Gandhi appeared on the arena of Indian Politics in L914, with a reputation established and a strategical line that was had succeeded in winning the Passivest Resistance struggle in South Africa against the £3 poll-tax, levied by the Union Gov't on every indentured Indian.

Here in this very land, he had gained the necessary experience, by being able into practice, which was to prepare him for the greater struggle ahead, a struggle in which he was to become the leader and finally the virtual dictator.

Gandhi arrived at the most opportune moment. Up to 1920, the Indian National Congresshad been a talking- shop. composed for the most part of the middle-class youth and educated petit bourgeosie who were debarred from positions in the Gov't and the Civil services. The country as a whole, was at a low ebb. The Indian bourgeosie, who had consolidated their position during the Great War, from the years 1914- 1918, when England was too busy bringing militarist Germany to her knees, and her capitalists too absorbed in the profits of munitions, and consequently had to neglect the manufacture of cotten goods, now felt strong and powerful enough to challenge British supremacy in India.

Constitutionalism, which had been practiced since the eighties, had reaped no results, whatsoever. The armed insurrection, The Sepoy Mutiny in 1858, which though reactionary in essence, it had millions of peasants and workers on the plantations under its banners, but it was in actual truth a revolt, led by feudal land-lords against the annexations of land by the British, had left very bitter recollections through out India because of the remarkable savagery with which it was suppressed.

The time was ripe for Gandhi, and took the leadership in both hands. Armed with this weapon, Newly forged in known South Africa, by dint of careful preparation from the years 1914-1918, he gathered round him a band of stalwarts, devoted to himself and equally devoted to Satyagraha. Satyagraha means civil—disobedience, passive-resistance, or non-co-operation and has its spiritual roots in Hindu mythology. The basis of Satyagraha is absolute chastity and unflinching truthfulness. Castity and truthfulness free the mind from the influence of oppression and evil and leads to spiritual freedom from within, resulting externally in deriance and disobedience. It rejects violence of any kind as 'Ahimsa' or universal is an integral part of Satyagraha.

Satyagraha is, as we have seen, not an original idea, (We have all read to its tions in the New Testament) but in its application, it must be regarded as a revolutionary tactic. Objectively, the aim of Satyagraha, is to se cripple and paralyse British Rule in India, that British British will be forced to give India her freedom.

From 1920, the Congress under Gandhi's leadership assumed a mass isax basis Its slogans, ideology, and propanda spread to every village and hamlet and roused the poor exploited peasants to activity. When it was declared illegal, its activities only increased and fired the masses kaxake with a desire to die for the cause of freedom against the foreign exploiter.

But the moral pressure of Satyagraha alone, proved insufficient to bring about freedom from the British, and Gandhi has gradually had to resort to more compelling and stronger means., that of economic forms of pressure. He there-upon launched a new campaign, 'Boycott of English Goods'., but this was translated, most fortunately to mean non-payment of rents and taxes, in the country, and the peasants spansax spontaneously took it vp.

But this very ecomic form of pressure, by which Gandhi sought to effect his aim, exposes the national leader. Behind the mystical trappings of Satyagraha Gandhi only ties to play the same role that Cromwell played in English history, but in an Eastern Setting with dhoti and goat complete. His series of betrayals to the Indian masses prove him to be the leader and agent of the Indian millowners. At every critical juncture, Gandhi has capitulated either to the demands of his own national bourgeosie or the British bourgeosie, and has been consistent in only one thing, that of betraying the workers and peasants on every single occasion.

To Gandhi indeed, must be given the credit of making the greatest 'howler at a time when the class struggle is superfeding any other struggle, when the clashes between labour and capital daily grow in intensity and violence., HE, Gandhi, talks and babbles of the capitalist as being the 'trustee' of his riches. HE, by the magic word, will be able to obtain from the capitalist, 75% of his profits, when the capitalist is the control of the capitalist.

But let us away from reasoning that bears no relation to realities, to facts that clearly indicate the ignominious and reactionary role that Gandhi has played throughout the time time when the leadership was in his hands.

In 1919, after the Amritsar Riots, when the Military fired upon an unarmed crowd of 12,000 holding, wounding a thousand, and virtually butchered 380, , which was followed by a textile strike, Gandhi actually co-operated with the 'Satanic Government' his own words, to restore law and order in tase the strikers infringed the sacred rights of private property.

In 1921, when the Congress was registering an upward swing, and was in stilling fear into the hearts of every Englishman, Gandhi footslogged to Simla to tell The Viceroy, Lord Reading, that he had nothing to fear from the Congress. In the same year when there was a series of strikes throughout India, he showed his class role, by refusing to advance, nay even discuss, the economic demands of the workers, on the platform of the Congress.

In 1922, when the growing militancy of the masses, made them reply to police attacks, and non- payment of rents and taxes spontaneously rose and spread in the villages, Gandhi called the working committee of the Congress in a terrible panic and revoked mass civil dis-obedience. Peasants were perentorily asked ordered to pay back the land revenues, and so make the Mahatma happy again.

This vacillatory policy of Gandhi, now raising the hopes of the masses now dampening their spirit and ardour by recriminations against violence on their part, resulted in a loss of faith in the policy of the Congress, and an ebb in the revolutionary, set in. The Congress now sank to a purely reformist body, advocating the attainment of dominion status within the Empire.

The years 1923-1928 marked the lowest point in the politics of the Congress, but at the same time, this was accompanied by an increased exploitation of the working-class on the ecomic field. The year 1929, saw the masses again in a revolutionary upsurgewhich led to another series of strikes. Gandhi once again came to the rescue of the mill-owners, by very subtly trying to side-track this upsurge in making a spectacular attack on the Salt Marshes.

In 1931, he concluded a pact with the Viceroy, to call off the Mass Civil-disobedience Movement, for the freedom pf 23,000 civil disobedience prisoners. The leaders of the famous Meerut (so-called Conspiracy) Case who were arrested in 1929

he ignored and betrayed. Here a word is necessary. The leaders of the Meerut Case were prominent members of the Girni Kamgar Union, incidentally a union with a fine record of militancy, who had kakadaka come to the support of the textile workers in a strike against wage- reductions and increased speedup. Because they had done what all trade officials do without impunity in other countries, they were accused of conspiracy against the king. After four years of imprisonment, they were brought to trial and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

In 1933, Gandhi attended the Round-Table Conference, in England, accompanied by not even a single Congres member, but a stream of Indian capitalists, his real masters.

Today, his original demand for freedom from the foreign oppressor, lies on the shelf of forgotten things. The reason is not far to seek. Gandhi and the Indian bourgeosie have arrived at some settlement with the British capitalists to exploit Indian labour to the hilt, and to split the shares of the profits.

The masses, who have so long and so patiently borne the blows of the lathis, bamboo sticks with metal knobs, without any alleviations of the intolerable burdens on them, to them Gandhi is dead. He has betrayed them too often. Without the arms and legs, as some- one called the masses of peasants and workers, the Congress is an obstacle to further progress. It is just so much lumber. It reeks of decay, because it tries to reconcilethe irreconcilable. The interests of the workers are fundamentally and basically antagonistic to that of the capitalists. The Congress, while it has laid the whole blame on the foreign exploiter, contradicts the daily experience of the workers and peasants, who suffer alike from the scourge of the foreign yoke as well as from the Tata's Petit's, and other Indian landowners. In the congress we have the congress of the tries are fundamentally and peasants, who suffer alike from the scourge of the foreign yoke as well as from

Today, the class issues are coming to the front, in spite of Gandhi, It is on this road alone that the path of freedom lies for the toiling peasants and fraedom workers.

In closing, the words of Ellen Wilkonson. a labour leader, comes most aptly, Gandhi is the best policeman England ever had in INDia.

To sum up: ther apt words of a Br. Cabour leader

Come to mind: " \ - - - - .

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WORKER'S PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1933-1935

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