doctors pact. It was joint declaration of co-operation. It was ANC decision that three national groups should be sit together for the exploration of co-operation. Pact argued that,

“For the future, progress goodwill, good race relations and for the building of a united, greater and free South Africa, full franchise right must be extended to all sections of the South African people and to this end...fullest co-operation between the African and Indian people(is pledge)” (Karis, T and Carter, GM, 1973, p272).

At the meeting attended by three president of TIC, NIC and ANC, and they had five demands. Their first demand was extension of the franchise, second was full economic and industrial rights, third was removal of all land restrictions, forth was freedom of movement and removal of pass laws and fifth or last was removal of all discriminatory and oppressive legislation. It was claimed that the Pact would do groundwork for the national unity. Passive Resister said that,

“it is imperative to point out that the resolution passed last week is but the first step towards full unity. Much has to be done to make it lasting and enduring. Government agents and spokesmen will continue to attempt to keep both people divided. They will

stop to all makeshifts to gain their ends and will use every misunderstanding to cause suspicions to be reborn” (Passive Resister, March 21 1947).

Government Spokesmen was not only difficult for the unity between Indians and Africans. Important question was how many Indians believed that their cause to be one with Africans. Indians were fight for only own Indian people, now question was why African’s should believe Indians. Indians felt that the Africans threatened them as a culture, as they were marrying out of the community which was immoral according to Indians. Furthermore they believed that if they were to align themselves with another race why not Europeans rather than Africans. Some of them indicated the way that Gandhi was against Non-European front placating that the Indians should keep among themselves in the battle .It was a difficult for unity between Indians and Africans.

Further R Gibson pointed out that,

“Although the Indians had themselves often been brutally exploited...they gradually came to include a merchant class that came in daily contact with impoverished Africans across shop counters. Indian racial, religious and casteism also did not enhance their relations with the African majority, despite their being many individual Indians who were friends and supporters of African political, economic and social advancement” (Gibson, R, 1972, p51).

Apart of Indians, Africans also believed that Indians to occupy an elite exploitative class. Mandela also said that in 1947, Indians such as communists were a threat to African nationalism because they felt that Indians are superior in terms of education, experience and training. Further Mandela admits,

“While I had made progress in terms of my opposition to communism, I still feared the influence of Indians. (He contends that Walter Sisulu did not share this fear.) In addition many of our grassroots African supporters saw Indians as exploiters of black labour in their role as shop keepers and merchants” (Mandela, N, 1994, p142).

Before the Doctors pact, it had been decided that Yusuf and Naicker would go to India and will talk to Nehru and Gandhi about South African Indians, their cause at the United Nations and the possibility of Round Table talks between India and South Africa. But they faced many problems, their certificates had been confiscated and passport requests denied.

Congress conducted farewell meeting for the two prominent leaders at Red Square in Durban. Xuma addressed the meeting.

He said that our people had a long experience of exploitation under white domination. Further he suggested Indians not to accept the Indian advisory board or the proposals for a satellite city as they were euphemism for locations. A resolutions were passed at the gathering declaring the activity, an encroachment of civil rights. Yusuf had informed immigration office and he said to them if they will not return his certificate of identity than he would take action against them. TIC and NIC started massive campaign and protest against confiscation and refusal of passport. Finally it was decided our two prominent leaders would leave on March 11 for India and they will return May 27. Passive Resisters conducted a farewell meeting in Johannesburg at the Gandhi hall. Yusuf and Naicker issued a joint statement.

“We carry with us the goodwill and the good wishes of the Indian community and the non-European peoples and the progressive elements among the Europeans to the people of India. We are leaving the shores of South Africa at a critical and decisive phase in her history. The Smuts government has shown a bankruptcy in leadership in dealing with the acute post war problems....The acute housing shortage has created a crying scandal. Thousands of homeless people amongst the Africans are forced to live in Squatters....The Smuts government is guilty of only permitting but fostering race antagonism....reactionaries in the Indian community are being given every assistance by the Union Government with the sole purpose of attempting to divide the Indian people. The Indian people must beware of this trap. We appeal to them to stand fast...Render full support to the Passive Resistance. Join up as volunteers, help financially. History has entrusted you with the important task of being in the vanguard of the battle for democracy in South Africa” (Passive Resister, March 14 1957).

South African two big trained doctors and central leaders of anti Apartheid movement were going to India to meet Indians freedom fighters and leaders. Both leaders were well aware of Indian nationalist struggle as well as Nehru and Gandhi. Especially Dadoo impressed by star of INC, Nehru as well as Marxists who were campaigning and uniting people for a united front against fascism. Many South African Indians influenced by Gandhi and Nehru as well as many Muslims looked to Maulana Kalam Azad for their inspiration.

On 11 March both leaders left South Africa and they had taken Avro York plane, which was to take them to Nairobi. They stayed day and night in Nairobi, where congress had arranged grand welcome, meeting and press conference for them. After that they left for Cairo and after Cairo they left for India. They arrived in Karachi on March 14 and were received by the Mayor. Where they addressed a press conference and explained the reasons for their Passive Resistance. From Karachi they went to Sindh where they got large open air meeting. Durga Thakkar, who were presiding the meeting, passed a resolution, which condemned South Africa's racial policies.

Yusuf and Naicker's next stop was New Delhi, where they had attended the All Asia Conference, on March 23 to 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1947. Almost 20,000 people were present that conference. Nehru was inaugurated and Gandhi was concluded that meeting. Nehru said that Asia's role was to promote peace and progress. Yusuf was disappointed that because Conference was of a cultural non-political nature. Furthermore he added that "the conference reflected the determination of the Asiatic people to be free from the imperialist stronghold" (Passive Resister, April 11 1947).

Gandhi said on 2 April 1947 when conference was going to conclude. Gandhi delivered his concluding speech,

"You, friends, have not seen the real India and you are not meeting in conference in the midst of real India. Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Lahore- all these are big cities...if some of you see the Indian villages, you will not be fascinated by the sight. You will have to scratch below the dung heap. I do not pretend to say that they were places of paradise today they are really dung heaps...I have travelled from one end of India to the other and I have seen the miserable specimens of humanity with the lusterless eyes. They are India...The first of the wise men was Zoroaster. He belonged to the east. He was followed by Buddha who belonged to the east-India. Who followed Boddha? Jesus, who came from the east. Before Jesus was Moses. And after Jesus came Mohammed. I omit my reference to Krishna and Rama and other lights. I do not call them lesser lights but they are less known. Is there a single person in the world to match these men of Asia?...What I want you to understand is the message of Asia. It is not to be learnt through the western spectacles or by imitating the atom bomb...In this age of democracy, in this age of awakening of the poorest of the poor, you can redeliver this message with the greast emphasis...It is up to you to tell the

world of its wickedness and sin- that is the heritage your teachers and my teachers have taught Asia” (Vahed, G, Desai, A, 2010).

Yusuf and Naicker went to small town of Bihar where Gandhi was staying. They talked to Gandhi and updated him situation of Passive Resistance. Nehru also met them. There they expressed their hope to meet with Jinnah, who was president of Muslim League.

After New Delhi they went to Jaipur and Jodhpur. There Maharajas personally welcomed to them. Later in April both went to Bombay. They had attended reception at the Jinnah Hall where they were addressed to audience on South African issues. Following days they met various organisations representatives. Both were met PC Joshi, Secretary of Communist Party of India and discussed situation of South African liberation movement and attack on imperialist forces. India was also suffering from imperialist forces.

They went to Aligarh College, Yusuf had completed his Secondary education from there. After that they moved almost all over the India. They expressed everywhere South African situation and they received huge support from Indians. They addressed many mass meetings all over the India.

Shauna wrote, for Yusuf, this experience was almost spiritual. Yusuf wrote, “While the Ganges the life stream of India and its millions, flowed quietly in the dark, this grassy piece of Indian soil on its bank held demurely within its embrace one of the greatest moulders of Indian History, Bapu the soul of India’s freedom” ( Mottiar, S, 2000).

After continue talks with Gandhi, it seemed that now Gandhi have accepted the idea of non-European unity in South Africa but he continued to stress a policy of non-violence. He said to Yusuf and Naicker, “political co-operation among all the exploited races in South Africa can only result in mutual goodwill, if it is wisely directed and based on truth and non violence” (Harijan, May 25, 1947).

Gandhi was happy to Passive Resistance campaign of South Africa, for him Satyagraha was alive in South Africa.

They talked to Nehru. Further Shauna wrote, “Nehru had agreed that the delegation representing India at the United Nations session in New York in September that year would place on its agenda the status of the non-Europeans in South Africa and that the fact the

South African Government's actions contravened the United Charters. Further He adds that, Nehru contacted Smuts on this issue, Smuts suggested the return of India's High Commissioner to South Africa, in order to facilitate talks" (Mottiar, S, 2000).

After meet Nehru and Gandhi both leaders met Ali Jinnah, President of Muslim League. Yusuf said Muslim League also gave full support. On 27 May Yusuf and Naicker came back South Africa. After returning they attended a meeting at the Gandhi Hall and they addressed meeting, they said that their tour of India was successful in terms of Indians understand the South African situation and they were ready to support for South African liberation movement. They got huge support from every single village from India whenever India itself was suffering from imperialist power. Further they added, "Nehru fully supported Yusuf and Naicker's views and was prepared to negotiate with South Africa on the issue despite India's own political changes at the time" (Mottiar, S, 2000).

Xuma from ANC and Du plessis from CPSA also attended that meeting. When Yusuf and Naicker were in India then Smuts was planning the formation of the Indian Advisory Council. TIC and NIC already had condemned when firstly proposed such a Council. They said about that Council, that Council will such a Native Representative Council and the Coloured Advisory Council, which they contended were dummy organisations designed to bribe non-European groups into abandoning their struggle for full democratic rights, While moderates supported the Indian Advisory Council in Durban.

Further Kazeer said that "Indian government should remove its sanctions against South Africa and refrain from broaching the South African case at the United Nations in September" (Mottiar, S, 2000, p117).

Even he went to meet with Smuts at his residence (after the partition of India and Pakistan) to discuss further issues. However he was the first Indian to have ever been entertained by Smuts at his home. Kazeer announced to the press it was essential to, "obviate further reference of the Indian question to the UNO where there is always a danger of our condition developing into a conflict on an international scale" (Mottiar, S, 2000, p117).

The Indian Congresses had responded with dismay to this view, Yusuf was cited as saying responses of congress as saying, "the politically blind followers of the Kazeer group should consider this maneuver carefully as it would most likely be ridiculed by Pakistan." Naicker

also agreed and said that, “Kajee’s attempt to stab the Indian Community in the back were disgusting” (Passive Resister, September 25 1947).

Finally the case against South Africa was heard at the UNO, It was presented by Indian Representative. Yusuf came back Johannesburg and began to prepare for the upcoming TIC election. He moved all over Transvaal with members of TIC like Goolam Pahad and Ahmed Wadee. He went also female constituent and attended a meeting of the Women’s Action Committee. This Women’s Committee was very much indulged for the Passive Resistance as well as Committee was collecting funds from door to door. Yusuf was inspiration of that women.

They campaigned with this line, “vote for victory at the UNO....vote to fight segregation...vote for democratic rights, and, “Election for the future, Ensure your own and your children’s future by voting for Dadoo’s Progressive Administration” (Passive Resister, August 14 1947).

The Elections were held on 24 August at the coloureds sports ground and almost 7000 votes being cast. According to expect of Yusuf he had secured overwhelming victory. After the victory Yusuf said that, victory is efforts of Passive Resisters as well as he said that our struggle would continue.

Same year India got independence as well as India and Pakistan were to be formally partitioned. TIC held a meeting, which Yusuf said, wishing India and Pakistan well. No doubt that time was politically disturbance in India. Indians and Pakistanis faced communalism. Gandhi was moving in Nowakhali against violence and communalism. At last he lost his life on 30<sup>th</sup> January 1948 at the hands of Hindutva forces (RSS). Yusuf heard about Bapu murder, he was in shock. Later on he wrote,

“It was here in South Africa that his epic struggles for the emancipation of his people began. It was here in South Africa that the first inklings of democratic rights were won, and it was to South Africa that he left his great weapon of Passive Resistance to vindicate our honour and lead us to freedom...I will never forget his words that your struggle will be a long and arduous one. Few or many the struggle most go on. The sacrifices you will be called upon to make will be heavy and you must be prepared for them” (Reddy, ES, 1991, p330).



Apart from this, TIC and NIC had decided to attend UNO forth session with the hopes of presenting their issue more successfully. Both Congresses selected Yusuf as a representative of UNO but he faced so many problems from government side in travel. Authorities followed instruction of Minister of Interior, they impounded his passport and removed him from plane and all this things happened because he was an active communistic agitator, who had a record of persistent law breaking. Earlier he had been faced same situation when he was going India with Naicker in 1947. The TIC issued a statement and said that, it seemed that Yusuf was prisoner in South Africa. Yusuf had taken legal action against Minister. Later on he won his case. After all type of problem the TIC had managed to secure plane for Yusuf from chartered company. At last Yusuf went to London on 5<sup>th</sup> October, In Airport he met Krishna Menon. From there Indian League arranged everything such as secure Yusuf travel and documents in order that he could attend UNO session but again difficulties came when the French refused him a visa without a passport. One of the Indian league member said that we would go with Yusuf from different way and we will reached directly grounds of the Palais de Chalet where the session was to take place but Yusuf had not agreed with that type of planning. Finally it was decided that Cassim Jadwat would present the South African issue in UNO session.

Yusuf Jadwat had prepared a paper with this entitled, "South African on the road to fascism." They had memorandum also, which was written under the new leadership of SAIC, memorandum presenting a present Indian situation in South Africa. Paper and copies of memorandum were to be given to Mrs Pandit , who was representative of India at the UNO session.

The Indian League arranged meeting all over the country, which Yusuf addressed. He had gained more exposé from various political gatherings. He met Harry Pollitt at one of those political meetings. That time Harry Pollitt was General Secretary of Communist Party of Great Britain. Yusuf was glad to meet him. Even Pollitt suggested that Yusuf could attend 5<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Unity Congress of the Polish Revolutionaries, on the behalf of CPSA, Yusuf also agreed to attend that Congress. It was first opportunity of Yusuf, now he would visit to a Socialist Country.

No doubt fascism was threat for all communist and socialist countries. Yusuf also felt socialist or communist countries also facing fascism. Shauna wrote that, "He saw the importance of building democracies to form a basis of socialism, and viewed American

imperialism as a threat to the new socialist countries, While the USSR was, in his view a defender and protector” (Mottiar, S, 2000, p122).

At one of the meetings, Yusuf felt there were only old men present and women were not present. When he wanted to know what was the reason behind it, he found that people felt that the communists wanted to nationalise both land and women; therefore they did not allow women to attend meeting, as well as women were guided by young men. That was a misconception of communist style of nationalisation. Yusuf told and explained them with his understanding of Islam, “Capitalism had brought about situations which only socialism could remedy” (Pahad, E, 1992, p82).

After attending all meetings when Yusuf returned to London where the Commonwealth conference had begun. Eric Louw present there as a representative of South Africa. In Commonwealth Conference Eric Louw contends that in his speech the upsurge of bad publicity regarding the National Party of South Africa. However Yusuf denied every blame, which were made by representative of National Party of South Africa.

Yusuf replied “Without telling you what a Nationalist is, I leave it to you to draw your own conclusions...as to whether a Nationalist in South African politics is a fire eating racist, a narrow minded bigot and above all a man who hates everything British to the depths of his soul” (Dadoo’s statement at the press conference at the London, 26 October 1948).

Yusuf gave a lengthy speech on the problems of South Africa, “South Africa is in the grip of a violent race hysteria and is likely to experience the most terrible race convulsions in the near future if the present drift to totalitarianism continues. The country is like a diseased body, the toxic poison of race mania is flowing swiftly into the vital arteries of its heart and mind.”

Further he said that,

“The basis of democracy resting on the precarious sands of ‘white supremacy’ and ‘European culture and civilisation’, is so narrow and each day growing narrower, that the party wielding most effectively the cult of race and colour, poison against the disenfranchised non-white population, which forms the majority; is returned to power by the electorate which is ninety per cent white” (Mottiar, S, 2000, p124).

Yusuf explained how much dangerous Apartheid, especially marginalised people, further he said Apartheid would exploit and divide different race groups; he adds land issue. Non-Europeans had thirteen percent land while the remaining one fifth was in the hands of the Europeans. He raised other social issues like infant mortality among the blacks as well as malnutrition, tuberculosis, and education related problems also existed among Blacks. There was a not better education facility or school for black children.

Further Shauna wrote, “One of Yusuf’s aims was to lobby Prime Ministers attending the Commonwealth conference and Nehru was naturally one of his main targets. After having arranged a meeting, Yusuf impressed upon Nehru the necessity of the commonwealth to take a firm stand against South Africa rejecting its present government. He went as far as to suggest that if the commonwealth refused, India should consider leaving the Commonwealth. This bold suggestion angered Nehru who claimed that Yusuf was putting him in a very difficult position. Prime Minister Mackenzie and Nash of Australia and New Zealand were not swayed by Yusuf’s argument either” (Mottiar, S, 2000, p125).

Apart from all this, Yusuf had trouble in his return from trip because he did not have a passport and of course the airlines does not allow him travel without passport. Nehru came to know all this thing. Actually some laconically enquiry going on about what he was doing in London. Nehru flew back to India with Yusuf on his private jet in 1949. Yusuf again he got the opportunity to address the Indian Constituent Assembly in New Delhi, in June of 1949. Yusuf went to Pakistan also later on he returned home with documents which had been prepared by the Indian Department of External Affairs on the orders of Nehru. When he was returning then Nehru said about Yusuf, “a brilliant politician and statesmen, who sometimes gave the impression of being aloof but was really a very humane person, dedicated to doing what he could, to help the oppressed people in South Africa and in Africa” (Pahad, E, 1990, p83).

Yusuf came back home in October 1949 and next day he addressed the people at the Red Square. He said that he had gained support and help from Britain, Europe, India and Pakistan for a healthy democracy, that was his achievement from that trip. After a week again he addressed a meeting at Red Square in Durban and he said to their crowd to march forward through the struggle for freedom.

After some days Yusuf and Sam Khan who was first elected communist MP in South Africa in 1943 under the Native Representative Act, were banned from speaking in eight cities around South Africa. That was the first ban on Yusuf.

Yusuf issued his statements, “Swart’s action in banning me and refusing me freedom of speech is the mailed fist of fascism” (Mottiar, S, 2000, p127).

The TIC and NIC also condemned undemocratic action of government and officially they said it is undemocratic and totalitarian in nature. The CPSA also issued a statement about attack on freedom of speech. Communist party described the ban as, “a gross violation of free speech and a step towards the establishment of a fascist state” (Guardian, November 24 1949). The Guardian published a front page article entitled, “Undo the Gag”.

When Yusuf was out of South Africa then ANC had taken some decisions from ANC’s first official conference, ANCYL’s would take more seriously militant strategies. Tactics would be striking, boycotting and general non- co-operation with the government. Likewise CPSA had also some discussed about own struggle, fact that struggle was hard to define for communists because South African society was not a typical class based society. There were a racial divisions and that racial divisions cut across class divisions; economic questions seemed to be racial questions and class divisions appeared as hostilities between nationalists.

In the midst of all this, during absence of Yusuf, serious riots happened between Indians and African. The reason was very insignificant behind it. Two teenage boys fought with each other and one boy slapped another. Indian boy complained to his boss, an Indian shopkeeper came out of Indian Market and assaulted the African boy. When Africans saw an Indian man is attacking an African child they got enraged. From same evening riots started and went on throughout the week. In these riots 142 people were dead, 87 people were Africans, 50 Indians, 1 European and 4 unidentified, 1,087 people were injured as well as a big no of property damaged also.

No doubt government response was not good. Actually it was good for Malan government, already government was trying to segregation among all races. Pahad contends “that the riot were fuelled by whites trying to cause divergence between the Indians and blacks. Further Pahad said that, “The Police did not make much of an effort to get the situation under control. The ignored pleas by the Indians and the NIC, and when they did eventually arrive on the scene, they opened fire indiscriminately” (Pahad, E, 1990, p32).

The ANC and SAIC conducted a meeting in Durban and after that both organisation issued a joint statement:

“this meeting is convened that the fundamental and basic causes of the disturbances are traceable to the political, economic and social structure of this country, bases on differential and discriminatory treatment of the various racial groups and the preaching in high places of racial hatred and intolerance” ( Karis, T and Carter, GM, 1973, p273).

Yusuf also addressed a press conference from London and he said that, “hidden hands of instigators lurked behind the events in Durban....the hands of the Malan government are stained with the blood of innocent men, women and children” (TIC press release Johannesburg, January 1949).

All organisations and both congresses had acted fast on the issue of riots, even all organisations representatives like JB Marks, Molvi Cachalia, Xuma and G Pahad went to Durban and met Naicker at the NIC office. They moved across all riot affected areas in an open car, they appealed to all Indians and Africans for calm and unity.

Xuma went to Durban with other congress and CPSA representative but he did not consult Natal ANC branch, there ANC leadership was not agree co-operation with Indians. It was advocated that, “Xuma came to Durban and without consulting the Natal ANC, issued a statement on behalf of ANC to co-operate with Indians after meeting in camera for a few hours” (Mottiar, S, 2000, p128).

The complaint came in African world, “Today there is talk everywhere that the leaders are under the thumb of Indian politicians, who with money available, have called the tune and our leaders have danced to it” (Webster, E, 1999, p11).

Molvi cachalia moved to Indian commercial area in Durban and there he found the Indians, “gloomy and too terrified to come out into the streets” (Report submitted to the TIC on the riots).

Behind the riots so many reasons was working in Indians and Africans mind. When Kotane travelled throughout the country and talked to people then he gained, there was a lot of anti Indian sentiments among Africans. When Kotane talked to Africans people and asked them,

why they had attacked the Indians, then they replied, “because they despise us but they make our girls pregnant” (Bunting, B, 1975, p162).

No doubt some prejudiced mind set up was working on both sides. Actually Indians were strong in business as well as politically. Also, there were cultural differences between Indians and Africans. The Government conspiracy was working as a fuelled because government wanted segregation among all races. However the government set up an enquiry commission. The result of the commission was described by Pahad, and he quotes an extract from the report,

“Certain sections of the Indians have attempted to unite the natives and the Indians into a united front against the government. They have disseminated distorted malicious accounts of South African conditions and events. In the process they cause a feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction to stir among the natives, always a dangerous course with a section of the community not yet ripe for responsibility. In the result the Indians were hoist with their own petard” (Pahad, E, 1990, p33).

However after Durban riots, situation had been changed. Even Ramamurthi said, after the riots, the relation between Indians and African improved rather than getting deteriorated. When Dr Xuma became president of ANC in 1950, the SAIC said, “We are looking forward to an era of even greater co-operation between the African and Indian people as a whole and betweenourselves and the coloured and European democrats of South Africa” (Press release of the SAIC, January 24, 1950).

Moroka declared from the ANC mass meeting, ANC was ready for united action, further he said that, “I want to assure the coloured and Indian communities they need have no fear as far as African Nationalism is concerned. We fight not only for our freedom. We are fighting for the freedom of the Indian people, of the coloured people. We shall join hands with even those Europeans who are prepared to fight with us and there are many of them” (Guardian, September 21, 1950).

CPSA also said, “Many of you are not communists but you will believe in the principles of justice and free speech. If the government attempts to ban any organisation which stands for equality, you will rally to its support” (Bunting, B, 1975, p73).

Yusuf and Sam Khan attended a meeting held at Gandhi hall because they got a legal loopholes, which in spite of their respective bans allowed to attend, private conferences. He said, “We are not afraid to die. We all die someday... We are prepared to die that in the future people will say, ‘he die for freedom’, We are prepared to die that in the future the people of South Africa may have all the things a man requires, and that all men many stand together as equals” (Guardian, December 15 1949).

The Communists was in difficult situation in the year of 1950s, the government, with the Suppression of Communism Act began an offensive against opposition. The Act was not only directed with the CPSA, Tom Lodge pointed out some points

“It sanctioned the persecution of any individual group or doctrine intended to bring about any political, industrial, social or economic change by the promotion of disturbances, or disorder by unlawful acts or encouragement of feelings of hostility between European and non European races” (Lodge, T, 1983, p33).

Minister of Justice, set up a departmental enquiry into communist activity and announced that big action would be needed to combat the CPSA. CPSA had said that

“racial oppression and Afrikaner nationalism were detrimental to the fabric of South African society as it provoked nationalist consciousness among various race groups. For the communists, the national and race divisions in South Africa obscured the class divisions. Unlike other countries where the national movement was the instrument of, and led by the rising bourgeoisie class, in South Africa, the non-European bourgeoisie was small, fragmentary, pinned down in the poorest areas, short of capital and frequently forced to use illegalities to evade discriminatory laws” (Bunting, B, 1975, p164).

Communist Party called a central committee in Cape Town and discussed on the issue of impending banning of the organisation. Only two options were in front of the Party; go to underground or dissolve itself. However Yusuf argued to take party underground but JB Marks and Edwin was not ready for underground, they contends that if we will go to underground without preparation then would be dangers. At last it was decided that the CPSA would be dissolved.

Pahad said that, “For Dadoo the decision to dissolve the Party was the most painful and heart rending of his life” (Pahad, E, 1940, p44).

Shauna wrote, “Yusuf contended that at that point he believe that the dissolving was merely a tactical decision, by no means did this meant that the Communist Party had washed its hands of the struggle but rather that it had washed its hands of a burden which would have obstructed its ability to participate in the struggle effectively” (Mottiar, S, 2000, p134).

The result of the CPSA meeting was announced in the House of Assembly by Communist MP Sam Khan, he said:

“Recognising that the day the Suppression of Communism Bill becomes law every one of our members, merely by virtue of their membership, may be liable to be imprisoned without the option of a fine for a maximum period of ten years, the central committee of the communist party has decided to dissolve the Party as from today. We are confident that if the issue of our continued existence were submitted to a national referendum, in which not just one section of the people, but all sections, were allowed to participate, an overwhelming majority would record their vote in favour of our Party’s right to exist. Such vestiges of democratic rights as have been left in South Africa are being extinguished in the present parliament by a clique in its effort to impose a dictatorship, suppress all oppositions, and remove every obstacle to a fascist republic.” Further he added, “Communism will outlive the Nationalist Party” (Guardian, June 22 1950).

The Government was surprised, the government felt that the Communist Party will not do it but Party had taken a decision about dissolution itself. The government said that it had destroyed communism in South Africa. After Sam Khan’s announcement in parliament about party dissolution, the government was not satisfied and after that the Minister of Justice appointed a liquidator to wind-up the affairs of the Communist Party. However Sam Khan challenged this step in Parliament, after that liquidator contended that the CPSA could continue to exist as it had not been dissolved in terms of the constitution. After that liquidator claim he said that that already affidavits submitted by some Party members like Kotane, Carneson, Horvitch, Bunting, du Plessis and Yusuf assured that the CPSA had been dissolved had no logic in this case.



From that time, new era started for the unity between the CPSA and the ANC. From that time CPSA could not do anything because communist party did not formally exist, but the ANC still free to do anything because the ANC still unbanned. The ANC became a helpful for CPSA activity.

Shauna wrote, CPSA report shortly before its dissolution argued for the working through the national movement. It said,

“the conclusion must be drawn that the national organisations can develop into powerful mass movements only to the extent that their contents and aims are determined by the interests of workers and peasants. The national organisation to be effective must be transformed into a revolutionary party of workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, linked together in a firm organisation subject to strict discipline and guided by a definite programme of struggle all forms of racial discrimination in alliance with class conscious European workers and intellectuals. Such a party would be distinguished from the communist party in that its objective its national liberation, that is in the abolition of race discrimination but it would co-operate closely with the Communist Party” (Mottiar, S, 2000, p135).

The communist felt that, “the struggle had merged with the struggle for liberation.” (Simon, HJ and Simons, RE, 1968, p608)

In the early 1950s, ANCYL had divided into two groups: one was promoting democratic ethos, anti colonial, nationalist, anti-imperialist and of course as well as non racist and another was towards to Africans orthodoxy. One of them ANCYL groups and youth leaders with the some older ANC member had opposed JB Marks election as the president of the Provincial organisation later that year. First YL group was closer to the ANC in terms of decision making.

### **Concluding Remark**

Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo played a significant role against racial discrimination and White regime. He was a very prominent and dedicated anti-Apartheid activist, After Gandhi especially Indian women came out behind Yusuf for their rights. he will be remembered as a Hero in Indian community and South African History.

***Chapter 4***  
***Role of G M Naicker and***  
***anti-Apartheid movement in***  
***South Africa.***

## CHAPTER 4

### ROLE OF G M NAICKER IN ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

#### **4.1 Monty Naicker – A life profile**

Dr Gangathura Mohambry 'Monty' Naicker was born on 30<sup>th</sup> September 1910 in Durban, the year the Union of South Africa united Boer and Brit in their mission to guarantee white authority on the southern tip of Africa. Monty Naicker stands amongst the most compelling figures in South African politics by the middle decades of the twentieth century. He was anti-racial discrimination or anti-apartheid activist in South Africa and emerged as a most powerful political figure in African politics particularly in the anti-apartheid movement. His grandfather came to South Africa as a contract labourer from South India. His father Gangathura Papiiah Naicker was a well-known businessman as well as a prominent figure in the Indian Community. By the mid-1920s Papiiah Naicker could establish an enormous business of fruits, especially Bananas. He kept himself politically involved through various organisations of colonial born Indians. He also participated in cultural and social gatherings. His mother Dhanam Pillay was also colonial born like Papiiah, who came to Natal from Mauritius during the 1880s. On the 30<sup>th</sup> October 1909, his parents got married. They had four kids, Naicker was their eldest child. Naicker finished his early education in South Africa. From 1917 to 1926 he went to the Carlisle Street Boys School, and in 1927 he joined at Marine College in Durban and set himself up for his matriculation. Monty's father wanted to send his children abroad for higher and better education and in the long run, every one of the four kids was sent to Edinburgh. In spite of his own prosperity and accomplishment, he realised that the situation of Indians was very weak and lowly in light of the fact that the white ruling class was forcing the South African government to pass discriminatory legislation against Indians. This scenario curtailed the opportunities to trade. The circumstance turned out to be increasingly intense as the years wore. Papiiah and Dhanam were not particularly worried about their business but rather for the education of their children. There were very limited education facilities in Durban, particularly for the Indian community. They had no good option even at the secondary level.

The time of British colonialism was starting to decrease as the early, tenacious voices of Third World patriotism were raised crosswise over Asia and Africa. Around the same time,

the Western world slipped into the boorishness of the First World War in which 40 million people died. Indians in South Africa experienced an essential jump of way of life as they moved, under the controlling hand of Gandhi, from the political issues of different characters of rank, religion and district, to the political issues of being "Indian South Africans", who affirmed their entitlement to incorporation inside South Africa as the equivalents of "Europeans", albeit cautious not to debilitate the situation of predominance that whites delighted in. In Asia, another epochal occasion occurred in the state of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and this too later influenced the way that Indians in South Africa characterised themselves. It is little wonder that Monty grasped political issues later on in his life – his beginnings were hued by it. Monty's father Gangathura Papiiah Naicker was a notable figure in the Indian community by the mid-1920s. His contribution in business as a banana exporter and holder of Stall No. 67 at the Victoria Street Indian Market, and in politics through various associations of colonial-born Indians and social groups, associated him into the networks of Indian life in the city.

Papiiah's middle-class status and way of life remained rather than the lion's share of Indians. One stage out of the arrangement, these fresh introductions in the urban condition regularly lived in simple sanctuaries on the edges of the city.

Monty was lucky with respect to his schooling. The Natal Education Commission declared in 1909 that the Government was 'really slacking' in offering schools to Indians whose contributions to the revenue entitle them as our fellow subjects to elementary education at least.' (*Indian Opinion*, 21 October 1921) Many Indian traders and experts were vexed by the absence of chances for Indian youths. Thus, in August 1911 a gathering of them led by H.L. Paul started the Durban Indian Educational Institute to prepare students for the Cape University Junior Certificate examination. This was prevailing by the Durban and District Indian Educational Committee in 1918, which had the increasingly enthusiastic point of 'securing instruction for Indians in the Province not second rate compared to that accommodated different segments.' H.L. Paul, M.C. Anglia, and B.A. Meghraj pushed this initiative. Monty went to the Carlisle Street Boys School from 1917 to 1922, where he finished his lesser school authentication, and he continued to Marine College in Leopold Street where he studied till 1927. The timing was random as Marine College was a short-lived but significant institution, opened in the very year that Monty became eligible for section into secondary school. There were no secondary schools for Indian children in South

Africa until at that point. It was established by J.L. Papert in 1923 and its graduates were V. Sirkhari Naidoo and Ashwin Choudree, both of whom would assume importance in the Indian community and K.M. Mistry who qualified as a restorative specialist at Edinburgh.

Monty was an adolescent when he cleared out the shores of Durban to satisfy his calling in the medical field; an open door denied him in the place that is known for his introduction to the world. His journals uncover a young fellow loaded with the richness of youth. The repetitiveness of the long adventure via ocean was broken, unequal measure it appears, by pragmatic jokes, and his endeavors to pull in the consideration of a young lady whose grin, he would record, clearly 'cut (him) to the bones.' Monty was not the only one on that excursion, as a family companion, Gonarathnam Naidoo, was likewise setting out on a vocation in medication. Both lived in the "Indian Quarter" of focal Durban and through sheer incident wound up on a similar ship to Scotland. Dr Goonam portrayed the day of their takeoff, 8 March 1928, in her autobiography *Coolie Doctor*:

“The *Edinburgh Castle* stood majestically in the docks. We found another family on the docks, that of Monty Naicker’s. I discovered only then that he too was bound for Edinburgh for a medical career ... Monty Naicker, Thumbie [Dr. Goonam’s brother who accompanied her to Cape Town] and I were the only black passengers on board. We were given a separate table. It embarrassed us, but we made no objections. The whites couldn’t make up their minds whether they should talk to us, or not. It wasn’t the one thing to fraternise with black people. We too were hesitant to approach them for fear of a brush off. There was also a class barrier on board the ship, between first and the second and third class passengers, and the latter were friendlier and I almost wished I had been travelling with them. I was a bit nauseous during the first day or two and Monty made much of it. ‘Go feed the fishes,’ he teased as he disappeared into the dining room and left me on the deck leaning against the rails” (Goonam, *Coolie Doctor*, 1991, p31).

As expediently as could be expected under the circumstances, since they caused joblessness and bring down the adventure was an astounding one for Goonam to embrace, given the sheltered condition in which women were sustained. At Edinburgh, Monty Naicker was not just connected up with his shipmate and main residence young lady Gonarathnam Naidoo, yet

in addition to another South African, Yusuf Dadoo. Both were to frame a fundamental piece of his future.

In Edinburgh, Indians were compelled to look for opportunities abroad on account of the institutionalising of a racial order that restricted life choices for the individuals who were not white. To the extent Indians were concerned, the government's strategy was to transport them off to India or some other settlement willing to accommodate them. Monty was born in 1910, the year in which the Union of South Africa was formed. The agreement still had a year to run and Port Natal was an observer to human payload being emptied and circulated everywhere throughout the Province. There were around 150,000 Indians in South Africa in 1911. The dominant part was packed in Natal (133,000) and a little more than 40 percent (64,000) was born in South Africa.

World War 1 broke out in the blink of an eye, a short time later. In spite of the fact that they were victimised, most Indians kept on considering themselves to be a piece of the British Empire. A mass gathering in Durban 'proclaimed its devotion to the King-Emperor, and its preparation to serve the Crown and to co-work with the administration with regards to the country.' Around seven hundred Indian stretcher-bearers served in East Africa under Albert Christopher, including Monty's fatherly uncle, Mariemuthoo, whose child M.P. Naicker would be a key figure in radical Indian legislative issues from the late 1940s. The expectation of individuals like Papiiah and Mariemuthoo that investment in the Great War would yield just rewards was broken once the British Empire had been secured. An Indian Corp who lost a leg on the war zone and could not move to the highest point of the tramcar where a couple of lines were held for "Coolies", was precluded from sitting at the base since it was against the by-laws. For Indian Opinion, 'if this is the way men who have everything except met their passing for the Empire's motivation are dealt with by our Town Council, what treatment are we to expect for other Indians?' The appropriate response was soon clear. While the Town Council raised a Roll of Honor in 1921 for white city representatives slaughtered in the war, Indian interest for due remembrance was ignored. The years after 1918 would demonstrate that the English in Natal gave a layout to the bigot practices of their Afrikaner partners after 1948.

Rather than review the old conditions, the political, economic and social screws were fixed against Indians. The South African League, which had been shaped in 1919 to rally against the "Asiatic Menace", viewed Indians as a 'genuine good, economic and political danger' and

requested their repatriation. Indians ought to be isolated for possible later use and prohibited from work in 'places of responsibility.' The League's denunciation was straightforwardly unfriendly:

“Go to Umzinto; one white store only, but scores of coolie shanties extending on both sides of the long street. Tongaat, Stanger, Glencoe, Waschbank, not a white store there. Danhauser, a city of coolie shacks and shanties. Natal swamped in every quarter with unwanted Asiatics ... The time for direct and forceful action has arrived.” (Letter from the South African League to the Natal Mercury, 4 April 1920) (Aswin Desai and Goolam Vahed, 2010, p6-7).

The administration appointed an Asiatic Inquiry Commission in 1920, a triumph of sorts for the League. Despite the fact that the Commission found that the "Asiatic danger" was a myth, it suggested willful isolation and firmer movement laws. The all-white Durban City Council (DCC) started to clamp down on Indian exchange and voting rights. From 1922 the Council could stop the offer of metropolitan land to Indians, and when a councilor recommended that Indians needed land, Councilor H. Kemp answered that there was bounty in India. (Indian Opinion, 12 Sep 1924) Indians were denied the civil establishment in 1924.

In any case, Natal and South Africa were not the only one in these emotions – Monty's developmental years ought to likewise be found in a more extensive global setting. The African-American scholarly W.E.B. Du Bois, who forecasted in 1903 that 'the issue of the twentieth century is the issue of the shading line,' wrote in 1925 that General Smuts was 'the world's most noteworthy hero of the white race ... He expresses bluntly, ... what a capable host of white people accept however don't clearly say in Melbourne New Orleans, San Francisco, Hong Kong, Berlin and London.' (Quoted in Lake and Reynold, *Global Colour Line*, 330) Across the sea, Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points of 1917, the optimistic premise of the League of Nations, made idealism that dominion and racial mistreatment were at an end. Notwithstanding Wilson's open proclamations; in any case, he banned African-Americans from selecting at Princeton.

At the point when the formation of a League of Nations was mooted in 1919, the Japanese proposed an "equity statement" to end global racial segregation. The Americans dismissed the Japanese proposal, and thus the racial equity proviso was rejected from the League's Charter. The happenings of Versailles affected black people all over the globe. Future ANC Treasurer-

General Dr S.M. Molema, who qualified as a therapeutic specialist in Glasgow in 1920, wrote in his book *The Bantu* (1920) that, “the 'void' of Western progressivism 'astounded the outside reasoning world when following four years of hard struggle one next to the other ... and triumph, the Western world ... made a blotch by making a fine refinement between the East and the West” (Lake and Reynolds, *Global Colour Line*, 2008, p306).

Versailles denoted the occasion, Du Bois watched, when 'the "new religion" of whiteness hinted at no losing its sway.' It was amid these gatherings that General Jan Christian Smuts, Monty's future enemy, formed his notoriety for being a worldwide statesman. He was a key figure in drafting the handout, *The League of Nations*, which turned into a success. Wilson's designation was impressed to the point that they even mooted for him to wind up the following British representative to the United States. At the Imperial Conference in London in 1921, Smuts alone 'emerged against the approach of conceding level with rights to Indian migrant groups over the Empire.' He was vehement that South Africa's political framework 'lays on disparity and perceiving the central contrasts which exist in the structure of our populace.' Shortly before the Imperial Conference of 1923, Smuts reiterated that the binary politics of whiteness drew “a clearly marked line you can follow ... the coloured line which is in existence today.” (Lake and Reynolds, *Global Colour Line*, 2008, p327).

This 'coloured line' molded individuals' lives in Natal. Both the law and private organisations like schools, and trade unions, figured out where individuals could live, whom they could suggest what school they could get to, and what sorts of work they could do. Unless you were white, you were dealt with like a moment or even second class subject in light of the conviction of numerous whites that they were better and that given the access the Blacks would drive down their way of life. Like the Spanish Influenza of 1918, prejudice and its corruption and trashing of those not white, was an infection that few could escape from. In the midst of all the counter Indian fomentation and feeling of premonition as Monty was growing up, there were seasons of motivation. For Monty and Goonam the visit of a distinguished poetess was especially enamoring. Sarojini Naidu overwhelmed South Africa during her visit in February 1924. Not at all like other Indian dignitaries 'The Nightingale of India' disturb whites by talking her brain unreservedly. One legend has it that when she was inquired as to why she did not bind herself to 'women' issues' she answered, “What will the poor men do then?” ( Aswin Desai and Goolam Vahed, 2010, p10)



Like Gokhale 10 years sooner, Sarojini Naidu astonished local people; dissimilar to Gokhale, notwithstanding, she did not lounge chair her perspectives in conciliatory comfort. At the Wanderers Hall in Johannesburg on 28 February 1924, she told the Indian group of onlookers that the demeanor of the British was, 'we vanquish, we run, we trample down, we make memorial parks where there were gardens, we run with the iron foot rear area, we streak the sword and stupor the eyes of the individuals who might look us in the face.' Her message for South African Indians was decided:

“Europeans and Indians can only live in this country on equal terms. The land belongs to neither. It is the land of the ... African ... The Englishman came to trade, because those dear little islands were not big enough. My brothers came ... to give food and raiment, as miners and sappers for the white settlers, and now it is said: ‘Go now, thou pig, to thy pigsty.’ ... I have come to ask for justice, not concessions. I scorn concessions. I want no favour” (Cape Argus, 1924).

She urged Indians to not take 'a place of mediocrity.' Gandhi, she reminded them, 'cleared out inactive protection as a heritage and cautioning to the European People. I truly trust that it is not important to help the general population to remember the lessons of aloof protection.' The Cape Times portrayed her comments as 'absurd' as she gave 'free rein to her exceptionally impressive endowment of speech ... she has come to upset and to do only disturb. 'Offended by her remarks, the Mayor of Johannesburg declined to go to a gathering in her respect or permit the Town Hall 26 to be utilized for the event. From Johannesburg, Sarojini Naidu advanced toward Durban. I.C. Meer reviewed the preparation going through Wasch bank:

“[We] had assembled four hours ahead of time. Our hearts swelled in expectation. We had practised our hurrahs to perfection. The train drew nearer; it slowed down and proceeded at snail’s pace. We saw Mrs Naidu seated at the window; we waited for our signal. Our cheerleader, Desai Chacha, had to say ‘Hip! Hip!’ before we could say ‘Hurrah!’ But Desai Chacha was so overcome by the history of the moment that the ‘Hip! Hip!’ got stuck in his throat. We saw Mrs Naidu smile at us, expecting some greeting. Nothing came...As the train disappeared ... we heard a limp squeak, Hip! Hip!” (Meer, Fountain man, 13).

She passed on in March 1949. On her demise, an article in the Indian Opinion wrote about her visit to South Africa:

“Her visit to South Africa was met with open hostility by the Europeans. But the more hostility, the more she enjoyed ... We remember the occasion when she addressed a packed gathering of Indians and Europeans at the City Hall at Pietermaritzburg. The Gallery was filled with European hooligans who had especially come to break up the meeting. When Mrs Naidu rose to speak pandemonium was let loose. But [her] voice rose above the din and she needed only a few words of reproach...when every hooligan quietly slipped away.” (Indian Opinion, 11 March 1949)

Monty's father would in all probability have been engaged with occasions leading up to the meeting of Indian pioneers in Cape Town in January 1919 to discuss anti-Indian agitation, both as a result of his associations with colonial-born politics and in light of the fact that the tumult was directed against people like him who tried to exploit markets for trade in the city centers. Durban was represented by various traders in their individual limits as the NIC had broken down in 1915. Little was accomplished. The NIC, resuscitated in May 1921, pushed for national solidarity which was finally accomplished in May 1923 when the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) was given shape.

This was followed by a Round Table Conference in December-January 1926-27 which included South Africa and India, around the time that Monty was entering his last year of study. South Africa planned to request India's assistance in repatriating Indians, while the Indian government endeavored to assuage Indian sentiment which was enraged by the victimization of Indians in the Empire. The Indian government expected nearly nothing and picked its representatives deliberately. As per one authority, 'it will be astute to rope in maybe a couple pioneers who will summon famous help ... and will take a calm and sensible view when they are under the direction of an equipped chairman.' Sir Muhammad Habibullah, assuaged Muslim sentiment in South Africa despite the fact that 'he is not blessed with numerous brains... However, he is a Muhammadan, and appropriate Muhammad and don't grow one exceptionally mulberry one extremely mulberry bush.' V. S. Srinivas Sastri was esteemed to be 'exceptionally alluring from the point of Indian conclusion... What's more, he is on neighborly terms with both Corbett and Paddison, who will have no trouble in keeping

him straight.' Young Monty met Sastri in Durban and their ways would cross again under various conditions at Edinburgh.

#### **4.1.1 Monty Naicker in Edinburgh**

When Monty landed in Edinburgh, the EIA had developed into a compelling body. It had acquired an office at 11 George Street with stores brought up in India. This generous building contained a debating lobby, lounge area, library, smoking room, and advisory group room. The EIA was buzzing with action. Open deliberations and addresses were held on Fridays, and judging from the quantity of boards of trustees, the exercises of the EIA were more likely than not been far-reaching: Reception Committee, Literary Society, Library Society, Billiards Committee, Ping-Pong Committee, Amusement Committee, Restaurant Committee, Special Law and By-Law Sub Committee, and Handbook Sub-Committee.

During 1932-33, Monty was on the Handbook Sub-Committee, on the Ping-Pong Committee, and an individual from the Student Representative Council. The EIA Sports Club, shaped in 1924, had cricket, tennis, and hockey groups that played aggressively. The hockey group was viewed as the best in Scotland amid Monty's stay there. He was additionally supervisor of The Edinburgh Indian Handbook 1932-33. His article dated 1 November 1932 reads:

“As editor of this handbook, I may claim the privilege of giving you some counsel as to how you should direct your activities. This holds chiefly for the Freshers. Speaking broadly, a Fresher divides his activities between the academic and social side of life. For my part I have little or nothing to do with the academic side; the University staff will see to that, but I may be allowed a word or two on the social side. The social activities of the Indian students in Edinburgh centre around this ancient Association of ours. In the Library we have a varied selection of books, and particularly of magazines and newspapers, both home and local, and among these, if you are book-minded you may feel free to browse. If you are the Athletic type you may participate in the various activities of the Sporting Club. If you are open-minded and are wondering how you are to get a little diversion from the ordinary humdrum, there is a Notice Board which will tell you of the Whist Drives, Debates, Dances, etc. which have been arranged for you. All my advice to you can be summed up thus: Join the E.I.A. and join at once. When

you have followed this advice, you will find that your life in Edinburgh will be a much happier thing. I need hardly add that I wish a very prosperous time for you all during your stay in Edinburgh. I wish to thank Sir Thomas Holland for his 'Foreword,' Mr A.D. Patterson for all his help with the handbook, and the Members of the Association for their cooperation."

What Monty deliberately did not include was that the EIA was additionally a hotbed of Indian patriot and against the radical tumult. A large number of speakers advanced through its entryways, while various dialogues were held about the unfurling struggle against the British Raj in India. Dr Goonam notices the visit of Sastri, who 'was extremely disagreeable among Indian students and turned out to be much more so when he came to Edinburgh to get the flexibility of the city when a large number of Indian opportunity warriors grieved in British correctional facilities. What were his perspectives on British Home Rule for India, they heckled? (Goonam, *Coolie Doctor*, 42)

Despite this, Goonam was chuffed when Sastri perceived her in the gathering of people as he had gone by their home in Durban. Sastri was to have a significant impact in the molding of South African Indian politics, a heritage that Monty was to assume an urgent part in facing. Regardless of his inclusion in the EIA and other social exercises reflected in his journal, Monty finished his investigations effectively. In any case, he always remembered how to play either.

"A curly-headed young man with beads of perspiration glistening on his wide forehead shouted "whoopee" on winning the table tennis match against his opponent, the champion at the Indian Association in Edinburgh. The student giving vent to his feelings was Monty. He was good at sports. Snooker was his favourite game as was tennis. I went to watch him playing near the meadows in Edinburgh immaculately turned out in his white tennis togs. Seated on the bench nearby, watching the players would be a bevy of Scottish beauties, but one stood out more clearly than the others" (Dr. Goonam, 'vignettes of Monty', *Leader* 27 January 1978).

Monty came back to Durban in 1934 and various public functions were held in his respect. There was incredible pride among local people that "one of their own" had gone abroad and qualified as a Doctor (Medicine), when the greater part of Indians scarcely got an essential instruction. The strings of Monty's life back in Durban can be grabbed through his Dairy.

This blend of political, social and educational organisations gives charming insights to how Indians carried with them into the urban milieu social at the same time fashioning new associations with neighborhood reverberation. The Vedic, Tamil and Surat organisations showed that culture, region, and character had traversed the Indian Ocean, while 'colonial-born' traced their roots in Africa, testing those inside the group, and also the white power structures that supported their repatriation. Monty's father was entangled in a significant number of level headed discussions and divisions quickening Indian politics. Monty may have been just ambiguously keening on political developments when he returned, however, that would not be for a really long time. He was only 24, single, and still to set up a practice—the fourth Indian Medical Doctor in Durban, following in the strides of Kassim Seedat, M.G. Naidoo and Makan Mistry. He opened a practice in Leopold Street, near where he had grown up.

The Durban where Monty was born and the Durban to which he returned in the wake of finishing his medical studies could have been two unique urban communities. Most prominent was the speed at which Indians relocated to the city as Africans, seized of land by a blend of equipped incursions and legislation, supplanted Indians on white-owned farms and mines before they themselves started the trek to the city. The Indian populace of Durban expanded from 16,400 in 1921 to 123165 in 1949 and the African populace from 29022 to 109543 in this period. The urban scene was for all time changed as Indians and Africans advanced toward the city and the specialists came together to organize instruments of control to protect their 'white' city. The differential and progressive racial consolidation into the city would nourish into strains and have terrible results for Indo-African relations in 1949.

Burrows noticed that the stream of Indians to the city was 'due less to the offer of attractive employment or even of any employment whatsoever than to economic pressure driving them off the land.' The Chief Constable of Durban lamented the reality, in 1925, that 'there has been an extensive floating to this Borough, of the very poor from the up-nation district, whose providers are in many cases without education, trade or profession.' Obviously, not

every person fitted into this section – Monty's father, for example, brought home the bacon as a banana exporter and stallholder at the Indian Market.

Be that as it may, to comprehend the politics of the years between the wars, one needs to understand the sentiments of the thousands of people gushing to Durban from the cane fields and coal mines. Living in tin shacks and unsteady shanties, their poverty and deprivation were never again covered up on isolated farms and mines, however, gazing individuals in the face on the very doorstep of the city. It was here that a generation of activists was to be born, huge numbers of whom would be among the primary trade union coordinators and cadre of the Communist Party (CP).

#### **4.2 Monty Naicker and City Hall Declaration**

On 11 February 1940, Dr Naicker made ... his maiden speech in a packed City Hall. He took his stand clearly and forcefully against non-Europeans supporting the war, and vigorously attacked the NIA leadership for collaborating with the white authorities to enforce voluntary segregation on Indians. At a second meeting, on Sunday 9 June 1940, at the Royal Picture Palace [the old Rawat Bio Hall], he seconded H.A. Naidoo's resolution condemning the Christopher-Rustomjee fraternisation with the Provincial Council to prevent Indians from buying properties in 'white areas'. Quietly but firmly, and with his typical humility, Monty Naicker asserted the right of Indian South Africans to live and trade where they wanted, and rejected the concept of 'penetration' into European areas. 'It is racist Europeans,' he contended, to rousing applause, 'who were encroaching on Indian rights and Indian freedom.' I sat up and took notice of this rising star." Ismail (I.C.) Meer (Aswin Desai and Goolam Vahed, 2010)

Monty was 30 when he delivered his speech at the City Hall, however, it might be said it was the climax of five years of re-coordinating himself into the city of his birth. On his arrival from Edinburgh, he joined the Hindu Youth Club, as his Hinduism, while worn gently, was a vital edge of reference. All things considered, this was a man who had replicated out extensive areas of the Bhagwad Gita in his diary. He soon settled into the regular routine of medicinal practice. The greater part of his patients were from the Magazine Barracks. At this point, the Depression, compounded by the pro-white work arrangement of the City Council, had incurred significant injury on the occupants of the Barracks. The greater part was living in extreme poverty in buildings that were literally falling down around them. However, even

this may not in itself had driven Monty into politics, there were also other factors that were at play. One was that the Indian working class was discovering its feet both as social power and a politically powerful group, as the main blueprints of union organisation started showing up in industrial facilities. In the meantime, the Indian intellectual elite was gathering together, talking about dynamic thoughts, and arguing about the best way forward.

The most powerful of these gatherings was the Liberal Study Group (LSG), and at sunset, as the city purged out its Indian laborers, a couple of them advanced toward Ajmeri Arcade. Accessed by three boulevards – Pine, Cathedral, and Gray – Ajmeri Arcade was the LSG's gathering place, a sweltering field of extreme scholarly verbal confrontation. Monty had touched base in a domain in which dynamic political thoughts were being talked about and where a group of individuals tried to make an interpretation of these thoughts into types of activism. A significant number of the new intellectual elite were results of Sastri College, the brainchild of the primary Indian Agent, Sir Srinivasa Sastri, who gathered assets from vendors to start the school. The College was opened on 14 October 1929 by the Governor-General of South Africa. Sir Kurma Reddi told the gathering at the inaugural event that “within these walls themselves this torch of true learning will be kept alight to guide South African Indians in their search for truth and for what gives real value to life, and to enable them to form right conceptions of the good, the true and the beautiful”(Sastri college Brochure, 1980).

Many students accepted this guidance truly and their endeavor for the ‘true conceptions of the good’ drove them to the CP and a union with Africans to topple the white minority government yet it is far-fetched this was 'reality' that Sastri and Reddi had at the top of the priority list.

Are you interested in the struggle of your people?

Are you prepared to improve your condition?

If you are, then we invite you to become a member of the Liberal Study Group.

Our aim is to STUDY – STUDY – STUDY

The problems with which the Non-Europeans are confronted.

The LSG invites you to attend its lectures, debates and discussions and study classes. (*The Call*, July 1940)

#### 4.2.1 Monty Naicker and Liberal Study Group (LSG)

The LSG was a fundamental impact in radicalising Indian professional, and both Monty and Dr Goonam joined the Group. It was established in late 1937 by H.A Naidoo, George Ponnen, Dawood Seedat, Cassim Amra, A.K.M. Docrat, P.M. Harry, Wilson Cele, and I.C. Meer. They were joined by Debi Singh, Steven Dlamini, Leslie de Villiers, Jacqueline Lax (Arenstein), writer Peter Abrahams, E.J. Dhlomo, proofreader of Langalasi Natal, S.V. Reddy, R.D. Naidoo, and M.I. "Beaver" Timol. Dr Goonam was the only female Indian member, there were white women like Fay King Goldie, Pauline Podbrey and Sarah Rubin who joined LSG. The LSG held classes in English, political economy, and open talking and Zulu classes were started from March 1940. The Group talked about issues like 'Passive Resistance,' 'Non-Europeans and the war,' and 'The Socialisation of Medicine.' During July and August 1940, George Singh surveyed Peter Neilson's Color Bar; E.J. Burford talked on 'The Present International Situation'; on 9 July Monty looked into India Today by Palme Dutt; R.H. Smith talked on 'The Rise of Democracy'; P.S. Joshi talked on 'India and World Politics'; P. Muthukrishna conveyed an address on 'The Position of the Indians in the Transvaal'; there was a level headed discussion on 'Should Students and Teachers participate in Politics'; George Ponnen gave an address on 'The Rise of Trade Unions'; A. Ismail inspected the Cape Colored Question by W.M. McMillan; while O.G. Malinga inspected Bantu, Boer, and Briton, additionally by McMillan. These exchanges were mentally testing and presented individuals with new thoughts. While the nearby political space was at first limited by the conservatism of the overwhelming strand in Indian governmental issues, the stirrings of hostile to pioneer battles started to be firmly felt sooner or later. Dr Goonam reviews that "it was in this claustrophobic political condition we established the LSG. A dull and grimy staircase of an old building, prompted ... our gathering place. A couple of rough seats and ramshackle seats gave the seating, a touchy globule the lighting."( Goonam, Coolie Doctor, 99)

The LSG possessed two scantily outfitted inter-pleading rooms – in the main room was a manual duplicator, and 'flimsy little table on which stood a chipped pot and a gathering of stained tin mugs.' The inward room had two seats, a platform, and a photo of Nehru on the wall. Nehru was the publication kid of numerous Indian radicals during this period. As per I.C. Meer, Nehru's message that 'no Indian deserving of his nation can belittle himself and his homeland,' had a 'profound effect' on them: 'I was South African however India had



extraordinary significance for me, especially due to the flexibility battle and the pioneers of that struggle.' (Meer, Fortunate man, 85).

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) was a developing power in global politics by the 1930s. This English-instructed attorney became one of Gandhi's nearest companion while ascending through the positions of the Indian National Congress to end up its President. There were stark contrasts between the two. Gandhi at home in India's towns attached to the turning wheel. Nehru was the urbane honorable man, confounded by Gandhi's affinity to always allude to God in his speeches, and 'more at home,' as Gandhi wryly put it, 'with Englishmen than with his own countrymen.'(Gandhi, Collected work, 1951, vol. 76, p 327)

While Nehru frequently needed to concede to Gandhi, they made an imposing group, as their separate qualities fueled the Indian patriot cause.

Nehru spent a large portion of the period from 1931 to 1935 in jail. He was re-elected President in 1936. He inspired the Indian National Congress to embrace the Avadi Resolution, announcing communism as the model for India's future government. Nehru's hostility to British position, grasping of communism, and a long stretch of imprisonment reverberated with numerous youthful Indians in South Africa. While they were attracted to Nehru, Gandhi remained a vital image, as per M.D. Naidoo, despite the fact that they considered him to be 'somebody whose interests were not the same':

“Gandhi was ... inclined to be treated more as a symbol. Certainly my generation did not consider there was any relevancy or political value in pursuing any criticism of Gandhi. Whatever the internal differences there may have been among Indians we saw his role as very progressive in the context of the conditions of the time. Perhaps some time in the future a more objective critique may be written” (Aswin Desai and Goolam Vahed, 2010, p98-99).

Participants at the social gathering were in the age group of 30 and 40. The room, as per I.C. Meer, was 'loaded down with our contemplations and smoke as we devoured cigarette after cigarette, and penned thought after idea on paper.' M.D. Naidoo was a customary presence at the LSG. The LSG is said to be an influence on his reasoning:

“We would invite people, mainly Indian but also coloured and African, occasionally white, to speak to us. It was not just lectures. The lecturer would

deliver the lecture and would have to submit thereafter to a discussion with no gloves on, and if he was somebody we didn't agree with, he would certainly know. We'd give and we'd take...it was a good thing and I began to meet for the first time people on the Left...I began to find a more progressive rather than national outlook ... and take positions which identified this group as distinct from the older generation who controlled the Congress. We were developing and growing politically – our own ideas were being formulated ....” (Aswin Desai and Goolam Vahed,2010, p99).

The LSG was a little yet very powerful group, as its members spread out into numerous areas of political life in the city, including the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Communist Party (CP), African National Congress and Non-European United Front (ANC and NEUF). Its mouthpiece, *The Call For Freedom and Justice*, was published in Durban and sold at different outlets: Peter's Lounge in Gray Street, Vally's Hairdressing Saloon in Gray Street, and Crystal Café in Albert Street. H.A. Naidoo was its political proofreader, I.C. Meer the general director, and Dawood Seedat the proprietor. Cassim Amra likewise assumed the main part and a few issues carried a declaration that he had composed every one of the articles. The LSG additionally distributed bulletins of trade unions and the India League, which was going by Dawood Seedat. Through this writing, the thoughts of these youthful radicals were broadly dispersed. Endeavors to join the NIC proved to be fruitful with the development of the NIA on 8 October 1939. Trade unionists, communists, and a more radical expert class joined traders in the leadership structures. The new NIA included numerous on the left: Monty Naicker, Cassim Amra, George Ponnem, E.I. Moola, H.A. Naidoo, George Singh, and P.M. Harry. While the issue of solidarity seethed, different issues went to the fore, similar to South Africa's investment in the Second World War.

#### **4.2.2 Monty Naicker and Second World War**

Indians were divided over the war. Moderates held a pro-war meeting at the Royal Picture Palace on 9 June 1940 and tried to pass a resolution in support of the war. Cassim Amra wanted to know ‘what “conscience” calls upon you to lick the boot that kicks you?’ A resolution supporting the war was proposed by Albert Christopher, S.R. Naidoo, Sorabjee Rustomjee, and Advocate J.W. Godfrey. Monty, H.A. Naidoo, George Singh, Cassim Amra, and George Ponnem proposed an amendment that the services of Indians be confined to South Africa, that there be equality in the defense force, and that full democratic rights be extended

to non-Europeans. Before the boisterous crowd could vote, the Old Guard left the hall and considered the resolution as carried. This was given publicity in the press as reflecting the opinion of Natal's Indians who were advised to join the war 'out of loyalty to the Empire.' A War and Comforts Fund was established with the Agent-General Rama Rau and the Mayor of Durban as patrons.

In The Call, Cassim Amra reprimanded Indians who were supporting the Mayor's Fund when 'Indian kids are blacking out by the dozen consistently in Union schools from HUNGER. For what reason not make this your concern?' Amra contended that the 'authority has lost all feeling of sense of pride and respect.' He reprimanded Sir Rama Rau with the following statement 'an Agency that can summon no more regard than that of the man in the road [for being] submissive in the service of imperialism.' (Call, June 1940)

Amra indicated towards the abnormality whereby both unemployment and contribution to the War Funds were expanding. Indian 'leaders' contributed out of a want to demonstrate to the authorities that 'he is a decent boy [and] saved themselves to the detriment of the larger part. He is a defeatist, without rule or pride.' And rich housewives 'caught wind of European women sewing for warriors. She reads about Mrs. So-and-so's war effort to raise so-and-so fund ... She who would not lift a hand in time of peace to help the poor and needy suddenly becomes ultra-patriotic and charitable She forgets that there are as many soldiers – martyrs of the economic system– who are walking the streets.' (Aswin Desai and Goolam Vahed, 2010, p104) H.A. Naidoo additionally composed an intense scrutiny of the war,

*'Who are the real Quislings?'* He argued that vested interests controlled the media and shaped public opinion to the extent that 'the average individual has ceased to think.' While Britain was portraying itself as the 'champion' of democracy, 'workers were the real fighters' in a war that was nothing more than an imperialist onslaught. Britain and France allowed the Italians to conquer Abyssinia (Ethiopia) and fascism to triumph in Spain. 'Who were the champions of Nazism then?' (Call July 1940) This against war movement uplifted the political awareness of youthful activists – M.D. Naidoo would review that, "political activity among Indians reached quite a level of height ... the issue of supporting the war or not supporting war became a sharp issue, and my generation generally took the position that the war was not our war" (Wits Interview).

On 5 February 1941 he delivered his speech in a mass gathering at the Red Square before 2000 people and created an impression that ended up synonymous with his name: 'if freedom will not be given to us, we will have to use force and take our freedom'. He was accused of negating the new National Security Regulations of 1941. His other 'scandalous and dishonoring words' against King George VI included:

“I now wish to tell you that I personally have no respect for King George VI ... We have got no more time for kings and emperors. The King is not fit to be Emperor of India ... The British Empire is not an Empire but a Vampire? It drains all the wealth out of India and keeps millions of our people in suffering, starvation, sickness, illiteracy, and without homes. Every act of assistance to Britain means the crushing of our Indian people at home and maintaining strongly the iron hands of the British imperialist robbers”?

In court, Seedat made an enthusiastic discourse speech with all due respect:

“The non-Europeans of this country are called upon to sacrifice their lives for a cause that offers them nothing but insult and humiliation ... It is foolish for anyone to think that the non-European people have the same attitude to this war as the British capitalist class ... The present British constitution is but the outcome of a series of revolutions [to] break away from feudal oppression. If the ancestors of the British people thought these things were worth fighting for, so do we ... The British Government is much concerned about the Poles and has gone to war on that issue but it has not shown itself in any way willing to grant the simplest of democratic rights to four hundred million in India, hundreds of millions in Africa and other parts of the British Commonwealth ... If I say that I would like to see the downfall of the British Empire it is so that my people could begin to regenerate themselves.” (Aswin Desai and Goolam Vahed, 2010, p105)

Seedat was sentenced to three months of prison with hard work. When he left prison on 17 July 1941, pamphlets were circulated advertising a meeting with the support of the NEUF and Nationalist Bloc of the NIA to accord 'a Public Welcome to a Young Leader who was detained for CHAMPIONING the reason for NON-EUROPEAN FREEDOM.' Seedat was cautioned not to participate in subversive exercises, but he overlooked this and went to the

LSG on 31 August 1942, for which he was detained for a further 40 days. According to Rusty Bernstein, the arrest of Dadoo and Seedat ‘triggered the biggest campaign of meetings, handbills and posters that the Party had managed for years ... Whether we affected the fate of Dadoo and Seedat is hard to say. Both were found guilty and sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, making them the first martyrs of the Communist Party revival.’ (Rusty Bernstein, 1999, p53)

Besides the individuals who rose up out of the trenches of the laborers' struggle, various formally instructed pioneers also assumed a powerful part. Most were taught at Wits University. Ismail (I.C.) Meer was an exceedingly persuasive figure in the circle. Pauline Podbrey's initial introduction of him was that of a man 'with finely drawn highlights and excellent hands, his very much balanced voice and quality of good rearing, resembled a more youthful form of Pandit Nehru'. I.C. Meer's father Chota touched base in Natal in the 1890s, and his cousins Moosa (M.I.) and Ahmed (A.I.) joined the family in Natal. Waschbank, where Chota Meer opened a shop, gave the most punctual political training. I.C. Meer depicted the shop as a 'college'. The 19 Indian men living in Waschbank met most nights to talk about Indian resistance to the British government. M.I. and A.I. would read things from abroad and neighborhood daily papers or present sonnets which the gathering discussed.

There were comparable sparkles of protection among women. Dr Goonam was the only Indian woman member of the LSG. White individuals asked Indians to bring women along, as they contended that sexual orientation freedom was as vital as class and race. As per Pauline Podbrey, in spite of the fact that the men guaranteed they would do as such, they seldom did, and rather offered pardons that the women were timid, could not communicate in English, would not comprehend what was happening, or then again that they never went anyplace else either. In one event, H.A. Naidoo's sibling Krishna brought their sister Dhanum to a gathering, while M.D. Naidoo brought his sister. The outcome:

“They sat with their hands on their lap, eyes downcast. The men were equally uncomfortable. They were not used to socialising with Indian women and it was plain to see their traditions and background fighting their intellect and conscience ... both young women did return and took to accompanying us to trade union meetings and helping with the recruitment of Indian women workers. They spoke in a language the Indian factory workers could understand and with which they could identify. During the passive resistance campaigns, Indian women emerged

from their seclusion and proved every bit as courageous and determined as their men". (Podbrey, 1993, p 61)

Among Indian women, Dr Goonam stood separated; she started a Women's Liberal Studies Group (WLSG) in 1942, and Debi Singh and I.C. Meer attended to their first gathering at the Gandhi Library. Different individuals included:

Radhi Singh, who was considering for a BA degree at the University of Natal, Mrs R. Jithoo, Minnie Ramawthur, an understudy at Girls High, Irene Godfrey and Gertrude Lazarus. s indicated by I.C. Meer, Dr Goonam 'emerged among her kindred individuals in her clear hues, puffing without end gorgeously at a cigarette toward the finish of a long silver holder. She was sharp, and it was clear no man could command her. In any case, she was in the meantime carefree and a liberal entertainer. She enjoyed orchestrating parties at her home and welcomed us around.' In August 1942, Dr Goonam and 12 other women composed a gathering to dissent the capture in India of Indian patriots like Sarojini Naidu and Kasturba Gandhi. (Meer, UDW, 1021/89)

The meetings were held in Tamil, Hindi, and Gujarati since only a couple of Indians communicated in English. The WLSG looked to challenge the Durban Indian Women's Association (DIWA), which was to a great extent the protest of working-class women and went for securing the support of white women. These life histories, entrancing as they may be, are vital in showing the intersection of elements that made a situation in which the direct and traditionalist initiative of the Indian people group could be tested. This incorporated the urbanisation and degraded neediness of numerous amid the 1940s, the opening of Sastri College which was a research facility to share, trade and plan thoughts produced by youthful Indians, the Indian patriot struggle, the rise of true common laborers pioneers, and white collar class Indians saturated with new and more radical thoughts. There were the people who joined the CP and numerous other people who understood that they needed to break the shroud of 'Indianness' which had been set around the struggle. In the expressions of Dr Goonam, 'in the early forties, it was already becoming apparent to us that we would only succeed against oppressive race laws through a non-European united front.' (Goonam, Coolie Doctor, 1991, p101)

In the post-Gandhi period, the moderate middle-class leadership had shunned a partnership with Africans. For instance, they declined a chance to take part in the Non-European Co-

Activity Conference in June 1927. The SAIC sent a delegation, yet underlined that in perspective on the Cape Town Agreement, they could not include themselves with Africans, without plan of action to India and the Agent. Indian Opinion clarified that Indians were citizens of the British Empire and had a different status to Africans as they possessed the right 'to ask the rulers to quit. They however, had not attained the standard of education or civilisation to enable them to do so'(Indian Opinion, 17 June 1927). As late as 1941, Sastri contended at a meeting in India, where he imparted the stage to Dr Goonam, that Indians stood a better chance of getting redress 'if we fight our own struggle, for their [African] status is greatly inferior to ours and by making common cause with them, our community will only be disabling themselves in the very severe combat that has fallen their lot'(Leader, 2 April 1941).

### **4.3 Monty Naicker and Non European United Front**

This state of mind was tested with the arrangement of the NEUF in Cape Town in the mid-1930s by the Colored National Liberation League to join Africans, colored and Indians. The NEUF denoted a conditional advance towards joint activity. Its leader was Cissy Gool and Moses Kotane was the secretary; and altogether, H.A. Naidoo and Yusuf Dadoo were also part of the authorities. The dynamic Cissy Gool once broadly stated- 'I am afraid that I am slowly going Red'- in response to tightening racism. At the age of 62 she was an inspiration to many in Natal.

The principal Natal meeting of the NEUF occurred in 1939. A.I. Kajeer and A.W.G. Champion were the supporters of the body. H.A. Naidoo was its director, Dr Goonam and Philemon Tsele chairpersons, Cassim Amra was the secretary, Sarah Rubin was the assistant-secretary, and Dawood Seedat was its treasurer. Conspicuous trade unionist S.P. Pillay revealed to The Guardian Daily paper that he had 'partnered with the NEUF in light of the fact that the laborers' battle isn't limited to the monetary front, however should stretch out to the political front'(Gaurdian, 2 Oct 1941). It was a two-path process, with specialists offering catalyst to political action, and lawmakers sorting out specialists. As indicated by R.D. Naidoo, Indian people from the Communist Party (CP) in the long run pulled back from the NEUF on direction from the CP whose theoreticians felt that the diverse racial segments were not adequately efficient to shape such a Front:

“So we had to disband and go back into the different fields. We were asked to work in our own areas. As a result most of us felt that our role should be in the Indian National Movement. The party felt that it was very essential that these national groups must be first organised...and then we should bring about a broad unity at a later stage. We followed instructions because the Party was very well disciplined. I myself was disciplined many a time for not carrying out, you know, proper instruction. With the introduction of the Suppression of Communism Act, the Party had to go underground and many of us were torn from our organizations”(Aswin Desai and Goolam Vahed, 2010, p121).

For these young fellows (and a few women), joining the CP, ASL or NEUF changed their limited, confined struggles into ones that went up against a national and even global measurement. Laborers were urged to relate to their partners in different parts of the world, while the white class was viewed as a component of a worldwide settler tip top. The skylines of specialists extended as they started meeting and sharing thoughts, first with Indians from various class, religious and provincial foundations, and after that over the colour line. The scope of discussions likewise broadened. If H.A. Naidoo was to find the dreary strict face of communism when he fled into exile to Hungary during the 1950s, this was unquestionably not the situation in the vibrant 1930s.. Based on what was occurring, there was obviously much activity, sorting out, voyaging, showing and avoiding the police. This was asserted by George Ponnen: “In the Youth League, the Liberal Study Group and the Nationalist Bloc we were discussing the oppressive measures of the ruling class on a national plane. How the oppressive measures affect the various sections of the people – the Indians, Africans and coloured. We were discussing the necessity of the Natal organisations of the non-white people working together to fight the oppressive measures. When we presented these points of view to the Working Committee of the Congress, the real fight started – the leadership would not budge from its old policies”(UKZN, ‘Life and Times of George Ponnen).

On and off the non-European unity was an issue of dispute among Indian government officials. The other significant purpose of division amid the war years was the purported Indian infiltration of white territories. It was in this condition of radical thoughts and activism flourishing in the city that the administration was focused on racial separation and isolation, that Monty made his political entrance.

During apartheid Durban's town organisers had attempted to make a city where whites could appreciate the best spots, the downtown area and the ocean, allowing other different races



into these regions just as workers and portable vendors. Black people were to be pushed to the city's peripheries, and the limits entirely policed. This 'crushing' of Indians and Africans on to the edges of the city was to have emotional and heartbreaking results toward the end of the 1940s. Be that as it may, Indians fervently fought these strategies of early urban isolation, and there were frequently open verbal confrontations concerning what was the most ideal approach to face the plans of the City experts. One of these questions happened over what came to be known as the 'Indian entrance' of white zones.

The NIA and NIC came to a 'gentleman's agreement' with the nearby experts that Indians would not purchase private property in white zones. The conservative leadership of the NIC acknowledged that 'historical experiences show that the world over people of the same race find it congenial and convenient to live together, and the Indians in South Africa are no exception to this rule,' (NIC Pamphlet, ANC Papers, ICS, No. 18). Yet they contended that to formalise this would affront the national honour' of Indians, since it would naturalise racial inferiority. When a similar law was passed in the Transvaal, Dadoo called for passive resistance. However Gandhi, who was in correspondence with Smuts at the time, exhorted on 19 July 1939 that the campaign should be put on hold since he felt that Smuts may surrender to some Indian demand. Despite the fact that preparations had been made to launch the battle on 1 August, Dadoo paid attention to the exhortation of Gandhi who he said, 'has been our guide and mentor ... and we shall wholeheartedly await his advice' (ES Reddy, 1990). The delaying of this battle made a space for conservatives to look for methods for pacifying white apprehensions. The Lawrence Committee, which included Indian members Albert Christopher, J.W. Godfrey, A.S. Kajeer, Sorabjee Rustomjee, P.R. Pather, and P.B. Singh, was designated in February 1940 to talk to forthcoming Indian purchasers out to acquiring property in 'white' areas. This was censured by the radical group, as appeared by a February 1940 editorial in Call commenting that 'humiliating as the plight of the non-Europeans is, perfidious and incongruous is the policy of appeasement taken up by the leaders of the NIA. By the very acceptance of voluntary segregation, these gentlemen have conceded the principle of segregation.' Radicals failed to reverse this decision at a mass meeting at the Durban City Hall on 9 June 1940. They continued within the NIA as the Nationalist Bloc but refused to have anything to do with the 'Assurance', instead they carried out an extensive campaign among workers 'to put an end to the short-sighted and narrow-minded path of expediency' (Call, July 1940). Following the gathering Monty, Amra, Beaver Timol, George Ponnen, H.A. Naidoo, and Manilal Gandhi were ousted from the NIA. Amra censured this:

“The ill-conceived act of expulsion revealed their FEAR; fear of the growing tide of the progressive force represented by the Nationalist Bloc which has dared to expose the stubborn arrogance of the leaders despite the wishes of the masses ... The pages of Indian history in South Africa for the last two decades reek with shame ... There has been a cancerous bartering away of the legitimate rights of the community ... It is the stigma of moral prostitution to be ourselves part of the law of degradation and perversity” (Call, July 1940).

A Second Broome Commission which sat from 16 to 19 March published its findings on 6 April, affirming Indian penetration. The government reacted with the Trading and Occupation of Land Restriction Act of April 1943, which prohibited white-Indian property transactions in Durban for three years. It was known as the "Pegging Act" in light of the fact that the goal was to "peg" Indian land proprietorship and occupations at 22 March 1943 levels until the point that further measures were introduced. Indian political bodies saw the Pegging Act as the initial step to racial isolation. The NIC, which had kept on existing under the leadership of A.I. Kajee, and the NIA consented to combine. They picked the name Natal Indian Congress in light of its verifiable relationship with Gandhi. An unwieldy official of 30 VPs (Vice-president) and 45 boards of trustees were selected at the inaugural meeting on 29 August 1943. The NIA's J.W. Godfrey was chosen president, A.M. Lockhat of the NIC moved toward becoming VP, and P.R. Pather one of the secretaries. Radicals like Monty Naicker, George Ponnen, Dawood Seedat, Billy Peters, and M.D. Naidoo made it onto the executive.

The delicate solidarity of the NIC fell when moderate elements agreed to the Pretoria Agreement. A Third Broome Commission was set up in 1944, and when Smuts got its findings, he met with a NIC delegation headed by A.I. Kajee, P.R. Pather and S.R. Naidoo on 18 April 1944 and declared the Pretoria Agreement, 15 which built up a leading group of two Indians and three whites to permit them to buy property by members from an alternate racial group from past tenants. While the Agreement was intended to land for housing, the leadership in Natal extended it to business and agribusiness. Kajee brought these up to complaints in a discourse to Natal Provincial Council. He warned that racial strife was probably not going to end until the point when whites changed their approach: “Does the European dominant group really want to solve racial strife? So long as the European section insists upon the economic and social inferiority of the Indian community, so long will there be racial strife; so long as the European community insists that the Indian shall have no

representation on bodies which determine the destiny of Indians, so long will there be racial strife; so long as the Indians are depressed and segregated by statutes legally imposed by the dominant group, so long will there be racial strife” (Aswin Desai and Goolam Vahed, 2010).

This was the straw that broke the camel's back for the radicals who framed the Anti-Segregation Council (ASC) in April 1944 under Monty's leadership. The ASC was an expansive front of intelligent people, trade unions, sports culture, social, youth and farmers organisation, including the CP, LSG, Over port Social Club, Hindustan Youth Club and Springfield Farmer's Association. On the recommendation of the Agent Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, who was more straightforward than a significant number of his antecedents, the ASC concurred not to split far from the NIC but rather work from inside to impact change. The ASC hosted a conference on 6 May 1944 at which 29 organisations dismissed the Pretoria Agreement and, starting with a rally at Red Square, began assembling the majority. As indicated by Ponnen: “We had our own mass meetings; we went out to all the suburbs, telling the people what the new policy should be, for the real Indian political organisation. We want unity, not Kajee, Pather and Sorabjee running their own shows ... This was the real political campaign among the working class ... we had factory meetings – every factory lunchtime or evening meetings, and public meetings in the Red Square, calling on the Indian workers to join the NIC ... That was a tremendous task” ( G. Ponnen. Interview with I. Edwards, 1985).

Dr Goonam also recalls this process of mobilisation: “We saw the antics and the manoeuvring of the Kajee-Pather group and we felt something must be done. We went from district area to area, group to group, even religious groups we penetrated, talking in their own language, trying to get their support ... We said, this is the Old Congress, the Congress of Mahatma Gandhi and you have to choose now. Are you going on the same path these people have led you, which has spelt ruin for us, or are you going to now consider change ... so that we can effectively show the government that we oppose them? It meant hours of explaining. It meant changing very old people whose views cannot be changed overnight” (Aswin Desai and Goolam Vahed, 2010, p129).

An extensive campaign followed with H.A. Naidoo, coordinator and speaker second to none, pulled once again from 'exile' in the Cape to help. The nonappearance of H.A. had just expanded the desire of the working classes to hear him once more. Workers from the Bus Employees' Union, Biscuit Workers Union, Tin Workers Union, Chemical Workers' Union and Laundry Workers Union were activated, while associations like the Springfield Indian

Farmers' Association, the Malvern District Indian Association, and the Overport Social Club tossed their assets into the campaign. Before long another dialect picked up currency- 'appeasement' was reprimanded for the disintegration in the position of Indians, and conservatives were placed on the back foot.

In January 1945, the ASC visited Pietermaritzburg, Dannhauser, Dundee and Glencoe. Dr Goonam would review that the 'meetings were disorderly and the opposition unruly. At one gathering in Pietermaritzburg, I had the feeling of a cool reception and the reception moved toward becoming solidifying when I took the amplifier. I was met with a fly of water, and was before long soaked to the skin. Supporters reacted by covering me with a tablecloth.' Kay Moonsamy, who joined the CP in December 1944, was exposed for the blue to any semblance of Monty, M.D. Naidoo, J.N. Singh, Ismail Meer, George Ponnen, and R.R. Pillay: "We as workers were drawn to them and there was a big campaign to remove Kajee and Pather. We went about recruiting members. Wherever Kajee and Pather called meetings of the NIC ... we went to these meetings and because of the membership drive and the large number of people who joined, in all those meetings we passed a motion of no confidence and took over the meetings. Large numbers of people came to the offices and we had our NIC card and people simply joined in their droves" (Aswin Desai and Goolam Vahed, 2010, p129-30).

A solid strand of 'Indianness' went through the mobilisation strategies of the radicals. For instance, at a meeting of the NIC in Sydenham and Over port, Monty said that the area needed a strong branch as it was 'predominantly Indian—the people must make the Congress an effective instrument for supporting Indian demands.' Reports of every meeting were sent to India and 'every available means was being used to get India's intervention (Leader, 22 December 1945). Thirty-one meetings were held in three months and the NIC's enlisted membership expanded from 3,000 to 22,000. Like Kay Moonsamy, Billy Nair's political education occurred amid these crucial rallies: "Not far from where I worked there were massive rallies taking place ... at what is called the Red Square ... I grew up, I matured during this period" (Documentation centre).

The manner by which political mobilisation and union organisation intersected turns out to be obvious from the account of Dimes. Amid the 1940s, Dimes leadership included George Singh (Secretary), S.L. Singh (Hon. Organiser), Billy Peters (Organizing Secretary) and T. S. John (President). John was an employee of the municipality, as the others were proficient

coordinators. Dimes considered itself to be a piece of the more extensive trade union and political movements, and its Monthly Bulletins announced routinely on the activities of other unions while workers were encouraged to read *The Guardian*, portrayed as the premier union newspaper in South Africa.' On 20 November 1941, John talked at a rally organised by Friends of the Soviet Union' which was joined by a large number of laborers to fund-raise and entreat the Allies to render full guide to the USSR.

Dimes reported in July 1942 that it had helped numerous new associations. "It is just right that a settled Union like Dimes should render help to fellow workers battling for their economic emancipation. On 5 July 1942, Dimes took part in a rally organised by the CP, where £250 was raised for the Party. Workers at Magazine Barracks likewise framed the Red Rose Social Club which had communist leanings. Their meetings were held in a zone of the Barracks known as Stalingrad" ( Murrugan, Lotus Blooms, 43). Dimes also indulged in the political debates and mobilisations of the time as a partner of the ASC and consistently facilitated ASC gatherings. For instance, in a meeting on 3 December 1944 joined by 8 000 individuals, Dimes asked its members to go to the NIC AGM in 1945 through its Monthly Bulletin: "The NIC is the official national organ of the Indian people and Dimes workers must be there, in their own interests to take an active part in the NIC. In the past the leadership of the NIC has neglected the rights and wishes of the working class. In a way the workers have themselves to blame, because they showed very little active interest. Today the position has changed. Indian workers in Durban can play an important role in the national organisation"(Dimes monthly Bulletin, December, 1944).

#### **4.4 Ideological Understanding of Naicker and Natal Indian Congress Debate**

At the point when the Natal Indian congress was set up in 1894 It was planned to fill in as a forum for the protection of rights the Indians believed they delighted in as subjects of the British Crown. Gandhi and the Indian Merchants met on 22 August 1894 at the extensive home of one of the businessmen, Dada Abdulla. On that day, the NIC was formed. Abdulla Haji Adam was its first president, and Gandhi was elected as its first privileged secretary. That was the start of an association which kept on existing for a hundred years through numerous changes.

In the early period, it was commanded by well off Indian merchants who wanted to secure the resolution of issues, generally to their greatest advantage, by engaging with the imperial

doctrine of equality. In the middle period from 1921 to 1961, the NIC encountered a gradual shift away from its dependence on the imperial association with direct a quest for partners among the other black people groups. The organisation widened its objectives to include a test to the racial framework all in all, and bought in to the Freedom Charter of 1955. However, it was as yet included with issues identifying with Indians in its everyday tasks. In the third time frame, 1971 to the present, the NIC developed a wide front of organisations attempting to wreck apartheid and to promote non racial democracy. NIC leadership and NIC itself dependably affected the Gandhian thoughts in this manner. The leadership endeavored to shape Gandhian thoughts, and thus was molded by them. In any case, all through the period, the pioneers of the association have shared one Gandhian ideal: to oppose unfairness decently and unfalteringly.

At the time that the NIC was set up, there were more than 42000 Indians in Natala roughly break even with number of whites. The struggle between these two settler aggregate occurred amidst the inconceivably more numerous African populace which now incorporated the Zulu people, whose intense kingdom had been methodically destroyed in the two decades after the British attacked Zululand in 1879. The whites in Natal, as to be sure in whatever is left of South Africa, were consolidating their subjugation of the African people and the presence of the Asians basically confounded issues for them.

The white settlers recognised the estimation of indentured labour in Natal's economy. However, they were miserable that such a large number of them chose to remain behind in the state. They allowed to offer their labour in all sectors, or generally to take part in free action, for example, petty trade or market gardening. In 1893, there were 16051 indentured Indians contrasted with 24 459 'free' Indians. A considerable lot of the passengers Indians had set up themselves as traders. These 'Arab' traders as they were erroneously called connected up with white wholesale business to create trade connection in the hinterland. Their clients were Africans, different Indians, and even whites.

It is essential to perceive that, notwithstanding the undeniable provincial and class contrasts between the two categories of immigrants, there were also cultural social, linguistic, and religious contrasts. Among the settlers from the southern piece of India were Tamil and Telegu speakers; and those who originated from the northern and western parts communicated in Bhojpuri and Gujarati separately. They followed Hinduism, Islam and in substantially little numbers, Christianity. Indians were overwhelmingly subjected to the

arrangement of castes and sub castes; and the migrants who came to South Africa carried with them this part of their social inheritance. To put it plainly, the Indians in Natal were to a great degree heterogeneous; and this was destined to be reflected in the associations that they made for themselves to satisfy essential needs of character and sub-group cohesion. The NIC was a secular body that tried to transcend these social, religious, and linguistic contrasts; and when people joined this political organisation, or in some other way related to its points and targets, they didn't leave their own affiliations.

Indians for the most part adjusted to the standards and models of the South African condition. At the end of the day, they turned out to be 'South Africanised'. It meant that Indians in South Africa obtained dialects in at least one of the indigenous tongues and additionally English and Afrikaans. They knew and comprehended the political and social figures of speech that represented South Africa. Being constantly lumped together as an undifferentiated element, Indians progressively considered themselves to be one group of people who were obliged to react appropriately. The NIC was to capitalise both the expected and forced components of this identity. Its politics rotated around it. For at any rate the initial forty years of the twentieth century, the 'Indian' component of the NIC's identity was important; yet its inability to make much progress in winning for Indians the rights and benefits they were qualified for, stirred progressive Indians into looking for normal reason with other disadvantaged groups and people. In the late 50s, NIC went into a multiracial alliance; and in the 1970s, the leadership of the NIC by and large called Indians 'blacks' to demonstrate its solidarity with other black groups. This reflects, obviously, the degree of the difference in the personality among South Africa's Indians. The rapid migration of Indians into Durban and their employment in secondary industry were to dramatically affect Indian politics. Numerous were drawn into the trade unions which were being built up; in the vicinity of 1934 and 1945, there were no less than forty-three unions with Indian members. NIC pioneers rushed to exploit the chance to prevail upon the new constituents. For instance, the NIC conducted a mass meeting on 30 September 1931, and an unofficial labour bureau was opened. At whatever point conceivable, the NIC pioneers mediated to help settle industrial dispute. Such mediation happened on account of no less than two strikes, the Falkrik strike of 1937 and the Dunlop strike of 1942-43. At the time, the NIC was controlled by moderates like Kajee, and intercession had a tendency to be to a great extent a matter of ethnically motivated paternalism, as opposed to help for the rule of workers' rights to engage in industrial action. The deluge of Indians into the urban focuses also created pressure on housing, health services and social

welfare. The worry that something ought to be done about lightening the brutal conditions in which Indians lived is reflected in the NIC agenda books of the 1950s.

A considerable lot of these people were affiliated to the SACP (South African Communist Party). H.A. Naidoo, for instance, was the chairman of the Durban branch of the party and made up the left oriented blocks in the NIA and the NIC. They were significant among the people who acquired the leadership of the NIC in 1945. Others were a piece of the emergent middle class of professionals. In the way, the indo-European joint chamber gave a platform to the old leadership, so organisation for example SACP, NEUF and the Liberal study group (LSG) created stages to articulate newer strategies. The LSG bears close examination since it assumed an imperative part in molding the approaches took after by the individuals who steered the NIC in 1945.

The LSG was set up at some point after 1939. It met intermittently to banter about issues of the day. It was exceptionally dynamic in 1941 and 1942, conducting debate on themes of contemporary interest, for example, capitalism, imperialism, Zionism and African self-government.

Huge number of the pioneers who accepted control of NIC and the TIC mirrored the interests of Indians who felt ignored: an emergent middle class of professionals and civil servants; other who worked in retail and assembling foundations; and a developing section of those utilized in businesses who may properly be called working class. The old pioneers addressed the necessities of these areas of the Indian community. In reality, their talk regularly included references to the poor classes of Indians. However, they were viewed as a feature of a self-sustaining world class worried about their own particular business and organisations interests to the prohibition of those of the common Indians; and their demeanors of worry for other needed conviction. Their inability to stop isolation may have been excused, yet their eagerness to bargain away the privileges of the Indians raised doubt about their genuineness would they say they were maybe occupied with horse-trading to the detriment of others for their own advantage? The new pioneers misused this thwarted expectation among the general population to their own advantage.

In 1940 Monty Naicker joined the NIC. He was absolutely dynamic in the Liberal Study Group (LSG), which pulled in experts like him to examine political issues of the day. Naicker was listed as one of the individuals from the Nationalist Block in the NIA, which implies that



he more likely than not been an individual from the NIA at some point. He may have been attracted to Marxist Philosophy, which he no uncertainty experienced in his trade union activities, and in his relationship with members from the CPSA but he was not a member of the CPSA. He was, all the more precisely, an enthusiastic Gandhi-ite. In an article Naicker wrote in September 1948, entitled 'What I owe to Mahatma Gandhi', his admiration for Gandhi. He composed that he started to welcome the 'full energy of the weapon of satyagraha' as he got further into Gandhi's compositions. He reread *My Experiments with Truth* in 1946 when he was in the Pietermaritzburg prison. It was not lost upon him that thirty three years earlier, a similar jail dividers had held his incredible legend, and the man in charge of detaining him, in particular Smuts, had also detained Gandhi. Gandhi had made a couple of shoes to present as a blessing to his captor. The circumstance inside the TIC and NIC started to change for patriots. After the demise of SM Nana in May 1944 the conservatives leadership which had intensely relied upon Nana's contacts and capabilities became debilitated. On December 16 1945, Yusuf officially advanced toward getting to be pioneer of the TIC on a short size of a gathering front of the nationalists and the moderates. Inside NIC, the patriot square lead by Monty Naicker and individuals, for example, HA Naidoo, George Singh, CI Amra, PM Herry, DA Seedat and George Poonen, confined an Anti-Segregation Council, ASC with a ultimate objective to isolate themselves from the conservatives. The ASC constrained Kajee to call a decision. It had to be happened on March 18 1945. Yusuf issued an announcement in support of the ASC, "It must be clear to all thinking Indians what the Kajee-Pather leadership has meant to the Indian Community. It concluded the notorious Pretoria agreement without the knowledge or the consent of the people and thus bartered away the elementary right of the Indian people to live where they choose....It is tragic that the Kajee Pather group should be so weak when all leaders and major organizations in India....stand firmly united against the humiliating treatment meted out to South Africans Indians...Have we an alternative to this blundering leadership? The Anti Segregation Council provides the answer" (The Leader, Durban, March 3 1945).

The ASC lead a dynamic Campaign around Natal. Yusuf set out to Durban to join the Campaign. Kajee's gathering had no objective of giving in without a battle and speedily begun spreading intentional exposure about the loyalists, with a true objective to cause hostile to socialist panic among the individuals from the merchant class. Regardless of the way that Naicker was not a communist, he needed to adhere to Gandhian standards. Certain individuals from his gathering were unmistakable communist, for instance, HA Naidoo and

DA Seedat. The moderates began to dread pulverize in the light of developing famous support for the ASC. They put off the choices. The ASC took the issue to the Natal Supreme Court, which mentioned the moderates to require a general gathering. The compelled gathering was arranged for October 21 1945. Six days before the gathering anyway the moderates all gave up their positions and the ASC was significantly chosen on for the NIC official on October 21 1945 by more than 7,000 supporters at the Curies Fountain in Durban. Naicker was chosen president and the conservatives did not appear.

Marry Benson brings up that, “in spite of the fact that the Indians were a confined group, dismissed by both white and black and separated among themselves into religious gatherings, they had a modest bunch of surprising people to lead them . She alludes to Yusuf among them as an articulate communist. Others referred to are Naicker, Nana Sita and Molvi Cachalia. They were- she says- young South Africans who had a dream of a typical society of what South Africa could and ought to turn into” (Benson, M, 1966, p94).

#### **4.5. Monty Naicker and Passive Resistance 1946-48**

The initial step was a meeting with South African Prime Minister Jan Smuts on 9 November 1945. There was extraordinary optimism, borne of their confidence to make an intelligent contention and the way that Smuts may have been quick to keep up his growing reputation as an International statesman. The meeting proved a start into the hardball of legislative issues, as Smuts made no concessions (Indian Views, 14 November 1945). Actually the pegging Act was going to lapse in March 1946. Smuts proclaimed in parliament on 21 January 1946 that the legislature would introduce the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. These acts were designed to direct the control of settled property by Indians. Amid March NIC consented to set out on passive resistance in and the passive resistance campaign (PRC) was framed.

The day of 13 June 1946 was assigned as Hartal Day to check the beginning of the Campaign. Monty gave an impactful 20 minute speech at the rally. I.C. Meer recalls that, “he was unusually charged that afternoon, and the crowd cheered enthusiastically. The memorable mass meeting covered a great procession from Red Square to the side of Gale Street and Umbilo Road. Under Monty's leadership, 18 passive resisters (including seven women) pitched tents on empty municipal land in rebellion of the Ghetto Act” I.C. Meer

(2002:95). Monty and Dadoo blamed compromise, “a policy which enabled the government to introduce measure after measure of racially discrimination legislation.”

An issue that resisters confronted was the brutality of what they called white hooligans. The Reverend Michael Scott, one of only a handful couple of whites to join the campaign, gave an onlooker record of the activities of white hooligans at the Gale Street Camp: “Groups of European youths dressed in sport kit gathered in two’s and three’s on the opposite side of the plot to where we were standing...suddenly a whistle blew, and with shouts and catcalls the whole formation charged and bore down upon the little group of resisters who were standing back to back so as to face in all directions...With their fists they struck the Indians in the face and about the body. No one retaliated but some tried to duck or ward off blows before falling down. On the ground they were kicked” (Troup, 1950, p128-129).

Yusuf Dadoo and Monty Naicker began to mobilise people for passive resistance Campaign. The NIC was additionally abrasively battling through Natal. A social gathering in Durban on March 30, finished in march of 6,000 individuals down West Street. Passive Resistance Councils were formed in Natal and Transvaal and co-ordinate by methods for what was known as the joint Passive Resistance Council. The mounting insurance did not anyway debilitate the demise of the Ghetto Act into law and this happened on June 2 1946. The Passive Resistance Councils reacted by declaring June 13, "Resistance Day". A flyer was for the most part circled addressing, "All Indians". It read, “The Ghetto Act is now a law. Thursday 13 June is Resistance Day....All Indian businessmen are requested to close their shops, offices, factories and other business for the whole day. All Indian parents are requested not to send their children to school on this day. All Indian workers are asked to remain at home.”

On June 13, more than 4000 people gathered at the Indian games ground in Johannesburg to hear Yusuf speech. He addressed to the people, “In the next few hours the struggle will have started in Durban. Brave and patriotic Indian sons and daughters of South Africa who have volunteered for the freedom of their people will defy the law and court imprisonment. They are prepared to suffer and sacrifice come what may. We in the Transvaal can take pride in the fact that six courageous sisters from our province have crossed the border into Natal without permits in defiance of the unjust discriminatory provincial barriers, in order to convey our message of solidarity to the gallant passive resisters of Natal”( Mottiar S, 2000, p88).

Durban resistance started with a meeting at red Square. It was tended to by Monty Naicker and Debi Singh, Chairman of the Durban Passive Resistance Council. The participation, a horde of 15,000 comprised of men, women and youngsters. Naicker spoke to the resisters not to resort to violence under any conditions or under incitement. Naicker at that point put his hand on his heart and approached the watching group to do the same and proclaimed: "We shall resist" three times, each time with expanding volume.

The call for Passive Resistance had been genuinely very much noticed. The Guardian reported that, "On June 13 not a single Indian shop remained open in Durban. On the doors were notices reading, Closed! Today is the day of resistance. All the Indian schools apart from one or two were shut.. Out of five hundred Indian ranchers just four sent their produce to market and the Indian stalls in the squatter marker were left." Bagwandeem opined that, "the areas immediately surrounding Durban elicited only a half hearted response while areas further away paid no attention whatsoever to the call for hartal" (Bagwandeem, 1983, p295). The Indian Views wrote that, "In Johannesburg most of the Indian shops remained closed and school children stayed at home" (Indian Views, July 17 1946). The resisters, watchful not to strike back with viciousness or enable themselves to be incited held fast as well as can be expected.

Naicker was an energetic Gandhi-ite; for him Gandhian philosophy was generally important. According to Gandhi, the point of Satyagraha was to kill the threatening vibe of an adversary without hurting the rival. Gandhi differentiated Satyagraha (holding on to truth) with Duragraha (holding on by force), as in dissent, which planned to bother instead of illuminate adversaries. Gandhi (1967) writes that, "if we want to cultivate a true spirit of democracy, we cannot afford to be intolerant. Intolerant betrays want of faith in one's cause." Gandhi saw suffering as a means to a just society. Non-cooperation was a means to secure the cooperation of the opponent consistently with truth and justice" Gandhi, MK. 1920).

The impressions that we get of the assaults by whites and the readiness of Monty and kindred resisters to persevere through those assaults point to these lessons having been assimilated.

At the point when Monty Naicker and the resisters possessed the camp for a third time, they were sentenced to five months' detainment, which Monty served in Newcastle and Pietermaritzburg.

After his discharge on 16 November 1946, Monty wrote about his prison experience, “When I was locked in the prison of Newcastle, I spent my time reading My Experiment with Truth. I had read this book many times before, but inside the prison walls the words came to have a different meaning for me. It was in Newcastle that he (Gandhi) started his epic march with thousands of men, women and children; and somehow I felt that I too was in the crowd that marched past across the Transvaal border in serried ranks. I said to myself that if only the spirit that animated our people in those days could once again be mobilised, how nearer we all would be to the goal. It was true that Mahatma Gandhi was now in India and not in South Africa, but did it really make any difference? Had we not promised to be pure Satyagrahis? And whether the master was in our midst and engaged in a bigger struggle elsewhere, we had to show the mettle of our pasture. It is to the credit of the South African Indians that in 1946, when we decided to take up the challenge, Gandhiji sent his blessings from India” (Shukla, 1951).

The achievement of the non-violent resistance also upheld moral standards.. The mass rallies, people in general garlanding those who had served their terms of detainment, uncovering the brutal conduct of the police through Indian daily papers were part of the resistance., The Leader and Graphic and worldwide exposure gave a feeling of theater. The PRC distributed blaze and the Passive Resister, which gave a broad scope to the campaign.

In any case, the authorities were resolved to break resistance by any means necessary. They initially utilised a 70 year-old law identifying with trespass, at that point the Riotous Assemblies Act, passing on long jail terms. At the point when this did not work , officers distributed fines of 5 Pound each without the choice of detainment. Resisters declined to pay the fine, leaving, in the expressions of the PRC newsflash No. 47, 'the cerebral pain on the opposite side'. Eventually, resisters were given one month in prison with hard work.

By 1947 help for civil disobedience was disappearing. There were 1,500 volunteers in the initial half year and just 500 in the following eighteen. Statements by Monty and Dadoo recommended an acknowledgment that outside mediation was essential. For instance, Passive Resistance opined on 11 December 1947 that the 'most useful strategy by which measures might be introduced that could prompt an answer of the contention remains a Round Table Conference between Government of India, Pakistan and South Africa'.

Perceiving that the Ghetto Bill could not support the campaign, the May-June 1947 NIC conference made plans to challenge the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 which restricted Indian Interprovincial migration. This turned into all the more imperative on the grounds that the development was obstructed by the way that police were not arresting volunteers at Gale Street. On 25 January 1948, 15 resisters from Natal, with Monty at the front line and reminiscent of the 1913 March inspired by Gandhi, crossed the Natal-Transvaal outskirts at Volkstrust. They were met by Dadoo. Dadoo and Naicker were summoned and sentenced to a half year's detainment for abusing the 1913 law. Monty Naicker was insubordinate as he read out an announcement in court on 2 February 1948 for the benefit of himself and Dadoo: "The Passive Resistance struggle which we are conducting is based on true and non violence. It is associated with the name of one of the greatest men of all time, Mahatma Gandhi, on whose death in tragic circumstances just a few weeks ago the whole world wept. Among the millions of men who paid their last tribute to this great soul was Field Marshal Smuts, the Prime Minister of South Africa. Mahatma Gandhi was the father of our struggle. Gandhiji too defied the unjust laws of South Africa and suffered imprisonment during the 1906-1914 Passive Resistance Campaign. This is the man whom Field Marshal Smuts referred to as a 'prince among men'. This is the man-the pilot of India's march to freedom- who is the source of inspiration of our just struggle for democratic rights in South Africa" (Isabel Hofmeyr and Michelle Williams, 2011).

The Passive Resistance Campaign finished in June 1948. The Campaign was at that point subsiding, yet it was improvements in white politics that occasioned a reconsider. Smuts' United Party was vanquished by D.F. Malan's National Party in 1948. Malan was the equivalent curve defender of the possibility of the Indian as 'outsider' and backer of repatriation as the answer for the 'Indian problem'. The approach of conciliation started by Sastri and conservatives had failed to quench his longing to free the white man's nation of the scourge of the 'coolie'. In spite of this history, the NIC announced that 'it was suspending the campaign until the new government had made a clear pronouncement on the future of Indians' (The Leader, 5 June 1948). Was this only a cover for the way that managed restraint had demonstrated the battle? It soon turned out to be certain that the new government was resolved to make the old arrangements considerably harder. 'The Minister of Interior, T.E. Donges, refused to meet the NIC, which he described as 'communistic in orientation', guilty of brazenly defying the laws of the country and constantly crying out for foreign help' (Bhana. S, 1997, p78-79).

Notwithstanding the campaign petering out, noteworthy angles are to be noted. One is the participation between 'communist' and 'Gandhian' Monty of the activists who started mass activity against separation were communists who were influential in the NIC's collaboration with Gandhian, for example, Monty Naicker and Nana Sita. Gandhi rejected letters from some South African who grumbled that Dadoo was a comrade. On 27 November 1947 he kept in touch with S.B. Medh: "The best way is not to bother about what any 'ism' says but to associate yourself with any action after considering its merit .Dr Dadoo has made a favourable impression on everybody here"( Isabel Hofmeyr and Michelle Williams, 2011).

The Passive Resistance Campaign was destined to fall flat. It was gullible to feel that the administration would nullify the Ghetto Act despite peaceful dissent. Contributing tents on Gale Street itself was not adequate to fabricate energy, particularly when the state disregarded endeavor to copy this somewhere else. While Passive Resistance had far reaching support among Indians, regardless of whether vast numbers did not volunteer for detainment, and the development drew bolster from outside, it was unsustainable without clear time allotments. At the point when intrigue disappeared, the pioneers had no elective system of protection. The Campaign was played out in Gandhian terms: Monty's imprisonment , his refusal to take part in viciousness regardless of the ambushes by whites and his intersection of the outskirts all mirrored this. Also, amidst the campaign, Monty and Naicker went to India.

#### **4.6 Monty Naicker in India for mobilising Public Opinion**

Monty Naicker knew about the significance of Independence India to centre thoughtfulness regarding South Africa. A trek to India during March and April 1947, at the height of the Passive Resistance Campaign was essential for Monty's political standpoint and in earning the help of India in opening new fronts in the United Nations, and in the drive to join the battle of Indians with that of Africans in South Africa. Monty was at that point driving a nearer working association with Africans as a signatory of the Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo agreement in 1947 for collaboration between the ANC and the Indian Congresses. The Indian visit harmonized with the 1947 Asian Conference, where Monty and Dadoo met delegates from 32 nations, including Tibet, Nepal, China, Egypt, Iran, Indonesia and Vietnam. They met Nehru, Gandhi and Jinnah, and a large group of different leaders.

Monty was a Gandhian; he was very much excited to meet Gandhi. “We were in the presence of a king of men, and in an instant we felt that glamour of royalty in the house’, Monty remembered. Meeting Gandhi was an unforgettable moment in his life. He wrote, ‘We will never forget the warm smile which lighted upon both of us- the smile of the hero we had loved and admired for thirty years’ (Naicker, ‘What I Owe to Mahatma Gandhi’, 16 September 1948). Monty and Dadoo had a great deal with in common, including their love of Gandhi and the need to fabricate a non-racial struggle. Unlike Dadoo, Monty did not become a member of the Communist Party or embraced the armed struggle. Monty, while following the Gandhi format, presumably did not understand that he was to take the battle past the limits resisting amid Gandhi's South African years. From various perspectives, a blend of elements the Passive Resistance Campaign, the 1949 Indo-African unsettling influences, the disobedience Campaign of 1952 and the acknowledgment that there were cut-off points to what India could accomplish drove the Indian congresses into a considerable working association with the ANC.

We can describe Monty’s life in one line- he was strong, fearless in the face of multiple forms of repression and carried a lifelong commitment to non-violent resistance. Monty described the 16 years as ‘a living death’, and asked for time to readjust. “It’s been such a long time. I will need time to think about many things, time to meet and talk to people, and make up my mind about very many things. It will probably take two or three months before I am back to normal existence again.’ It was Monty’s work, he said that kept him busy and ‘helped immensely to get over this period’(Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, 2010).

In an interview with the Daily News on 22 May 1973, he stated that he would return to active politics and risk another banning order. You are not on this earth to make money. There must be some purpose in life.’ He remembered that when he came back from Edinburgh he wanted to be a Surgeon, but was ‘dragged into active politics by the extent of poverty and frustration around me.’ Naicker realized too that much had changed in politics during his exilesuch as- attitudes among the younger generation were ‘more radical and there was also a generation gap. Monty used the word ‘non-violent’ and was quickly reminded that it had negative connotations and had been discarded, and that the word to use to describe those disenfranchised was ‘black’ people’.

There were also other differences that the new Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) conveyed to the fore. The old Congress-style politics of moment taking, meeting



methodology discussing and carrying on of orders, and meticulous organisational development was not their need. Or maybe, they looked for showdown with the apartheid regime that depended to a great extent on immediacy and utilised mass rallies as a weapon to assemble. They additionally needed to assemble under the general rubric of black (Africans, coloreds and Indians) and proceeded with acknowledgment of 'Indian' as a supporter of apartheid considering. Monty did not express any public opinion on the Black Consciousness Movement yet one gets the feeling that if the adoption of the identity 'black' implied the need to cast off his Indianess, he may have shrugged this off.

#### **4.7 Concluding Remark**

Monty Naicker played a outstanding role against Apartheid and White regime. As a Gandhian he followed the method of non-violence and Satyagraha. He successfully mobilised Indian community with the help of Gandhian politics. He led Passive Resistance Campaign, Defiance Campaign, United struggle and all other movement against racial discrimination and isolation. He will be always remembered as a true Gandhian activist who played their remarkable role against apartheid.

***Chapter 5***  
***Role of Yusuf M Dadoo***  
***and Monty Naicker:***  
***A Comparative Assessment.***

## CHAPTER 5

### ROLE OF YUSUF DADOO AND MONTY NAICKER: A COMPARATIVE ASSESMENT

#### **5.1 Convergence of ideas: An alternate unity to fight against Apartheid**

Monty Naicker and Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo were prominent leaders and anti-apartheid activists. Both played an outstanding role in liberation movement or anti racial discrimination struggle in South Africa. Naicker was a leading member of the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) and the Natal Indian Congress (NIC). He was an elected president of Natal Indian Congress. Yusuf was also an elected president of Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC). Yusuf and Naicker successfully led Passive Resistance Campaign and many other movements together despite ideological differences among them. Monty Naicker was a true Gandhian. He always adopted Gandhian philosophy based on non-violence. On the other hand Dadoo was a communist and worked within the idea of communism. However Dadoo was also very much influenced with Gandhi. Dadoo was continuously talking to Gandhi during passive resistance campaign. We can say that despite of different ideologies they worked together very well.

Monty Naicker and Yusuf Dadoo's grandparents came in South Africa from India. Dadoo was from Gujarat and Naicker was from South India. That time many Indian peoples came to South Africa as a contract labour or Passenger. In 1800's many Indians went to South Africa. They went to South Africa in two categories, "Passenger Indian", and "Indentured Labours". Firstly they came in South Africa on a contractual basis because Indian governments dealt with South Africa through a deal. With this deal both governments were benefited. Among one of these categories was very interesting, "Passengers Indians", who came independently in South Africa without any government agreement, with their own expenditure from the province of Surat. They went to South Africa only for achieving good trading opportunity, while "Indentured labour" were forced to move with government expenditure. Among these "Passengers labours" Yusuf's father, Mohammad Dadoo went there for good trading opportunity. In small kholvad community, his father had a name respected and famous for economic success. Yusuf had eight siblings and Yusuf was the eldest. Yusuf always worried about racial discrimination and he discussed with his friends regarding every type of discrimination. Yusuf was growing in racial environment and of course his political and

social views were also growing with that type of environment. However, he went abroad for his higher education. No doubt Yusuf and Naicker was growing in racial environment and naturally their political and social understandings were also growing in that racial environment.

Monty Naicker was an anti racial discrimination or anti-apartheid activist in South Africa. He emerged as the most powerful political figure in African politics particularly in anti-apartheid movement. His father Gangathura Papiiah Naicker was well known businessmen as well as a prominent figure in the Indian Community. He had enormous business of fruits; particularly export of Bananas. Politically he included himself through various organisations of colonial born Indians just as cultural, social gatherings. His mother Dhanam Pillay was also colonial born like Papiiah, who had arrived Natal from Mauritius during the 1880s. On 30th Oct. 1909 his parents got married. Gangathura Papiiah had four kids, and Naicker was the eldest child of them. Naicker finished his earlier education in South Africa. In 1917 to 1926 he went to the Carlisle Street Boys School and in 1927 he joined Marine College in Durban and he set himself up for his metric. Monty's father wanted to send his children abroad for higher and better education and in the long run every one of the four kids were sent to Edinburgh. Despite of his own prosperity and accomplishment, he realised that the situation of Indians was very precarious in light of the fact that the white ruling class was forcing the government for passing discriminatory legislation Acts against Indians and that was a signal which curtailed opportunity to trade in the long run. The circumstance turned out to be quickly changed in light of the fact that background was already ready. Papiiah and Dhanam was not particularly worried about their business but rather they had especially worried about education for his children. In reality very limited education facilities were in Durban particularly for Indian people group. They had no better option even secondary level. Monty went to Edinburgh for their higher education. There he talked about the struggle against British dominion with kindred students, particularly those from India, and faced off regarding the best methods for testing imperialism and racial domination. He ended up responsive to new thoughts and resistance, notwithstanding grasping, of people of other social, religious, and racial foundations – a trademark which recognised him from his father's age and even others in his own groups of friends. It was at Edinburgh that his written work and initiative abilities were perceived, and he was delegated editorial manager of the Edinburgh Indian Association Yearbook and reserved in to join a few councils. Monty was born in 1910, the year in which the Union of South Africa appeared. Agreement still had a year to run and Port

Natal was observer to human payload being emptied and circulated everywhere throughout the Province. There were around 150,000 Indians in South Africa in 1911. The dominant part were resided in Natal (133 000) and a little more than 40 percent (64 000) were born in South Africa.

Monty was a Gandhian he was very much excited to meet Gandhi. After meeting Gandhi. “We were in the presence of a king of men, and in an instant we felt that glamour of royalty in the house’, Monty remembered. Meeting Gandhi was an unforgettable moment in his life. He wrote, ‘We will never forget the warm smile which lighted upon both of us- the smile of the hero we had loved and admired for thirty years” ( Naicker, ‘What I Owe to Mahatma Gandhi’, 16 September 1948). Monty and Dadoo had an incredible management like manner, including their love of Gandhi and the need to fabricate a non-racial struggle, dissimilar to Dadoo, Monty did not become a member of the Communist Party or embrace the armed struggle. Monty, while following the Gandhi format, presumably did not understand that he was to take the battle past the limits resisting amid Gandhi's South African years. From various perspectives, a blend of elements the Passive Resistance Campaign, the 1949 Indo-African unsettling influences, the disobedience Campaign of 1952 and the acknowledgment that there were cut off points to what India could accomplish drove the Indian congresses into a considerable working association with the ANC.

Monty became president or leader of the NIC in 1946. Having assumed responsibility for Indian politics, he adopted, “Gandhi's principles of passive resistance in protesting against the segregationist land legislation from 1946-48. Through the 1950s he stayed focused on non-violent resistance as he worked with Africa National Congress (ANC) to produce non-racial struggle against segregation and apartheid, which was predicated on and supported up by the utilisation of state sponsored brutality. His thoughts were important in the early joint struggle of the congresses alliance. Yet by 1960 he had to face the way that the coalition was contemplating a swing to violence in the face of state intransigence and increasing brutality. While lot of his friends and comrades adopted the way of armed struggle, Monty continue to stay with non-violent ideas.”

The years following the adoption of armed struggle was responded by the state which swung to very harsh measures. This included postings, banning and expulsions, with numerous in the resistance movements going into exile or serving significant lots of imprisonment. These draconian measures demolished individual lives and decades-old companionship, and cut off

activists from their mass base. Capable individuals were rendered excess, made to mark times as the years ticked by and memories of their exploits and leadership faded. Banning allowed the government to dodge the legal procedure. Anybody could be restricted for provoking the objectives of communism which was so broadly characterised that even a staunch Gandhian like Monty was served with successive prohibiting orders.

For most of the years from 1952 to 1973, he was either a detainee awaiting trial, a prisoner "on the run", or a restricted people. He was served with a five years prohibiting order from 1963 to 1968 which on expiry, was extended to 30 April 1973. The repeated various banning of pioneers silenced the viability of organisation, for example, the ANC and NIC. Monty's ban completed on 30 April 1973. Much had changed in his non-attendance. The NIC was restored on 25 June 1971 under Mewa Ramgobin. Monty did not assume an active role in the NIC until an Anti-SAIC committee (ASC) - was formed in November 1977 with his as Chairman and Dr. Goonam as treasure. The first in what was publicised as a "series of countrywide gatherings", was held on 26 November 1977, with a second gathering on 11 Dec 1977. Monty was the chief speaker on the two events. Be that as it may, similarly as his "Second coming" was gathering force, Dr G. M. Naicker became sick and died on 12 Jan 1978.

Amid his prime, in Monty's mind the Passive Resistance Campaign was a re-order of the prior movement of 1913: the Gandhi symbolism, the excitement and the ethical triumphalism. Getting imprisoned, perusing Gandhi's autobiography in person, visiting India, and crossing the Transvaal fringe were all instances of playing out the battle on Gandhian terms. A portion of the strategies of the battle were embraced in the wake of consulting with Gandhi and Nehru, while the language regularly evoked pictures of "Indian national identity with South African belongings". Be that as it may, 1946-48 was an alternate political landscape, and the movement had little effect on the government. The prior technique of passive resistance was re ordered during the 1950s, even if instead of 'passive' the word 'defiance' was utilised. The 1952 Defiance Campaign focused on laws that the liberation movement chose to challenge, much like the Passive Resistance Campaign. The 1955 Freedom Charter spilled out of this, and the document was a wide explanation of beliefs, much as in passive resistance. Other comparative movements of the period had comparable characterising components: pass laws, consumer boycotts, anti-removal, etc.

As it were, 1946-1948 helped to project the SAIC and with it the ANC as "peaceful" organisations, and this recognition made due during the 1950s even as the nature of the "movement" was changing. For the most of the 1950s, the plan was non-violent movement, and it was to a great extent the emergency in 1960 that tipped the scale for the individuals who said that non-violent forms of movement were incapable since the government had shut all roads of non-violent resistance. At the point when the ANC in the end chose a restricted type of armed struggle, it didn't state that different types of resistance ought to vanish. A significant number of the heroes (including Mandela) who have written about it have introduced "morality" as an issue and in fact some diehard Gandhian like Monty may have seen it that way, yet it was primarily an issue of the most suitable strategy.

This type of movement developed during the 1970s and climaxed in the mid-1980s. The contribution of masses of people opposition to the structures of apartheid was a type of battle Monty had always upheld. Monty would have been stunned by the neck lacing of collaborators. The worldwide media hooked onto it with the assistance of the apartheid regime, yet it was a little piece of the resistance. The more prominent was the resurgence of communities, the kind that Monty would have adored during the 1950s.

## **5.2 Monty Naicker as Gandhian**

Naicker always believes in idea of Gandhism or Gandhi's Satyagraha therefore he never appreciate any kind of violence. He was a big admirer of Gandhi. Further this chapter will explain how Monty Naicker became a Gandhian or influenced with Gandhian ideology

His considerations symbolised in proclamation communicated that South Africa was a nation equipped for financial independence without the whites, a solidarity transcending religion would make for a more grounded country, and that the best strategy for challenge was through passive resistance. Gandhi's confidence in the amplexness of aloof, passive resistance has been referred to simply like the "belief that non-violence alone will lead men to do right under all circumstances."

These contemplations were symbolized by Gandhi utilising gigantic pictures, a basic protector in the acknowledgment of promulgation, in his talks and developments. On 3 November 1930, there was the conversation given before the Dandi March which could have been one of Gandhi's last locations, in which the critical image of the walk itself shows the exclusively tranquil fight to connect with a free India.

The Khadi movement, some part of the greater swadeshi movement, used the huge image of the devouring of British material in order to control attitudes towards boycotting British product and rejecting Western culture and urging the landing to old, pre-provincial culture. Gandhi got a deal his supporters in turning their own one of a kind texture called Khadi; this duty to hand turning was a major segment to Gandhi's way of thinking and politics. Gandhi coordinated his discourse on the eve of the last fast. Utilising the fast as a type of significant symbolism, he legitimizes it as, "a fast which a votary of non-violence sometimes feels impelled to undertake by way of protest against some wrong done by society, and this he does when as a votary of Ahimsa has no other remedy left. Such an occasion has come my way." This fast was led as per his idea of a country's communities and religions joined together. Gandhi's fast was potentially to end when he was happy with the gathering of hearts of the considerable number of communities realised with no outside weight, yet from a blended feeling of obligation.

After his first experience, Gandhiji understood that he should stay on in South Africa and battle with his options run out. The legacy of Gandhiji and the pretension by him is subjected to present day assessment. Researchers like V.S.Naipul, Frene Ginwala and Maureen Swan have severely charged Gandhiji and his exercises and fitted it with class-awareness and structural differentiation in social orders. Conversely, researchers like E.S. Reddy and Fatima Meer gave extensive regard for Gandhiji in South Africa. In the assessment of E.S. Reddy, "some of the criticisms in scholarly studies results from preconceived notions based on ideologies, or looking back at 1970 and by hind side or not studying or that Gandhiji has said or written or done"(E.S. Reddy, 1991, p17-19).

However, Gandhiji was effective in bringing Indian issues before the Commission and passing of the Indians Relief Act in 1914. Appropriately Indian marriage practices and conventions proceeded and 3-pound tax got canceled. Gandhiji's accentuation on the status of Indians as British subjects turned into a short point in as much as that appeared to affirm their 'alien' origin and furthermore exposed them to undue impact of the British Indian Government. Also Gandhiji's conviction that if the Indians adopted themselves to western ways of life, their journey for quality will be much less demanding let the contemporary 'elitist' Indian leadership to seek after "a policy of accommodation and compromise". It was just when new leadership developed amid the war years that Gandhiji's other legacy that of resistance came to be emulated.



Whatever reactions might be, Gandhiji was the main representative of Indian grievances, despite the fact that he represented diverse groups on independent events and there were many groups and interests for whom he did not represent their issues.

Gandhiji was aware of the differentiation within the Indian community. So he picked issues that could unite rather than divide them. It could be analysed from two models, for example, the Franchise Issue which may have been the interest of the elite groups like vendors and traders however he made the contracted workers likewise a part of it. Around then, there was additionally the emerging elite from among the indentured Indians and their relatives. Further, the Asians Registration Issue, albeit worried about the trading community in the Transvaal, the emerging elite and even the supposed under-classes in the indentured and ex-indentured Indians were similarly worried about the issue. All through the South African battle, Gandhiji had unflinchingly set his face against including the African populace in the Indian Passive Resistance. He cited three imperative purposes behind the reason. First, in the Satyagraha, it was not the numbers that tally but rather the purity of the battle. He needed the Indian people group to figure out how to depend without anyone else inside quality. Secondly, the indigenous people were not at that stage sufficiently awakened or disciplined. To draw them into the battle would have amounted to exploiting them for selfish ends.

Thirdly, Gandhiji perceived the issues between the Blacks and the Indians. The Negroes were the sons of the soil and they were battling for a big stakes. They had been looted of their legacy, which they needed to recapture. The Indian people group, then again, had no political desire. All it needed was to be permitted to live in the nation of its appropriation which on account of a large number of them was also the place where there is origin with sense of pride, as free and equivalent residents. Mixing the big with the small would be reason for shortcoming to the huge and humiliation to the small. It would profit not one or the other.

He considered the rights of Coloured and the Africans, being indigenous, were to beat the enthusiasm of the Indians and even the Whites. Both being immigrants, Gandhiji had a very practical reason to abstain from giving any impression of actuating or inducing the Africans. It is apparent that one reason for the pressure in Southern Natal was because of the far reaching gossip that the Indians were approaching the blacks for help, or that the blacks would turn out in help of the Indians in any case. It was also revealed that the blacks were trusting that the Indians will give the word for a general uprising against the Whites. To maintain a strategic distance from this burden and misconceptions, Gandhiji asked Indians to

battle not alongside the Africans but rather all alone calls. By creating a feeling of solidarity, they could stay away from peril of extradition by the white regime and viciousness in the hands of indigenous people. Gandhiji was not against 'collaborating with the blacks'. In his own quality, Gandhiji carried himself into close touch with the indigenous populace and gave profound information/ knowledge about their strength and weakness and the issues they went up against. He comprehended and felt for them and bungled zero shot of rendering them whatever administration he was able to do. He served them amid the Zulu disobedience (1906), when he was in-charge of an ambulance corps. Gandhiji was against framing an anti-united anti- White Front. As he would see it, they could best help each other yet remaining without anyone else legs. Else they would be pooling together that is not quality but weakness. Gandhiji expected and worked for a genuine good bond among Indians and the Black Africans. His opposition to a unified political bond was contingent. Before shaping a united bond, they should coordinate one another. Nonetheless, the uniting bond was not planned against the White people group but rather against White oppression and White control. Further Gandhiji was not against White people in taking part the battle. He even asked truth and equity cherishing men from among the Whites to participate in the battle.

Gandhiji's Satyagraha was just a fractional accomplishment as it verified some civic rights for South African Indians. In spite of the fact that it flopped in expelling cultural differences, inequalities of wealth and status and uneven political development inhibited the development of wide non-racial front against the White power. Had Gandhiji not been there for the incredible battle and for the untold sufferings which numerous Indians welcomed upon their gave heads, the Indians could have been nagged out of South Africa. The triumph accomplished by Indians in South Africa pretty much filled in as a shield for Indian emigrants in different pieces of the British empire. He had the capacity to encourage a sort of solidarity among the Indians, which incorporate both indentured Indians and passenger Indians. In latter period of the battle, it sown the seeds for united stand inside Indians against apartheid and even had effect on black unity. It is clear that as ahead of schedule as 1909 a national convention of an expansive scope of African organisations held at Bloemfontein called for Black People's Unity. Again in 1912 at Bloemfontein, in a comparable get-together of African leaders, the South African Native Congress (SANNC) was established, which in 1923 was renamed the African National Congress. During the later period of freedom struggle, Gandhian means of non-violence was depended upon, although armed revolution continued side by side. It was in South Africa that Gandhiji initially developed his political

philosophy of Satyagraha, which he later effectively utilised in the battle for Indian independence. So it is fitting to say that Gandhiji was born in India but brought up in South Africa. It is fitting to say that Gandhiji was the first in South Africa to represent the Indian cause and raise voice against unfair practices and unjust laws which along these lines was communicated through Apartheid. Gandhiji began his life of struggle from South Africa and it fully blossomed in his Struggle against British rule in India and a fight for social justice.

Gandhi saw brutality pejoratively and also identified two forms of violence: Passive and Physical. As the world's leader in nonviolent theory and practice, Gandhi unequivocally expressed that non-violence contained a widespread applicability. In his letter to Daniel Oliver in Hammana Lebanon on the eleventh of 1937 Gandhi utilised these words: "I have no message to give except this that there is no deliverance for any people on this earth or for all the people of this earth except through truth and nonviolence in every walk of life without any exceptions" (Mahatma Gandhi, Judith M. Brown 2008, p20).

Gandhiji was not only said about Satyagraha or non-violent actually he applied every time in his action. For Satyagraha to be substantial, it must be tried. At the point when the principles are connected to explicit political and social activity, the devices of civil disobedience, noncooperation, peaceful strike, and helpful activity are esteemed. South Africa and India were 'laboratories where Gandhi tried his new method. Satyagraha was a very essential weapon for Gandhi to work in South Africa and India. Louis Fischer authenticates that: "Gandhi could never have achieved what he did in South Africa and India but for a weapon peculiarly his own. It was unprecedented indeed; it was so unique he could not find a name for it until he finally hit upon Satyagraha" ( L. FISCHER 1954, p35).

South Africa is the acclaimed origination of Gandhiji's Satyagraha. Here Satyagraha was utilised to battle for the civil rights of Indians in South Africa. In India, Gandhi connected Satyagraha in his socio-political milieu and organised/ completed a few demonstrations of civil disobedience culminating in the Salt March.

Another superb method for seeing Satyagraha in action is through the fasting of Mahatma Gandhi. Fasting was a vital part of his philosophy of truth and nonviolence. Mahatma Gandhi was an activist— a moral and spiritual activist. Furthermore, fasting was one of his procedures of activism, from multiple points of view he is generally amazing. Gandhi was very mindful that there they have to prepare people who could continue with his Satyagraha

campaigns. He prepared them in his "Satyagraha Ashrams". Monty was influenced with Gandhian non-violence and Satyagraha philosophy because of above reasons.

### **5.3 Yusuf Dadoo as a Left Progressive**

Dadoo had got influenced by Marxist theory from his University time in Britain, when he joined Independent Labour Party and influenced ongoing working class movement in Britain. He studied Marx, and Lenin and tried to understand the philosophy of communism. Dadoo agreed with the point of equal distribution of means of production. He was a keen observer of world disturbances and World communist movement. Dadoo joined the Communist party of South Africa (CPSA) in 1939. He agreed with the program of CPSA. CPSA stated,

“The Communist Party is a political party of the working class based on the principle of scientific socialism. Guided by the theory and experience of the international labour movement, the Communist Party of South Africa aims at the establishment of a socialist Republic based on the common ownership of the means of production and the role of the working class and providing equal rights and opportunities for all racial and national groups. In order to achieve this aim the Communist Party seeks to organise and unite all sections of the working class, intelligentsia, poor farmers and progressive elements of the middle class, in the common struggle against capitalism.”(Programme of the CPSA booklet)

Yusuf always attract with that Communist Party’s links and their friends were in overseas. Yusuf Dadoo was continuously attending classes and discussion which held by Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). Very interestingly Yusuf was also an admirer of Gandhi but he became a Communist. Reddy commented on Dadoo and he said about Yusuf, “it was strange that the mantle of Gandhi should fall on a Marxist. However that Gandhi fully supported Yusuf and was happy to guide and fellow his movement, brushing aside all criticism he was faced with regarding a communist influence.” (Shauna Mottiar, 2000, p54)

Gandhi was happy seeing his courage and willingness to sacrifice. In an interview with the United Nations Radio, Yusuf spoke of his relationship with Gandhi.

“I hold Gandhi ji in very high respect and affection. He, as a matter of fact, had a great deal in molding my thinking and subsequently my political activities. I believed in Gandhi ji to the extent that there must be resistance, there must be struggle for

justice and righteousness. But after Gandhi ji went back to India there arose another great revolutionary fighter, Pandit Nehru whose broad views on politics attracted young people at the time. I believed in the policy of Nehru who also did not believe completely, implicitly, in absolute non-violence.” (Reddy, ES, 1991)

Yusuf became a star inside Indian Community in view of his socio-political battle and of course his profession was also attractive. He had finished his medicinal degree from Britain that was also a reason behind his stardom. He had an appealing personality and was a good speaker. He was continually wearing formal attire, had a cigar and book always in his hand. In open his appearance was attractive and appealing to audience. He was described by Ahmed Kathrada as, “a fiery and charismatic public speaker”, but not the “intellectual conference speaker” (Mottiar. S, 2000, p54).

Yusuf addressed mainly in English; however he also knew Gujarati and Urdu. He had extended help base and his appeal was not just with men also among women. It was very strange women also contributed their role in political battle as by and large women were shielded and removed from politics and economics. Initially women turned out behind Gandhi and Kasturba for their rights in Natal yet it was not happening in Transvaal Indian women. However at this point they were going to behind Yusuf. No doubt it was revolution within the Indian community.

In 1940 he was constantly in headlines. He was against South African government’s decision to join the war on behalf of CPSA and the NEUF and he realised his involvement after the war of Europe in 1939. For the CPSA, “The war was an imperialist one, for raw materials, market, capitalist domination and the power to exploit colonial peoples in Africa and Asia.” (Mottiar. S, 2000, p56)

The CPSA's first priority was unite the people against the government who asserted that to defend democracy abroad but the same government implemented a racial segregation framework in South Africa. It was totally double defamed of South African Government. In June (South African Communist Party CPSA) central committee meeting was proliferated that battle against one fascism should start in South Africa. That battle was against system of poverty, racial segregation and social and cultural backwardness. Committee announced that it was duty of each worker to battle for equivalent and free South Africa.

“Africans, Coloureds and Indians would gladly join the army if they were given full rights of citizenship, but they would not be expected to fight as long as the army segregated them, limited them to manual labour, denied them the right to carry arms and paid them half or less than half the white soldiers pay.” (Simons, HJ, and Simons, RE, 1968, p528))

Yusuf was always against war because he knew that what would be result of war. Whole world was divided into two sections. One was imperialist force headed by America; second was socialist section headed by Soviet Union. But Dadoo also wanted to do anything for equal right or free South Africa to everyone. No doubt Yusuf was a big hero among Indian people group as well as Africans and coloured also. But due to change of policy or strategy about the war effort, people groups were irritated and obviously because of change of perspectives was totally harming particularly for Yusuf. As of now he had once before changed his views during Passive opposition campaign.

However, when in December 1941 Japan attacked Pearl Harbor then CPSA started to warn that people should not put their faith in the Japanese, wanting to be freed themselves by such an attack. Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) began campaign about this policy with the slogan of, "Defend South Africa.." Once again Yusuf started to tended to numerous gatherings however at this point his hardest errand was convincing the people and closest to him.

He was advocating the general population of the world come together under one umbrella and make a united front to stop the Nazis and fascist power. Furthermore he included that, “although the Japanese did not belong to the white race they were not waging their war to defend the non-European people, but rather in the interests of capitalism and for financial reasons” (Mottiar. S, 2000).

He gave new slogan, “Do not support this war where the rich get richer and the poor get killed” and other was also, “Non European peoples of south Africa, Forward to the defense of our homes and our country, forward to victory over fascism, forward to freedom.” (Guardian, March 12 19 All things considered Yusuf had leadership quality, people were liking him. His was famous not only in Johannesburg, but also was across the board. He was deeply attached with people’s concern and he tried to help and struggle for them. Peoples said about him,

"When Mota comes he will assist us with so thus." Wealthy merchants were regularly financially helping him for the movement.42)

Congress (TIC) and Natal Indian Congress's (NIC's) circumstance was going to change and turned out to be new good circumstance for nationalists. TIC's moderate's leadership had taken on eighteen members of the nationalist bloc its own working council after the pressure of High Commissioner of India and they agreed that nationalist bloc also spoke to the Indian Community. After death of SM Nana in 1944 conservatives inside TIC got weakened as they had dependably relied upon him. Nationalist bloc had made progress on the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) executive and its policies, like rigorous campaign against segregation and co-operation with other non-European organisation, started to grab hold. Yusuf Mohammad Dadoo formally became President of the TIC in 16 December 1945.

### **5.3.1 Yusuf got influenced by Communism**

Yusuf Dadoo was attracted to communism because communism/ it always promotes idea of humanity, equal distribution of means of production and equivalent sharing of riches among entire humankind. He got influenced with World Communist movement also.

The idea of communism has been developed by Karl Marx, Frederic Engels and Vladimir Lenin and later it is developed by numerous others. Communist idea promotes the ideology of humanity. The thought emerges from the deep study of Philosophy, history, society, economical system and of the world. The idea of communism is persuaded with the equivalent sharing of riches among entire humankind. It discusses about people of the world, not about a particular person or society. It is a thought promoting state ownership of means of production and common assets. The thought guarantees that everybody has fundamental suppers like food, shelter, clothes, medical care and schooling. For example, one soviet pioneer Nikita Khrushchev in 1955 said, "we must produce more grain; the more grain there is the more meat, lord and fruit there will be our tables will be better covered. Marxist theory helped us win power and consolidate it. Having done this we must help the people to eat well, dress well and live well. If other party years of communism, a person cannot have a glass of milk or a pair of shoes, he will not believe communism is a good thing, whatever you tell him" (Source: [bbc.co.uk](http://bbc.co.uk)).

The Marxism is the ideology behind the evolution of idea of communism. There are two philosophies on which Marxism has been evolved. There are dialectical Marxism and

Historical materialism. The prominent scholar Karl Marx studied the entire world through these philosophy. Marxism depends on the materialism from German theory, socialism from French revolution and political economy from classical economics. Marxism manages deals with economical relations of society and makes the determination that society is evolved through the efficient relations in the general public. By and large Capitalism and communism sounds opposite/ inverse to one another. It is also true valid in goals and normal for these two frameworks yet as per Marxism capitalism and imperialism are also inevitable stage of historical order of social development. The way of communism and socialism experience the capitalism and industrial revolution. So the rise of thought of communism at the brilliant time of imperialism is very obvious. Marx centred that the improvement of society is the historical backdrop of class struggle. During the time/ season of industrial revolution these two classes were capitalist class and proletariat class. As indicated by Marxism, exploiter and exploited were dependably in battle with one another. The immediate and backhanded battle prompted the further formative phase of society. In the historical backdrop of society it is seen that distinctive classes of society organised complex structure of society. Communist belief system dependent on Marxism is the endeavour to compose the struggle of exploited against exploiter.

First Communist International meeting was held in London in 1864. The decision was taken in the gathering that a movement needs to sort out/ stand up against imperialist and capitalist system. Communist need to build up a socialist system by eliminating the capitalist system and in course of doing as such, we need to deliver our manifesto before the world. Thus communist manifesto preceded the world. In the manifesto, perspective of communism was clear for a new society. Manifesto condemns feudalism and any kind of exploitation. The target of communism is to spare the means of production, natural resources and land from the fascist capitalist class of the world. Manifesto designed by Karl Marx and Freidrich Engels advocates a socialist republic in which there would be an equal ownership on means of production based on standard of equivalent rights for all. They wanted to organise a working class movement by mobilising and teaching them. Marx in manifesto gave the slogan "workers of the world unite". It influenced the working class movement throughout the world. It helped in organising working class past the limits of races, sects, gender, region, religion and state. It turned into the universal movement over the limit of state. The inaugural address conveyed in the first international was the ideological base of communist movement. The first international also discarded the revisionist approach of change and set up Marxism



as a dominant thought of class struggle in Europe. It diverted the kind of movement from a reformist way to deal with revolutionary goal.

Amid 1876 to 1889, Second Communist International had been organised. The second International came to end on due to opportunism. The internal clash of parties associated with second international amid First World War ended up more extensive. The anti-war commitment of parties affiliated to the second international had been ended. It had been diverted from the goal of communism so there was a need of New International. Lenin communicated in November 1914, "The second international is dead, overcome by opportunism. Down with opportunism and long live third international". The third international came into existence in 1917. It was the time of Russian Revolution. Under the leadership of Lenin 35 nations had been affiliated to the third international (The Comintern).

The International Socialist League was one of first parties to apply to association. Lenin drafted 'twenty one conditions' for giving association of third international to any parties. One of the condition was the alliance of more than one parties from any nation was prohibited. Therefore ISL brought all the socialist group of South Africa under an umbrella. They all were ready to the adoption of the 'Twenty-One Conditions' of the Third International. It drove the establishment of South African Communist Party and aided in the drafting of perspective of Communist Party. In the light of Communist Manifesto and 'Twenty-One Conditions', the Communist Manifesto of communist party of South Africa had been structured.

The entire world was in the hold of imperialism and colonialism in eighteenth century and in the first half of the nineteenth century capitalist system appeared. Because of capitalist system capitalist class and working class emerged. This is the economical system was dependent on exploitation of worker. Laborer and peasant turned into the proletariat class in the system. In every circle of life the proletariat class was exploited. They had lost everything except human labour. All the natural resources and means of production were appropriated by the capitalist class. The political, economical and social awareness of the world was in deep thought for the solution of this colonial capitalist system. In such time communist movement encompassed with Marxist ideology emerged.

Dadoo was influenced with Communism philosophy because of above reasons.

#### **5.4 A Comparative assessment**

Apartheid government suppressed both Indians and Africans equally. Indians and Africans were suffering same type of suppression under the apartheid policy. Yusoof Mohammad Dadoo and Dr G M Naicker had played an outstanding role against apartheid in South Africa. This role is a symbol of great affiliation between India and South Africa. India considered South African liberation movement as the 'liberation of humanity' from colonialism and racism. Yusuuf Dadoo and Monty Naicker were of the opinion that South Africa must be liberated. Indian people have played an prominent role for ushering in equality and democracy in South Africa against apartheid regime.

Monty and Dadoo had different ideologies but both leaders successfully led Passive resistance and many other movements together. Despite of having two different ideas of the movement Monty and Dadoo were very prominent figure in anti-apartheid movement within Indian community. No doubt both anti-apartheid activists played their outstanding role for a free and egalitarian South African society for everyone. Monty Naicker and Dadoo together made the course of South African politics and both got united on the sphere for the various sections of the suppressed people. These two men had much of similarities but there was also the much which made difference between them about their ideas. Dr Dadoo and Dr Naicker came in India with the intention of mobilising support for the South African liberation movement. They met Gandhi, Jinnah, Nehru and other Indian leaders in regards of their political purpose.

However, Monty Naicker was very much influenced with Gandhian method and he never stand with any kind of violence in any circumstances. Gandhiji beliefs in method of non-violence and he influenced with Bhagwat Gita and practiced his life according to Gita. Naicker's daughter admit that Monty Naicker also very much influenced with Bhagwat Gita like Gandhi ji.

Yusuf Dadoo influenced with world communist movement because Communist movements were committed to fight against Imperialism and Capitalism everywhere in the world. Due to internationalist viewpoint of communist ideology, it is worried about the enthusiasm of working class in the whole world naturally.

The despite of their differences in political ideas they got aligned for the same cause of struggle in against of Apartheid.

***Chapter 6***  
***Conclusion***

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

The migration of People of Indian Origin (PIO) to South Africa went through tumultuous stages as indentured labourers and traveller Indians. However, the energy of their journey got disseminated once they arrived in the nation. It was either isolation or repatriation or both for which a portion of the Indians repatriated to their very own territory. However for the individuals who remained in the host nation had to confront untold limitations put by the white regimes who considered Indians as their economic competitors.

Actually the ruling White regime declared and implemented various archaic legislations and laws against the migrant Indians. The primary significant step taken against the Indians incorporates the Draft Asiatic Ordinance in 1906, which required all Asiatic of the Transvaal to be necessarily enlisted by 31st July 1907 and to carry certificates bearing their fingerprints. Despite the fact that the Indians challenged the draconian ordinance, yet the dissent could not withstand before the government's unflinching stand and before the end of the year 1908, it turned into a low-key affair. In addition, various Commissions like Lange Commission and Solomon Commission were set up to investigate the alleged penetration and uncalled for practices of the Indian businessmen. Ordinarily it is discovered that the trade practices of the Indians were competitive albeit out of line in some separated cases. The governments of Natal, Transvaal and even the Union government were persuaded and finally gave into the strategy plan of the White trading network. As an outcome, Indians needed to hold up under untold hopelessness in the succeeding time frame.

In spite of the fact that there were differences of interest among the Indians especially between the merchant class and the colonial born Indians community, Indians when all is said in done were motivated by Gandhian philosophy to alleviate their grievances. As there was not unity among Indians and Black Africans, they were not joined to the mainstream of the battle; the battle against apartheid was ineffective it can be mentioned here that, in spite of the fact that Indians could not secure their claims yet they had the option to disseminate awareness over the idea of exploitation inside the community. In fact, on account of persevering effort of Gandhiji and Indians, the '3 Pound Tax' was abolished and Indians Relief Act was passed and Indian marriage question was tackled. In the second Passive Resistance large number of Indians incorporating Indian women took part in the Natal Indian Strike of 1913.

Gandhiji was the main advocate for presenting complaints of a few discrete groups on various events before the ruling regime. It very well may be contended that Gandhiji could not contribute substantially for the reasons for certain confined groups for example the indentured labour class, at the beginning period of his activism. Besides, Gandhiji was supportive of united independent Indian movement against the White regime deprived of the Black people group, with the goal that they can keep away from deportation by the White regime just as viciousness in the hold of indigenous Blacks. This is consistent with his philosophy, "mixing the big with the small". In spite of the fact that Gandhiji was not in favour of the formation of a united anti-White front comprising Indians and Blacks, yet he demanded and worked for fabricating an ethical bond between the Black and Indians. It is remarkable that Gandhiji could not foster a kind of solidarity among the Indians. In any case, Gandhiji laid the ground by producing awareness among all groups, which in the resulting time frame appeared as a united progressive struggle against apartheid.

In 1948 racial discrimination took the form of legal structure in the form of apartheid. The operational substance of Apartheid fall into racial partiality and segregation; isolation and partition; economic exploitation of characteristic and human resources; and legitimate, authoritative and police dread. So the Mixed Marriages Act, Immorality Act and Registration of Population Act were declared by the administration which were expected to keep social communication among European and non-European races at the most reduced dimension.

The later phase of the 1940s was deciding stage about the relations between Indians and Africans. Prior to 1947, Indians all things considered restricted joint program and activities with the trust that Indians are different from the Blacks on numerous grounds like culture and education. However, the 'Three Doctors Pact' of 1947 was the milestone of solidarity among Indians and Africans. The Defiance Against Unjust Laws, Defend Free Speech Campaign, development of Freedom Charter, challenge over trilateral governing body and United Democratic Front were significant territories of collaboration where the two Indians and Africans battled against apartheid. The unified battle additionally produced participation among Indians and Africans, welded an unbreakable and indivisible solidarity and singleness of direction and improvement of basic South African viewpoint.

Nonetheless, inside the African people group there were differences between African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC). The ANC totally dismissed any idea of racialism, white or black, though PAC, aggressor in its thought of African patriotism

for example Africa for Africans rejected exceptionalism of the ANC yet all these distinctions in long haul could not influence the purposeful exertion of the both Indian and African community. Indians followed Gandhian just as revolutionary activities for their freedom struggle. The Gandhian way was focused on Satyagraha, which included methods like boycott, demonstration, strike and civil disobedience in its extreme form. Platforms like trade unions, students unions and teachers unions associations were proclaimed as tranquil techniques for the new generation Indians. Like students, teachers and trade associations, Indian women pursued peaceful mechanisms. Women participation during 1950s particularly in Defiance Campaign of 1952 was noteworthy. Freedom fighters like Ms. Zainab Asva, Veeramah Pather, Khatija Mayat, K. Goonam, Z. Gool, Fatima Meer were either arrested or imprisoned and tortured or beaten up while challenging apartheid policies.

Further various political platform, for example, Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and Colonial Born Indian Association (CBIA) were shaped by the Indians to express their strength in the battle, yet there were differences between various gatherings of Indian Congress and Indian Organisations over the methods for challenge. While the Congress bunches focused on the requirement for opposing of Government's Colour policy and improving of co-support of the Non-White people group, the Organisations considered active resistance as impracticable and hurtful to the interests of the Indian people group, and on a similar balance contradicted collaboration with the African Congress. The Group Areas Act of 1950 was a proving ground among organisations and Congress groups.

The revolutionary participation of the Indians in the battle could also be seen in MK- 'Spear of the Nation' of the African National Congress (ANC) and 'Council' of Pan African Congress (PAC) where they either utilised weapons or remained behind the revolutionaries and their guerrilla exercises. Noticeable activists like Ahmad Kathrada, Indres Naidoo, Reggie Vandeyer and Sirish Nanabhai, Vijay Ramlakan, Jude Francis, Mac Maharaj and Derek Naidoo were incorporated into the revolutionary activities. The united battle of the Indians and Africans and their ensuing domestic stalemate and worldwide pressure constrained the White ruling class to surrender to the non-white demands and acknowledged ANC's idea of peaceful settlement to the contention in South Africa. In the time of apartheid, the education of the Indians was cornered by the white ruling class. The education was simply planned in favour of the whites. The motivation behind doing this was to keep different races like the Black, the Asian and the Coloured far from knowing the idea of exploitation and keeping the

dissent and battle against racial separation at a most reduced conceivable power. Indians had educational facilities however not like that of the Whites, yet they were in a superior position than the Blacks in conferring education to their children.

The apartheid state had extended isolated educational facilities and many approached secondary and tertiary education. The Indian populace in Natal for the most part turned out to be progressively familiar English speaker as their facility in the vernacular languages debilitated or moved toward becoming non-existent. They read English language daily newspapers. Their political awareness turned out to be increasingly educated and sophisticated, regardless of whether they were excluded from the system. Indeed, even amidst apartheid which produced evil effects, there was discussion about democracy and non-racialism among numerous groups of Indians. They were more Westernised and secular in their reasoning than ever before.

According to Shauna Mottiar, “The NIC and TIC had started to revive themselves even with analysis that there was no space for South Africa for the emergence of petty ethnic organisations, which could not serve a mass populace. Dadoo had known about the revival of the Indian Congresses had supported it asserting that, with respect to strategies and tactics separate organisations, for example, the NIC and TIC were important to prepare their own groups into action after which a democratic front for all could be focused. In fact the Indian Congresses in this manner launched a campaign opposing the Tri Cameral parliament in 1984 and a battle rejecting Municipal election in 1988” (Mottiar, Shauna, 2000, p208). The eagerness and intensity of the initiative in the midst of the 1940s when the patriot vanquished the moderates was in any case, never resuscitated. It passed on close by its originators, Dadoo being first among them. Dadoo's political vocation had emphatically been a significant one. In an interview in 1979 to the United Nations Radio he clarified what had pushed him to seek after a political career, “I came across the poverty, the misery, the malnutrition and the sickness of the black people every day.....and my blood boil. What could I do to help these people? Medicine is one thing, I could prescribe a few tables or a mixture but that did not go to the basis of the problem” (E. S. Reddy, 1991).

Finding a place in a political organisation from which to start his political career in any case, had not been simple. The ANC presently could not seem to advance to the point of launching a democratic campaign and it was impossible that they would open their membership to an Indian. The TIC refused any political activity other than securing as well as can be expected

the enthusiasm of its own elite class. “What is more, the CPSA, for the best part, pursued pattern of the European Communist Parties, while its leadership was white dominated”. Dadoo, contacted to Gandhi via cable in 1939, giving an account of his progress in regards to the mobilisation of the white supporters, had stated, "Besides one could not put much reliance on the word of a European these days anyhow." In the CPSA in any case, he had discovered his specialty and from inside the Indian Congress had stirred the political soul of the Indian, changing the essence of the Transvaal Indian Congress until the end of time. His consistent association with part from the ANC bears statement to his steady mantra that the blacks, Indians coloreds, and dynamic whites should unite in a reason for equality, fraternity and equal opportunity for all.

Further Suhana wrote “Dadoo’s struggle to find his political footing was also very much a struggle between generations. When he came back to South Africa from University, his youth, professionalism and fresh eagerness attracted the young Indian generation like a magnet. To the older, conservatives generations, however he was a threat. His advocacy of resistance techniques used by Gandhi, accounted for a fair amount of his support, even from some of the older members of the TIC, but he never purported to be a Gandhian, keeping the doors for more radical action open via his membership of the CPSA” (Suhana Mottiar, 2000, p209). A source of disappointment for him was the African National Congress's dread of getting the opportunity to be to immovably agreeing with "foreign influences" especially after it had been mixed with a fresh militancy from its very own Youth League. As much as the different administration had stamped understandings and issued joint dispatches with various associations, the African National Congress minded its own business with its participation carefully Black. It is fact that “Dadoo will always be remembered for politically mobilising the Indian people group. This he discovered was simpler to do when he found them as a homogeneous gathering, for example, amid the Passive Resistance Campaign. The utilisation of Gandhian strategies, which had been effective previously, could be represented this. His aspiration however, had been to assemble all the oppressed in South Africa under one umbrella”. This had proved more difficult as his prove by the more smaller number of Indians who had taken an interest in the Defiance Campaign. It is usually stated that “the Indians joined the Blacks in the battle yet while this is valid for a level of the Indians and Indians in leadership positions, it had been a significant errand to persuade the Indians that their political future lay with that of the Blacks”. Indeed, even while in exile, Dadoo had experienced doubt on this front. In an interview in 1968 he was asked, “The argument has



often been put to the Indian people in South Africa that as a minority group they would be no better off under African rule than they are under white rule. In the light of what has happened in Kenya, for instance, what is your answer to this argument?" His answer, "This is absolute nonsense— it is merely the tactics of divide and rule used by the authorities in order to maintain the divisions of the people..." (Reddy, ES, 1991)

Once in exile, deprived of his public platform and disengaged from his constituency, Dadoo accepted the role of communist revolutionary, his political career growing to promote the reason for the oppressed working class all through the world. He ended up worried about international affairs through his work on the World Peace Council. "He also became ever more convinced that the only way the oppressed classes the world over could find salvation was by following the way of the Soviet Union. His original struggle for equality for all in South Africa was replaced with the international struggle of capitalism versus socialism" (Shauna Mottiar, 2000, p210).

For that age which encountered a flood of Indian political movement during the 1940s, Yusuf Dadoo will dependably be a South African Gandhi, A man who lead a past apathetic people into action, overwhelmingly, imparting in them a monstrosity, a sentiment of pride and a soul of solidarity which set them up to accept their legitimate spot as residents of South Africa. For that age which is progressively explanatory, Yusuf Dadoo rises as an increasingly intricate persona. He was fundamentally a man of activity, yet was frequently baffled with his endeavors to rally the persecuted masses enthusiastically. He needed to continually expect roles; youthful expert innovator; protégé of Gandhi; contact among Indians and Africans; dedicated socialist progressive and decent National Chairman. "All good politicians however, he accepted these roles when the time was right for him to, and cast them away when they no longer served his cause. It was eleven years after his death that his life's goals were realized when, in 1994 after South Africa's first democratic election, a Government of National Unity was formed, in the light of the decline of world communism, one wonders what role of Yusuf Dadoo would have assumed then" (Shauna Mottiar, 2000, p211).

The influential contribution of South African Communist Party or Dadoo (SACP) was to give the ideological and political weapons in the national freedom movement. Without ideological weapon no genuine freedom of the persecuted people can be achieved. In spite of central theme of armed struggle, the party had not just given the arms. The party persistently made their commitment in politically mobilising oppressed peoples. The mobilisation of the

oppressed people of South Africa had been done by the party straightforwardly or through the political phase of ANC. The party has evolved itself with regards to theory of national democracy. Over the span of achieving the point of national freedom, the party had confidence in the idea of united front and deliberately went in alliance with the African National Congress (ANC).

Amid the time of exile, the party was stayed solid supporter of armed struggle. The party also convinced the ANC on the topic of armed struggle. At first the ANC was not in favour of the armed struggle but rather the time of exile, constrained the ANC to adopt armed struggle. The South African Communist Party (SACP) listed four pillars of their strategy. These four pillars of procedure were listed as: armed struggle, mass action, international support and underground activity. The armed struggle was the main theme. It was a directly taken from the Marxist-Leninist tradition which was set up in 1917 through Bolshevik revolution in Russia. It set the tradition of accomplishing power by force as opposed to different methods of battle.

The SACP trusted that a similar recipe of looking for power by force would prevail in South Africa. However, the methodology of armed struggle had been bombed as disappointment of Umkhonto we sizwe. The Umkhonto we sizwe failed to provoke oppressed people to over through the fascist regime of South Africa yet it kept up the spirit of resistance. During the time of exile the party played a dominant role in theorising the point of view of the ANC. The SACP transmitted its perspectives to the ANC on the subject of armed struggle. In 1969 after the Morogoro conference, the ANC accepted its own military strategy.

The communist party's red flag had been noticeable at the ANC meetings and rallies. Both the party shared the common leadership which was the part of tactics of United Front. The unbanning of both the parties on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1990 has changed the relations between the ANC and SACP. It was a direct result of the understanding and ideological substance of the SACP on the issue of socialist revolution and capitalist relations of production. At the time of exile, the party got the full help from the Soviet Union and other communist nations. The ANC had not such international support freely. So it was a fundamental condition to the ANC in holding with the SACP amid exile. So also the internal social condition of South Africa constrained the SACP to hold with the ANC.

Monty became president or leader of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) during the 1940s when there was a strong inclination that the policy of appeasement was indefensible and that it was the ideal opportunity for someone committed to mass action to make the steering. The choice of Monty brings up issues, given the powerful impact of the Communist Party (CP) and workers' organisations in mobilising workers and the nearness of strong and charming pioneers like H.A. and M.D. Naidoo. When talking activist from that period, it is certain that Monty's entrance to cultural capital, which originated from his Edinburgh experience and contact with Dadoo and Indian patriots, was one factor. However his medical degree and the status agreed to the new expert stratum in the community similarly as significant.

What also came through unequivocally was his perseverance in seeking after equity notwithstanding apparently powerful chances, his feeling of honesty and respectability and the calm manner by which he worked crosswise over political tendencies. In leading the NIC, Monty adopted the strategy of keeping things together, as long as this upheld the goals of the campaign. What is more, not normal for some who had preceded and after, Monty did not utilise his prominent in the community to aggregate wealth-for Monty, politics was not about personal power of self-interest.

The leader's editorial focuses Monty not being a 'political philosopher'. He was not a political philosopher if this implied he was under obligation to a lot of thoughts and acted them out in a stubborn way. Nor was he a political philosopher in the feeling of one who deeply studied abstract questions about government, property, equity, freedom and law. He did not write on the idea of these in any systematic way. However he verbalised again and again what constituted legitimate government, he was sure about the rights and freedoms that governments should give to their citizens and he also stated clearly that people had the right to challenge an illegitimate government. He saw the intensity of patriotism however was clear how it could turn in on itself. Monty's political convictions were clear, similar to his perspectives about politics, regardless of whether his writings may not be sorted as having a place with the specialised order of philosophy since he did not analyse political questions through the perspectives of metaphysics and epistemology.

Monty walked and talked with of the best political figures of the twentieth century like Gandhi, Luthuli and Mandela, to name only three. He met in person numerous other freedom fighters and intellectuals whom history knows somewhat less well yet who were no less impressive: Yusuf Dadoo, Walter Sisulu, Moses Kotane and Sarojini Naidoo. He challenged

the ogress of isolation and apartheid, whose names are, lamentably, similarly as permanent – Smuts, Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd and Vorster. He saw the structure of a movement whose initial focus was on Indians living in South Africa, into a movement that not just looked to manufacture a coalition with Africans yet requested full citizenship rights for all.

Monty was different to the progression of Indians into urban zones and the brutal living conditions amid the 1940s but he was in excess of a mere witness or basically the "medicine man". He floated into the rising cauldron of Indian politics that hollowed a younger, more confrontational circle of activist against the activist who had long held leadership and who tried to assuage the white ruling class in the hope for winning concessions and relieving increasingly forceful racial politics. Monty may have floated into that ring however once he was in the political battle, he never thought of abandoning it. It was a decision that fundamentally changed an incredible course and significantly affected Indian South African reactions to apartheid. He was pushed into the front lines and from 1945 led the NIC through the initiation of apartheid and into the Congress alliance.

In doing as such, he went beyond Gandhi, who shunned an alliance with Africans for reasons that are outstanding. Obviously Monty lived in another period. He was a several generations removed from India and did not mull over returning to the homeland but rather he had the political sharpness to gaze intently at existing leadership that still looked for an ethnic enclave and appeasement with the white ruling class and he had the bravery to look for a alliance with the ANC in the process putting his very own body on hold. This fundamental move in serving for a universal franchise in a non-racial South Africa was Monty's and his fellow warriors' significant commitment to the freedom movement. They broke new ground. The Defiance Campaign was way breaking when it is seen with regards to earlier separate racial resistances and the memory of 1949. Through Monty's stewardship a united front was made that saw him and Luthuli and Indian and African take resistant to the streets together However dubious the bonds.

Monty also bore witness to the encompassing Group Areas Act which, as it unfurled, corralled 'non-whites' into discrete ghettos. He was a personal victim and mounted an energetic and in some cases diverting barrier however that fight also uncovered how the state had dissolved his power base. He was banned from the workings of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and at last his challenge was constrained to a court case. While featuring the imbalances of the legislation, the courts were by then an incapable terrain in which to

accomplish change and the scene uncovered how much the impact of the NIC had been lessened. Monty the pioneer of a movement that had taken on the Ghetto Act and later the mainstays of the legal structure of apartheid; and in the process put thousands in the city had to battle for his own home as a person.

It was a reasonable that at least up to 1950s, the NIC's success as a secular, inclusive, political association relied upon the body's keeping up a loose alliance of cultural and religious associations for its help. Cultural and religion are significant contemplation in these six decades; and in spite of the degree to which secularisation jumped out at make a more inclusive kind of affiliation, they are both essential ingredients in the manner by which ethnicity was characterised and reclassified.

Monty's life philosophy was that the manner in which the battle was directed ought to mirror the kind of society that would develop after the abolishment of apartheid. He believed in non-racialism and experienced these thoughts in the relationships he maintained with a wide circle of friends. His scorching criticism of white power never digressed into tight prejudice. Monty utilised the terms 'white' and 'black' to mean political positions. His world recognised democrat from supremacist and he had liberal thoughts regarding political democracy based system and more radical ideas regarding the economy and upliftment of the disadvantaged. Concerning the latter, his thoughts were not as clearly expressed as with the previous: he did not well-spoken thoroughly considered economic models and mechanisms for the upliftment of the impeded, despite the fact that he realised it was a deficiency and taken a stab at studying economics.

It has been contended that the Congress Alliance's non-racialism of the 1950s was constrained and did not draw people into a single organisation that had the option to catch the imagination of in excess of a cadre of activists. While conceding that the non-racialism of the 1950s has been romanticised and over written, the study must be estimated against the territory where people like Monty were operating. People, all things considered, do not just leave a mark on the world; they composed under specific conditions. In Natal it was a period created with division and doubt that bolstered into racially charged quotidian practices. Mphahlele, for instance, writing in the late 1940s mirrors that he was left "with a nagging memory of the strong spirit of tribalism that prevailed in Natal. Natal had two tribalism: the English and the Zulu brands, with the Indian at the butt-end of both" (Ashwin Desai, Goolam Vahed, 2010).

Persons like Monty were acting against this historical grain. The impediments of the time, the places of battling impulses, some of which we have featured, must be estimated against the signposts of the time: the spearheading 1952 Defiance Campaign, the promise of Cape town and the imagery of the Treason Trail, signposts that were to illuminate and impact the battles to come. While any semblance of Monty were endeavouring to mobilise the powers of oppositions, the state was sorting out the geography of apartheid. One gets a feeling that in the South Africa of the 1950s nothing stopped.

Yusuf M. Dadoo was very close to Marxist philosophy from his University time especially when he joined the Independent Labour Party and he was a keen observer of World Communist Movement as well as he took a interest in the Soviet Union. However, officially he joined South African Communist Party in 1939.

But Monty Naicker had a different ideological background he was a passionate Gandhian. He followed Gandhian path or Gandhian method of struggle he had strong belief in Satyagraha and non-violence. Monty adopted Gandhi's principles during his activism. Trough the 1950s he stayed focused on non-violent resistance.

Despite of different ideological thought even though they came together for common cause and they played their significant role against Apartheid regime and for free South Africa.

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