The Indian Opinion was a weekly paper, publishing news of interest from the south African point of view. Journals that Gandhiji subsequently edited in India were views papers. His ideas, social, political or economic, as well as the plan of action to achieve those, were now in the process of crystallization. He wanted political emancipation first as that would help elevating "Mass consciousness." Masses, once awakened, can not rest till social and economic emancipation is achieved. Gandhiji plunged himself in all these activities side by side. For that purpose he wanted a proper vehicle to transmit his ideas. As he wrote, "newspaper, if, otherwise, well edited can become a most powerful vehicle for transmitting pure ideas in a concise manner." The transformation was already taking place; from newspaper it was going to be, as the new journal he edited showed, a views paper.

This fitted remarkably with the journalistic trend in India. Mrs. Annie Besant's, New India, Maulana Mohamed Ali's weekly, Maulana Abdul Kalam Asad's Al Hilal, Shri Balgan Gashar Tilak's Kesari, Shri Surendra Nath Banerjee's Bangabasi, all revolved round respective personalities. As M. Barns put it: "In India, from Raja Ram Mohan Roy to keshab Chandra Sen, Gokhale, Tilak, Feroze Shah Mehta, dadabhai Naoroji, Surendra Nath Banerjee, C.Y. Cintamani,
M.K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, there is a distinguished line of public men who have used and are using, the press as a medium for the discrimination of their ideas of moral values.\(^1\)

When Gandhiji arrived in India on January 9, 1913, Journalism did not establish itself as a profession, excepting in case of the anglo-Indian Press. Advertisement did not play that important parts as it plays to-day.

By and large papers had to depend on sales promotion and more important on monetary help from individuals.

Incidentally, in 1913, the Criminal Law Amendment Act was passed in India. The first World War started in 1914 and with its outbreak, the defence of India Regulation came into force. Both these acts were among aimed at silencing criticism of the Govt. and stopping any sort of political agitation.

The Press Association of India formed in 1915, submitted a memorandum in which it pointed out that by 1917, 22 newspapers were asked to furnish security.

The Navajivan first appeared on October 7, 1919. The Young India followed suit after a day. Gandhiji was editor
of both and Shri Mahadev Desai and Shri Shankerflal Banker were publisher and printer respectively. The journals were priced at one anna each.

Gandhiji soon made his personality felt through the column of the Young India and Navajivan. The impending change was visible from the very beginning. He turned these into his papers. They enabled me freely to ventilate my views and to put heart into the people" he said.

In the editorial, 'To the subscriber^ and the reader^ appearing in the first issue of the Young India under editor, Gandhiji enunciated the policy of the journal.

Reader, in this context, may recall that the objective, of the Indian Opinion, as declared in the paper, was a "desire to promote his money and good will between the different sections of the one might Empore", But by the time Gandhiji became associated with the Young India and Navajiban, his hope in British joustice in the course of the last sixteen years, were shattered. He was becoming more and more conscious of the true nature of the colonialism and was preparing the country to fight injustice with the 'Satyagraha' as he had practised it in South Africa.
He wrote: "A word as to the policy of Young India. Apart from its duty of drawing attention to injustice to individuals, it will devote its attention to constructive 'Satyagraha' as also sometimes cleansing 'Satyagraha' is a civil resistance where resistance become duty to remove a persistent and degrading injustice such as the Rowlatt Act."

"Young India, from this work enters upon a new stage. It became a bi-weekly when Mr. Horniman was deported and the Chronicle was strangled. Even since the Chronicle's rebirth, the syndicate and I have been considering the advisability reventing the weekly issue. The Conversion of the Navajiban into a weekly and its coming under my charge has hastened the decision. The burden of conducting a bi-weekly is too great a strain on me and weekly Young India will now serve almost as well as a bi-weekly. The annual subscription will not be Rs.4 instead of Rs.8 and the price of single copy will be one anna instead of two, without postage."

This reduction was a a time when printing materials, immediately after the War were difficult to procure at reasonable rate. Margarita Barns calculated that during the First World War and immediately after that, the cost of newsprint alone increased seven-fold.
Incidentally, a year earlier the Central Publicity Bureau of the Government of India, of which the Press Information Bureau is the successor today, was formed. All India Press Party, for the first time was also taken out to the form to get first-hand information of the War which was nearing its end.

The editor had something more to tell his readers.

"The editing of Navajivan has been a perfect revelation to me. Whilst Young India had little more than 1,200 subscribers, Navajivan has 1,200. The number would reach to 20,000 if it would but get printer to print and number.

It shows that a vernacular newspaper is a felt want. I am proud to think that I have numerous readers among formers and workers. They make India...The English Journals touch but the fringe of the ocean of Indian's population."

Gandhiji, was, he said editing the English Journal mainly for the benefit of his friends in the Madras Presidency. But he warned, "I will not be a party to editing a newspaper that does not pay its way. Young India cannot pay its way unless it has at least 2,500 paying subscribers."
"But Young India sold more copies than the combined totals of several newspapers in India. There was not only a new thought but new language in newspaper writing and what he wrote was finest in journalistic writing", wrote Mr. Ayyengar, the veteran journalist.

At one time the circulation reached the figure of 40,000. What was more, Gandhiji's articles were now freely reproduced in most papers in India. Moreover, the Young India and the Navajiban were made "free from the curse of advertisements." If his journal aimed at the service of the community and the country, the countrymen should see that the paper pays its way through.

The front page article in the same issue, under the title 'No Security', gives an insight into the condition of the Press during these days.

"Navajivan when it became a weekly, was subjected to a security of Rs. 500. Young India escaped security, became the printer was also the keeper of the press where it was published. The Press in Bombay was itself under security ....... where security makes no difference to a journalist, a waiver really enhances his sense of responsibility, so long, therefore, as the objectionable features of the Press Act continue to disfigure it, exemption from security,
whilst it is creditable for the Government, it can hardly be matter for congratulation for the controllers of any particular organ so exempted."

At times he was poetic, on July 21, 1920, he wrote about the spinning wheel: "Not on the clatten of arms depends the revival of her (India's) prosperity and true independence. It depends most largely upon re-introduction in every home of the music of the spinning wheel. It gives sweeter music and is more profitable than the execrable harmonium concertina and accordion".

Lokamanya Tilak passed away on August 1, 1920, obituary written by Gandhiji and obituaries written by him were unsurpassed in the Young India is worth repeating.

"....... A giant among men has fallen. The voice of the lions is hushed. His patriotism was a passion with him. He knew no religion but love of his country. His courage never failed him. His optimism was irrepressible ...... In the battle for freedom he gave no quarter and asked for none........"

"It is blasphemy to talk of such a man as dead. The permanent essence of him abides with us forever. Let
us erect for the only Lokam of India an imperishable monument by weaving into our lives his bravery, his simplicity, his wonderful industry and his love for his country".

The August issue of the Young India contained many articles which reflected his political thinking in unambiguous terms. Though in a whirlwind tour of the country, he always made it a point to write for the paper. He would explain his ideas of non-co-operations, accepted by the Calcutta Congress to his countrymen patiently and persuade them to accept his viewpoint.

As an editor of a different character, Gandhiji, whose duty was to weight the opposite point of view, would publish the arguments of his critics. In the December 18, 1920, issue of the Young India Gandhiji wrote: "....... The columns of Young India are open to all who have any grievance against non-co-operation." He was giving detailed instructions side by side to non-co-operation. He was also replying to some of the criticism published in other papers. Gandhiji, it may be mentioned, did not get the support of the Press from all over the country. The Independent of Allahabad and the Servant of Calcutta were supporting Gandhiji whole-heartedly. The Swarajya of Sri T. Prakasham was later published in 1922 for propagating his teaching of non-co-operation. But the Press in Maharashtra were
critical. So were the Bengali Press, particularly the Bengalee and the nayak. But the most formidable was Mrs. Besant, through the columns of the New India.

In her statement to the Press Laws Committee, more about which later, Mrs. Basant said:

"Mr. Gandhi is Young India is allowed every week to excite hatred and contempt against the Government in language compared with which criticisms of Government, that have ruined many papers, are harmless; he is even allowed to approach perilously high treason by saying that he would, in a sense, assist an Afgan invasion of India: Papers that one has never heard of, wielding little influence have their securities forfeited or heavily enhanced. An administration which with flagrant injustice allows the main offender and inspirer of hatred, who proclaims 'War against Government' speak of paralysing 'it or' pulling it down 'to get set free', while crushing shall offenders encouraged by his example, undermines in the community all respect for law and the authority of the Government. I rejoice that the Government is strong enough to treat Mr. Gandhi's vapourings with contempt instead of bestowing on him the martyrdom he courts. But I urge that a law not enforced against the influential should not be allowed to crush the weak."
The correspondence between the two great men of the age - Mahatma Gandhi and Poet Tagore is worthy reproducing in this context. According to the poet, non co-operation was a doctrine of separatism exclusiveness, narrowness and negation. According to Gandhiji, it was "a protest against unwritten and unwilling participation in evil". He would even go a step further and declare "non co-operation with evil is as much as duty as co-operation with good". In the Young India dated June 1, 1921, he wrote, "All India prostrated as the feet of Europe can give no hope to humanity. An India awakened and free has a message of peace and goodwill to a growing world".

He was careful in correcting newspaper report likely to create misunderstanding between him and the poet. In the February 9, 1922, issue of the Young India he mentions a Bombay chronicle news item regarding Gandhiji's alleged disrespectful remarks about 'Santiniketan' of poet Tagore. He was very much pained by that report and concluded: "I wish the unknown friend had never thought to reporting it. The Report does not convey the central truth of it.".

Young Manilal, looking after the Indian Opinion in Phoenix, south Africa, would get, from time to time journalistic advice, from Gandhiji. The editor has to be patient and seek for the truth only, he advised. Like the famous Joseph Pulitzer, he could say: "Accuracy is to a
newspaper what virtue is to a lady”. His earlier acquaintance with Mr. Saunddras of the Englishman taught him that: "we win justice quickest by rendering justice to the other party".

"You should write what is the truth in Indian Opinion; but do not be impolite and do not give way to anger. Be moderate in Your language. If you err, do not hesitate to confess it." Wrote the "veteran journalist father to the budding journalist-son.

But moderation in language is a relative term. There have been a exchange of intemperate language through not from the pen of Gandhi in the Young India - Shri Kumarappa narrated the following interesting incident:

"When I was in editorial charge of Young India, some over-zealous person, who was anxious to attain non-violence in a hurry, in his own fashion, in thought, word and deed, suggested that my language of criticism was severe and that Gandhiji though asked me to tone down. Gandhiji replied with a smile; "Kumarappa comes from Madras. You must allow for the chillies of his blood." 

The whole country was turned into a prison in 1921, Gandhiji, in the Young India would publish, week after
week names of those in prison, "His Majesty's hotel" as he called it. Gandhiji warned: "Starvation, or its alternative canine food; no covering, less any worth the name of protect against the severe winter miscrobe, infected. Liceladan, blood-stained tatters, the worn-off relics of common felons", were in store for the patriots courting jail.

The country was now moving towards a Civil Disobedience Movement. Earlier on October 6, 1921, the Young India published the manifesto on Freedom of Opinion. The signatories were led by Gandhiji and stated that "... it is the inherent right of every one to his opinion without restraint about the propriety of citizens offering their services to or remaining in the employ of the Government. In the same issue, under the 'Expression of Opinion' he wrote "When in any movement violence is religiously eschewed, it becomes a propaganda movement of the purest type. Any attempt to crush public opinion, and made the present repression has become."

He had to agitate on the subject as a number of papers were closed because of too many heavy security money being demanded by the Government. He was pained to see "The Independent is no longer a printed sheet. The Democrat is no more. And now the sword has descended upon the Pratap and Kes... The Bande Mataram, Lalaji's child, has waig^d off the blow, by depositing Rs.2000 as security."
He further said, "..... I believe that an editor who has anything worth saying and who commands a clientele cannot be easily hurried so long as his body is left free. He has delivered his finished message as soon as he is put under duress. The Lokamanya spoke more eloquently from the Mandalay fortress than through the columns of the printed kesari".

He was further suggesting "a heroic remedy meant for heroic times". He suggested the publication of hand-written news-sheets. He said, "Let us the machine and the type whilst we can give unfettered expression to our thought. But let us not feel helpless when they are taken away from us by a 'Paternal' Government watching and controlling every combination of types and other movements of the printing machine. To him the restoration of the free speech, free association and free press is almost the whole Swaraj."

Shri Pyarelal, Secretary of Mahatma Gandhi, narrated the following incident in this connection:

"On reaching Allahabad I found that a notice was served upon the Independent demanding security under the Press Act, and the paper had to close down. What was to be done next? We asked the instructions. Back come the reply to wire "Rum it as a Cyclostyle or even
as a hand-written sheet. "This was done. Mahadev was arrested a few days later. But the manuscript Independent continued with the significant motto "I change, but I cannot die."6

The British Government was unwilling to allow any more of this stuff in printing. On March 11, 1922, the editor of the Young India along with the printer was produced before the Court for writing seditious articles like 'Tampering with Loyalty'. The puzzle and its solution and shaking and Mane'.

The Press Laws Committee recommended the repeal of the 1908 and 1910 Acts the Amendement of the Registration of the Press and Book Act.

Gandhiji was sentenced to six years imprisonment, for two years the flow Gandhi's invigorating and inspiring articles in the Young India and the Navajivan, were missed. The Circulation also came down from 21,500 to 3,000.

How was Gandhi spending his time in prison? Thought a Civil disobeys outside, he was a model prisoner abiding punctitiously the prison rules. In his letter to Hakim Ajmal Khan, his close associates, on April 14, 1922, he gave a glimpse of his life in Yavvada prison.
"My cell is in itself, decent, clean and airy. The permission to sleep on the open air is a great blessing to me, as I am accustomed to sleeping in the open. I rise at four to pay .... At six I begin my studies ..... At seven in the evening when it is too dark to read, I finish my day's work. At eight, I betake myself to rest after the usual 'ashram prayer'. My studies include the 'Koran', the 'Ramayana of Tulsidas'; books about Christianity, exercises in urdu and much else. I spent six hours on these literary efforts ....".

In prison he read about 150 books on religion, literature, social and natural sciences. He read the whole of Mahabharata and the six systems of Hindu philosophy in Gujarati. He also read Bhuter's Mamusmriti, and Max Muller's Upanishads, as also Paul Ganes 'The Gospel of Buddha, Rlys David Lectures in Buddhism, Amir Ali's The Spirit of Islam and History of Sarrauns, Shibli's Life of the Prophet. Dr. Mohamed Ali's Koran, Dean Farrar's Secker. After God Monlton's Early Zorasterism, Henry James', The varieties of Religious Experience, Hopkin's Origin and Evolution of religions.

After his release in April 1924 he wrote a series of articles in the Young India giving details of his prior life. Friends advised him to take a few months rest as he was still convalescing from the recent appendicities
operation. But he felt that the "editorial job would be for him rather a kind of mental recreation than a task". It was his Channel of communication with his beloved people. He appealed from 'Juhu' rest house; "if all my times and energy were taken up seeking and entertaining you, it will not be possible for me to edit the weeklies in the way I desire."

In the first article after release in the Young India, dated April 3, 1924, under the Caption 'For the Readers past and present', he wrote "It is not without much hesitation that I resume the editorship of Young India. In taking up editorial control of Navajivan and Young India. I am following the light as far as I see it. There will be no new method or policy developed in the pages of Young India. I hope they will not be stable. Young India will be stale when Truth becomes stale."

He was not only devoting himself to the editor's job, but was also suggesting others to take up the honourable profession of journalism. On September 15, 1924, he wrote to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: "Why may you not take up remuneration work? After all you must live by the sweat of your brow even though you may be under father's roof. Will you be correspondent to some newspaper?" He was thinking on the same lines regarding his son, Shri Devadas, whom he earlier introduced to the editor of the Times of India.
As usual he was writing on all subjects not merely politics. Louis Fischer remarked: "Great editor that he was, Gandhi dedicated the entire May 29 issue of Young India to his 6,000 word articles on "Hindu-Moslim Tension. Its causes and cure".

The liberty of the Press was constantly in his mind. The Bombay Chronicle had to pay a fine for defamation suit. Under the Captain, 'Below and Belt', Gandhi, wrote in The Young India on August 7, 1924, "The press Law is gone only to be replaced by new activities under laws of sedition and liable ....... The editor of a daily newspaper when he begins writing his leading article does not weigh his words in Golden Seals. He may be betrayed into a hasty word. Must he pay for it even though he did not obviously in good faith without malice and in the public interest ? These libel actions are calculated to demoralize Indian Journalism and make public criticise over-cautious and timid. I am no lover of irresponsible or unjustifiably strong criticism. But the caution to be beneficial must come from within and not superimposed from without".

Lord Irwin succeeded Lord Reading as Viceroy on April 1, 1926, "But the fateful change", records M. Luis Fischer, "Was not mentioned in young India. "Gandhiji
was then busy writing on the question of the killing of dogs under the caption 'I love this humanity'.

His advice to his correspondents were human and touching. Here is an example quoted from an issue of the Young India of a late date. Under the headline 'An unnatural father' Gandhiji reproduced a letter of a young married man who went abroad. During his absence, a friend of his got intimate with his wife and as a result the wife conceived. His wife was now very repentant. The father suggested an abortion. Under the circumstances, the young man wanted advice from Gandhiji.

On October 28, 1926, he addressed a note 'To journalist friends, saying that requests are puring in asking for his articles for publications in other paper, Gandhiji had two alternatives. Either to edit the young India and the Navajivan or to write for other papers. He preferred the first course and so stopped writing for others. In a modest tone he added: "My field is very limited and even on the subjects I am familiar with I can not always be original. I have no false notices about the efficiency of my writings."

There are instances when he wrote for other. But that was very rare and on very special occasions one such was a signed articles by him written for the Forward, the paper of Shri C.R. Das, in Bengal, the article, an obituary, was published on June 30, 1926 under the caption 'Long
The Press in India were under great difficulties. A number of them had to close because of securities demanded. The Forward was one such. Under the Caption: 'A Brilliant Career'. Gandhiji wrote on May 9, 1929, about the closure of the paper which proved a thorn in the ride of Government. He concluded "Forward is dead. Long live Forward."

In the Young India of January 12, 1928, Gandhiji wrote: ".......... I long for freedom the English Yoke. I would pay may price for it. I would accept chaos in exchange for it. For the English peace is the peace of the grave. Anything would be better than this living death of a whole people. This satanic rule has well nigh ruined this fair land materially, morally and spiritually, .... My ambition is much higher than independence. Through the deliverance of India, I seek to deliver the so-called weaker races of earth from the crushing heels of western exploitation which England is the greatest partner.

The same year in 1928, the Young India was publishing Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's articles on Russia. It incidentally, reflected the new spirit that was growing on Russia. It incidentally, reflected the new spirit that was growing in the country under the leadership of Shri Nehru. In 1929 Gandhiji's name was proposed for the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress. He declined and suggested the
name of Shri Nehru. He wrote: "..... older men have had their innings. The battle of the future has to be fought by younger men and women. And it is but meet that they are led by one of themselves. Pandit Jawaharlal has everything to recommend him. He has for years discharged with singular ability and devotion the office of Secretary and grit he has captivated the imagination of the Youg of land. He has come in touch with labour and the peasantry. His close acquaintance with the European politics is a great asset in enabling him to assess ours."

When Shri Jawaharlal's name was accepted, Gandhiji said "In bravery he not to be surpassed, who can excel him in the love of the country? He is rash and impetuous, say some. This quality is an additional qualification at the present moment. And if he has the dash and the rashness of a warrior he has also the prudence of a Statesman. A lover of discipline, he has shown himself to be capable of rigidly submitted to it even where it has seemed irksome. He is undoubtedly an extremist thinking far ahead of his surroundings, but he is humble and practical enough not to force the pace of the breaking point. He is pure as crystal, he is truthful beyond suspicion. He is a Knight sanspeure sausveprode. The nation is safe in his hands".
Gandhiji has his problems with fellow journalists as well. On August 22, 1929 under the heading 'Reporters a Nuisance' he informs the readers how some reporters have circulated a story about his weight being reduced to 80 Lbs. and that he was so ill that he fainted. This was baseless. He commented: "Often has my anger against them got the better, for a moment of my non-violence". He suggested to the agencies that "they warn their reporters that they would be fined or dismissed for repeated offences of the Chapter I have described".

Independence as the ultimate goal for the country, was accepted by the Lahore Session of the All India Congress in 1929-30. A student of Indian Independence Movement will be interested to know that Senator Blaine moved a resolution in the U.S. Senate for recognition by the United States of the Indian Independence. It inter alia stated:

"Whereas the people of India are to-day spontaneously moving towards the adoption of self-government under the Constitutional form with popular approval, and seeking national independence, therefore, be it resolved that the Senate of the United States mindful of the struggle for independence, gave birth to our republic participates with the people with deep interest that they feel for the success of the people of India in their struggle for liberty and independence".
Gandhiji was preparing India for the Civil disobedience movement. But he was quite sure what form it should take. It soon occurred to him that breaking of Salt Tax might be the first item under disobedience movement. Salt is consumed by all. Gandhi wrote in the Young India February 1930: "There is no article like salt, outside water, by taxing which the State can reach even the starving millions, the sick, the maimed and utterly helpless. The tax constitute, therefore, the most inhuman poll tax the ingenuity of man can devise".

On January 9, in The Young India he wrote: "I would far rather he witness to chaos in India .... than that I should daily witness our gilded slavery". The tone of his writings was definitely changing. He started his famous 'Dandi March' on March 12, 1930, to make salt with his own hands from water nature had given in plenty. Even at that age of 61 and after fatiguing journeys, he would, at the end of the day, write for the Young India.

The Viceroy promulgated on Ordinance on April 27 reviving the press Act of 1910. On the Press Act Gandhiji made a statement which was published after his arrest, in the Young India of May 8, 1930.
"..... Act contains additional provision. Making the whole piece more deadly than before ..... it is a veiled form of Martial law ... The Press men if they are worthy representatives of public opinion, will not be frightened by the ordinance. Let us realise under the wise dictum of Thorean that it is difficult under the tyrannical rule for honest men to be wealth .... I would, therefore, urge pressmen and publishers to refuse to furnish securities and if they are called upon to do so, either to cease publication or to challenge the authorities to confiscate whatever they like .... They may confiscate type and ... machinery, they will confiscate pen and still less speech... There is hardly a man or woman breathing in India who with every breath does not breathe disaffection, sedition, disloyalty, and whatever other terms one may use to describe the mentality of the national which has set its mind on destroying the existing system of Government."

Government fell upon the Press with a heavy cudgel. By July 1930, 67 paper and 55 printing presses were shut down under the Press Ordinance. The Manager of the Navajivan Press was advised not to pay, if Government demanded, any deposit money. Soon the Press was forfeited and with it, the printing of the journals stopped. The Young India began to appear in cyclostyle form till the truce with the Government was signed.
In prison, Gandhiji has more or less the same programme as during the previous term. Every minute at his disposal was properly utilized.

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