CHAPTER-II
MEDIA IN GANDHIAN PERSPECTIVE

Media considered as fourth estate in hierarchy after Legislative, Executive and Judiciary, has been putting its marks on every aspect of human being's life irrespective of place, religion, caste and creed. Its aim is to unfold the mystery of society on each account without bothering whether such writings are legally or socially permissible in contemporary times or not. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, popularly and reverently known as Mahatma Gandhi, was the one and only immortal soul whose ideas continue to evoke interest in every human being’s mind and impactively thought even several decades after his death in 1948. Gandhi always set high standards for printing words and was of the view that it is the only platform where you can address the mass society in one go and educate them for their legal rights. The most potent weapon to revolutionize the society, Gandhi visualized its importance in early stage of his life, embraced it and made it a part and parcel of his plan of action. Journalism, which is a discipline of gathering, writing and reporting news and broadly includes the process of editing as also publishing the news articles, fascinating, entertaining and informing everyone; thus the man of the millennium, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, was no exception. The power of his communication was so forceful that whatever he said and wrote, made an everlasting mark on reader's mind and his approach to journalism was totally devoid of any self-interest. None of his contemporaries or afterwards ever used the media so forcefully to ponder over the general issues that concerned the society as he did. He knew the importance of communication and used it to shape the opinions and mobilizing the people.

In the coast of Kathiawad in western India, Mohandas Gandhi was born on October 2, 1869 to his parents, Karamchand Gandhi and Putlibai. He was skinny and dark, yet he was no ordinary child. He was born by divine design to fight and reduce a great empire and without taking to arms set his country free.
He was to be called the 'Mahatma' or the 'Great Soul'. Having led his people to freedom, he was to lay down his life for their sake. At the age of seven, he was sent to a primary school. He was shy, books were his sole companions. Mohandas was only 13 when he was told that he was soon to be married. His parents had already chosen his bride, Kasturba. After passing his high school examination, Mohandas was sent to England to study law and become a lawyer. On September 4, 1888, Mohandas left Mumbai for England. In London, young Gandhi found everything around him strange. His efforts to be an Englishman lasted only about three months; then he gave up the idea. He soon became a serious student, and concentrated very hard on his studies. On June 10, 1891, he was called to the bar. Gandhi was admitted as a lawyer and the next day he formally enrolled in the High Court. The following day, June 12, he sailed for India. Gandhi, after returning to India, set up his practice as a lawyer in Rajkot. Soon, however, he was disgusted with the greed and the pettiness that he found among the lawyers. Gandhi realised that it was difficult for the poor and the humble to get away from such things. It was then that an offer came to him to go to South Africa on behalf of Dada Abdullah & Co. The opportunity to see a new country and a new people excited Gandhi and he accepted the offer. In April 1893, he left Mumbai for South Africa. Gandhi approached the port of Natal towards the end of May 1893. The first thing he noticed was that the Indians there were treated with very little respect. Gandhi spent three years in South Africa meeting the Indians and talking about social injustices. He was now a well known figure; everyone recognized his frockcoat and turban. His practice was going very well and he knew that the people there wanted him with them. At this time, Gandhi was becoming more and more involved in public activities, and his way of life became simpler. It was in 1901, six years after Gandhi brought his family to Durban when he felt that his future activity lay not in South Africa but in India.

Since communication means reaching out to the other person or persons, the process can be verbal or non-verbal, intentional or unintentional, provided the goal is achieved and one man who can fit in this communication theory
exactly is none other than Mahatma Gandhi. Taking the centre stage after returning from South Africa, he led from front and put forward his own opinion. Gandhi always set high standards for printing words and was of the view that it is the only platform where you can address the mass society in one go and educate them for their legal rights. In his autobiography, he wrote, "The sole aim of journalism should be the service of nation and people. The newspapers are a great power, but just as unchained torrent of water submerges whole countryside and devastated crops, even so an uncontrolled pen serves to destroy. If the control is from without, it proves more poisonous than want of control. It can be profitable only when experienced from within".

Bhikhu Parekh has candidly summed up this aspect of Gandhi’s communication skills in the following words: After a long reflection and experimentation, he evolved a distinct mode of discourse that was also a form of praxis. Convinced that human actions derived their emotional energy from heart which could only be addressed and activated by a judiciously selected language of symbols and recognizing that Hindu culture was deeply symbolic, he evolved a powerful cluster of culturally evocative symbols including such things as the spinning wheel, the khadi, the cow and the Gandhi cap…… partly by conscious design and partly as spontaneous expressions of his own way of life - his dress, language, mode of speaking, food, bodily gestures, ways of sitting, walking and talking, humour and staff, became a symbol of a specific way of life. Each evoked deep cultural memories, spoke volumes and conveyed highly complex messages. Communication happens at many levels (even for one single action), in many different ways and for most beings, as well as certain machines. Several, if not all, fields of study dedicate a portion of attention to communication, so when speaking about communication, it is very important to be sure about what aspects of communication one is talking about.

Definitions of communication range widely, some recognizing that animals can communicate with each other as well as human beings, and some are narrower, only including human beings within the parameters of human symbolic interaction. “What is really needed to make democracy to function is not the knowledge of facts, but right education. And the true function of journalism is to educate the public mind, not to stock the public mind with wanted and unwanted impressions. A journalist has, therefore, to use his discretion as to what to report and when. As it is, journalists are not content to stick to the facts alone. Journalism has become the art of intelligent anticipation of events.”

The renowned personality of mass media and probably the greatest journalist of all time, Mahatma Gandhi reached out to millions of people across the world through his communication skills and journalistic approach and then put an everlasting impact on Indian National Movement and waged a battle single handedly against the mighty Britishers. He took to journalism as a medium to educate the common masses as well as to install patriotic feelings in their hearts for the cause of others. In his journalistic career, which spanned roughly four decades, he wrote articles on various topics, simple and clear, with passion and burning indignation. Gandhi was not a journalist in the popular sense of the term. His life and writing had a symbiotic relationship with each other. Gandhi wrote with a purpose. Writing for him, was not a writer’s pursuit for creativity for a role, it was a duty, bound to be performed. Neither was writing a proselytizing mission with him. Writing satisfied his need to share his ideas with others, a two-way dialogue, between him and his readers on a joint journey on the path leading to the truth.

Newspapers were not only informative and entertaining to Gandhi but also made him ambitious and he started thinking to write for them. The desire is

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5 Mehta, D.S., Mass Communication and Journalism in India (Bombay: Allied Publishers Private Limited), 1979, p. 11.
latent in human beings as everyone wants to see his name and article in print and it was that temptation which could not be resisted. His friendship with the members of London Vegetarian Society provided him a necessary launching pad to write for its organ, “The Vegetarian”, and those were his earliest writings on the record. A struggling barrister of Mumbai that he was at that time, he had to do something more tangible than indulging in non-remunerative journalism. South Africa not only shaped many of the ideas and traits of Gandhiji, but also made him an out-and-out journalist as well. If London Vegetarian Society afforded him a forum to write and speak, the political situation in South Africa chiseled him into a conscientious journalist. While fighting incessantly against all disabilities imposed on Indians, through representation, petition, memorandum etc, he did not, for a moment, minimize the great role of newspapers. He would scan through all local papers and reply suitably to any queries or distortion of facts. In a letter to the editor of The Times of India, he wrote, "Publicity is our best and perhaps the only weapon of defense". Gandhi considered journalism as a selfless service to the society. He advocated that journalism should never be prostituted for selfish ends for amassing money. As an operation in ideas, journalism should be as free as possible from the limitations of industrialism. Using print media for the dissemination of his ideas was part of a clear strategy with Gandhi. He was a prolific writer who left behind a vast body of articles and books.

Gandhi's first major essay in journalism was the 'Green Pamphlet', describing the conditions of Indians in South Africa. Gandhi wrote the piece while he had come home to Rajkot on a brief visit from South Africa (1901). The success of the pamphlet made Gandhi more confident of the efficacy and publicity value of print media. The Hindu, The Statesman, The Times of India and The Englishman vied with each other in publishing Gandhi. By that time, Gandhi had made name for himself in the arena of Journalism. By 1903, Gandhi had realized that occasional writing and open letters or articles in newspapers were inadequate to meet the great campaign strategy that he had in his mind. This realization led to Gandhi taking over the editorship of the Indian Opinion, a

6 The Times of India, Bombay, October 20, 1896.
weekly published from South Africa, which established Gandhi as a journalist. On one hand, the readers were given lessons in hygiene and sanitation and on the other, they were reminded of their rich culture and civilization. In short, the journal addressed itself to the whole gamut of Gandhi’s concerns that were communicated in the most straightforward and lucid manner. Care was taken to make the whole exercise of communication come to the level of the dialogue between the readers and the writer. Through judicious use of print media, Gandhi was able to highlight the plight of Indians in South Africa, publicize the discriminatory laws and actions they were subjected to, and finally, to organize Satyagraha to streamline the things. Another great quality of Gandhi, the editor, was his direct and forthright manner in conveying the things. Direct presentation was the beauty of all his writings. He had a clear thinking and knew well what he was going to say. He would put forth his ideas and arguments in crisp short sentences.

Gandhi attempted to realize his dream through effective use of his writings and was fairly hopeful of doing so. Gandhi used the print media actively during his stay in South Africa and highlighted the plight of Indians in his columns. He continued to follow the standards of journalism even in the later part of his life that he set for himself and his staff during the initial struggle in South Africa. Similarly, his ornamental style of writing and his restraint were emulated by the upcoming journalists of the contemporary times. About impact of his writing during that period, one can safely say that he was at least able to make the Indian community aware of their rights in the colony. Gandhi used very dignified language to put across his ideas, which were in the nature of educating the Indians and others. His attitude, as revealed from his writings, never had a tone of confrontation or challenge; rather Gandhi was developing a new technique and style of appealing to the fairness for which the British were known. Mahatma Gandhi’s life, attitude and political action were informed by the highest moral principles and compassion. Uniquely among public men, he sought to analyze and explain events and his own reaction in terms of these principles through his talks, statements, writings and interviews. The moral force that he brought to bear
on the political discourse was compelling and inspired large section to take up the cause of freedom.

Gandhi, in fact, brought in many new elements, which introduced fresh life in the field of journalism. "As a result of his wide interest, his genius for simplification, his eagerness to reach the largest number of people and startling nature of his activities, there was a quickening of life in journalism. Many of his followers were moved to write and publish in the Indian languages and in imitation of his own direct style, they wrote a simple prose. Regional journalism began to acquire an importance and there was hardly an area of the country which did not have its newspapers". Undoubtedly, Gandhi introduced a new and a noble element in the field of journalism. It was his approach - his human approach - which gave his writings a character. He never looked upon the reading public as target for propaganda. He belonged to the people by identifying himself with them and wrote about their feelings and aspirations. For Gandhi, neither subject was too big nor too small. Louis Fisher once said that Gandhi would attach equal importance to a letter written to President Roosevelt as much to an article on the subject of individual rights. Gandhi was very much laconic in speech. He seldom used a superfluous word. Each comma or colon conveyed something or the other. Moreover, his expression was much less than his profound thinking on the subject. He had suggestions to give on each item published in the journal.

Gandhi, as an edito, would correct himself publicly if he found that some untruth had crept in his writings. To cite an example, he compared the Jalianwala Bagh massacre to that of Glenco. A correspondent drew his attention saying that the latter was more horrible. In the next issue of the Young India, Gandhi corrected his statement. Newspapers or view papers is a social institution. Its success depends on how they produce materials in their columns. It is also judged by the readers whom they are going to address through their writings.

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Unfortunately, papers mostly cater to the lower taste of the readers, through sensation mongering rather than educating them for better citizenship. Sometimes, the monetary benefits pushed back the ethics in journalism and yellow journalism and page 3 stories occupied the main attention. To whom the journalist is loyal? To the proprietor, to one's own self or to the particular class he belongs to? As per Gandhiji, ‘readers’ were the most important. A journalist may be a patriot, a party member or a faithful employee but his loyalty ought to be primarily associated with his readers. Public has the right to know the truth. He must be informed objectively as to what is happening. His stories neither are hampered by partiality nor by loose connectivity. If the paper loses confidence of its readers, it has lost all that is worth in journalism. Gandhi interpreted that the writer alone is in a position to link up with the very sources of life on important event, be it political, social or economic and bring it strictly into human domain that is accessible to all.

Personally, Gandhiji did not like to write much in English, though he loved the language and developed a style of his own. He knew English could not be the rational language of India. But as long as the national language, Hindustani, was not developed, he had to choose a medium through which his message could be reached to the four corners of the country. As a nationalist, he wanted a common language for the country and though aware of the richness of the Gujarati literature, did not hesitate to support and foster the claim of Hindustani for this honour. He made all efforts to make the language acceptable all over India. On his writing skills, J. H. Holmes wrote, “Gandhiji’s literary achievement is more remarkable in view of the fact that he was never, in any sense of the phrase, a literary man. Unlike his great contemporary, Rabindra Nath Tagore and his accomplished successor Pandit Nehru, the Mahatma had no special grace of style. Seldom, in his writings, did he rise to heights of eloquence and beauty. Gandhiji interests were never aesthetic rather pragmatic. He had no desire or ambition, no time to be an artist. His own thought was of his own people and his struggle to make them free. So, he wrote with disciplined simplicity, seeking only to make himself clearly understood. The result was the
one most important quality of literary art, namely clarity. I doubt if, in all his works, Gandhi ever wrote a sentence, which failed to express with utter precision the thought he had in mind to convey. He wrote in a style that was perfect for his purpose of communication. To read his writings is to think of the contents and not of the style, which means a triumph in the adoption of means to ends.\(^8\)

His articulation is not only clear and simple but also meaningful, taken in the context of his leadership of the most gigantic nationalist struggle of the twentieth century. He wrote extensively in Young India and Harijan, the leading voice of the era presenting various contemporary issues and forces readers to give it a thought. Writing for ordinary folk, he usually employed various metaphors to realize Indians about their abilities and rich traditions. Gandhi was not merely a leader; he also became a part of the masses. His simple attire, use of colloquial language, reference to the popular allegory of Ramrajya had made him comprehensible to the common people. Gandhiji introduced a new lively tone in his correspondence. Unlike the formal artificial letters in an average newspaper office, his was couched in simple and direct language. It was fashioned to suit the needs of the occasion. When he was away from the scene of action, he would make sure, through letters etc. to keep in constant touch with them. Gandhi was very methodical in whatever subject he laid his hands on. He knew that mere good writing was not enough. He must see that the paper was published and dispatched in time and that proper account was maintained. He used to take the best out of his associates in running the paper. In his first meeting with Gandhi, Lord Reading, the then Viceroy, expressed surprise at his growing popularity among the Indians by saying, “There is nothing striking about his appearance. He came to visit me in a dhoti and cap, woven on a spinning wheel, with bare feet and legs and my first impression on seeing him ushered into my room was that there was nothing to arrest attention in his appearance and that I should have passed him by in the street without a second look at him. When he talks, the

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impression is different”.

When Gandhiji arrived in India on January 9, 1915, journalism did not establish itself as a profession, excepting in case of Anglo-Indian press. Advertisement did not play that important role as it plays today. By and large, people had to depend on sales promotion and more importantly on monetary help from individuals. Moreover, advertisement was meant for the capture of a section of the society whereas in modern times, it's catering to influence all strata of life. Gandhiji’s objection to advertisement was more on moral and ethical grounds. It becomes difficult to draw a line between what is bad and beneficial advertisement. Once a newspaper agreed to take advertisement, there was no limit to that. In their quest for money, they published indecent and harmful advertisement. This was, according to him, not the objective of journalism. Rather than serving the community, such action would run to the detriment of its interest. Gandhi, commenting on Hind Swaraj in 1921, elaborated the purpose behind the book. He says, "It was written in answer to the Indian school of violence and its prototype in South Africa. I came in contact with every known Indian anarchist in London. Their bravery impressed me, but I feel that their zeal was misguided. I felt that violence was no remedy for India's ills and that her civilization required the use of a different and higher weapon for self-protection. The Satyagraha of South Africa was still an infant hardly two years old. But it had developed sufficiently to permit me to write of it with some degree of confidence. Hind Swaraj teaches the gospel of love in the place of that of hate. It replaces violence with self-sacrifice. It puts soul force against brute force".

Gandhiji was great advocate for the freedom of press. In the Young India of January 12, 1922, he wrote on the liberty of press, "Liberty of speech means that it is not gagged even when the speech hurts, liberty of the press can be said

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9 Oriental and India Office Collections, London, Mss Eur F 238/3, Reading papers, Reading, the Viceroy to Montague, the Secretary of State, 19 May 192.
to be truly respected only when the press can comment in the severest terms upon an even misrepresented matters, broken against misrepresentation or violence being secured not by and administrative gagging order, not by closing down the press but punishing the real offender, leaving the press itself unrestricted. Freedom of association is truly respected when assemblies of people can discuss even revolutionary projects, the state relying upon the force of public opinion and the civil policy, not the savage military at its disposal, to crush any actual outbreak of revolution that is designed to confound public opinion and the state representing it".\textsuperscript{11} Gandhi further put forward his views on nation, nationalism and national identity in Harijan. He rarely used the term nation except when forced to do so under circumstances in which Jinnah defended the 'Two Nation Theory'. In opposition to Jinnah, he argued that the language of nationalism was both incompatible with the Indian situation and inherently absurd. India was not a nation but a civilization, which had benefitted from the contribution of different races and religions over the centuries. Challenging the basis of two-nation theory, Gandhi, therefore, asked, "Is India composed of two nations? Are not Christians a third, Parsis a fourth and so on? How are the Muslims of Punjab different from the Hindus and Sikhs? Are they not all Punjabis drinking the same water, breathing the same air and deriving the sustenance from the same soul"?\textsuperscript{12}

Although Gandhi's responses in Harijan were issue based, they largely followed the theoretical conceptualizations that he articulated in the Hind Swaraj, one of the most important treatises that he wrote to clarify his views to readers. While writing in Hind Swaraj, Gandhi was influenced by leading western thinkers of the contemporary times. As he himself admitted, "Whilst the views expressed in Hind Swaraj are held by me, I have but endeavored humbly to follow Tolstoy, Ruskin, Thoreau, Emerson and other writers besides the masters of the Indian philosophy".\textsuperscript{13} The Mahatma was perhaps the first to have realized

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{11} Sitaramayya, B. Pattabhi, The History of Indian National Congress (Bombay: Padma Publications), 1946, Vol. 1, p. 18.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} Harijan, 28-10-1939, p. 283.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Parel, Anthony, Hind Swaraj and Other Writings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1997, p. 6.
\end{itemize}
the political inadequacies of the urban-centric national movement in a diverse society like India. In addition to article written by Gandhi, a regular section in Harijan was the 'Question Box', where Gandhi responded to questions on various issues of contemporary relevance. Questions generally structured around what the Mahatma had written in the weekly and elsewhere. Since the question box ensured a dialogue with those seeking to grapple with his views, Gandhi was always favourably disposed towards the section. Harijan was important in another aspect, as the forum where Gandhi generally dealt with the criticism of his published views. Gandhi differentiated between news and journalists' impression of coming events. He would not like interpretative news, which to him, was journalistic kite flying. He would advise journalists to print authentic news with no fear of contradiction. He would ask them to withhold news as long as it could not be verified. The readers in the west were not only getting the news but speculative news with particular slant or with different interpretations, so as to create a public opinion that the paper desired.

The tendency of the journalists to pick up the bits from here and there and dish them up for the purpose of creating sensation was, according to him, back door journalism. Such type of journalism misled the public and harmed the genuine cause. Calling them bad examples of foreign journalists, he requested his Indian counterparts to desist from such cheap performance. The main aim of the journalist would be to strengthen the society along with unbiased reporting. During the Quit India movement, he appealed to princes, to Government servants, to soldiers and to students with the request to help the struggle. But Hiren Mukherjee, Deputy leader of the Communist Party in the parliament criticized him at that time saying, "No particular role was allotted to the workers and peasants and though they formed the overwhelming majority of the people, they were expected simply to line up in the manner directed by their superiors. The priorities given to journalists in Gandhi's order of appeal were perhaps not entirely accidental. The Mahatma, with all his great courage and occasional sublimity, had throughout his life, had a shrewd eye to publicity whatever he
Gandhi had of late, been greatly distressed at the general fall in the standard of the press. He hated speculation. This was sometimes mischievous and often misleading. He hated fabrication on facts and news. He did not believe in so called journalistic ‘scoop’. As one who believed in the service to the community, he would advise against publication of doubtful news. Due to the charismatic personality and his journalistic qualities, the journalists of contemporary times began to imitate him. They went to the field and collected stories about the common man - his thought and feeling, his desire and ambition. Whether it was a political, economic or social article, it invariably moves around the masses. The modern media is still taking a leaf out of the books of Mahatma Gandhi regarding moral and ethics in journalism but due to the cutthroat competition in this field, few are the buyers of Gandhi’s journalism. Media, in contemporary times, has become so powerful that it can mould the society and change the viewpoint of common masses towards any general issues that come across its way. Thus he was a man of thought and action, a rare combination. As a man of thought, he was highly critical of the madness of modernity and articulated an alternative vision, the best insights of both, the pre-modern and modern worldviews while avoiding the naive individualism and moral vacuum of the currently fashionable post modernism. As a man of action, he led from the front the nationalist struggle of freedom on the basis of what he thought was morally acceptable. Without compromising his integrity, he also demonstrated how to build a strong political platform drawing upon the moral strength of Satyagrahis.

Gandhi’s Journey to Journalism

To explore the journalist hidden in Gandhi is no easy exercise, for he was versatile, meticulous and authentic in his writings as in his speeches and actions. No wonder he produced about two million English words alone, the estimate for

15 Parekh, Bhiku, Gandhi, op. cit., p. 42.
Hindi and Gujarati being not known. Starting in South Africa as a free-lance Journalist, Gandhi went on to become one of the finest journalists, producing some of the best journals in the history of Indian journalism. Indian Opinion, Young India, Harijan and Navajivan were the important journals that were edited by Gandhi. Additionally, he was associated with lots of other publications during the peak of India's freedom struggle.

Gandhi's sojourn with journalism began first with the Indian Opinion which was launched in South Africa, with a view to ventilate the grievances of Indians and mobilize public opinion in their favour. For this, Gandhi started writing in and giving interviews to newspapers. He maintained a list of friendly papers, which gave him wholehearted support. He focused on open letters and letters to the editor, but soon perceived that occasional writings and the hospitality of newspapers were not adequate for the political campaign he had launched. Gandhi had all the qualities of a good Journalist. Gandhi made known the ideals he had set before himself as a journalist in his autobiography. The genesis of Gandhi's reliance on mass media and his usage of newspapers, Journals to generate public opinion and initiate political mobilization can be traced back to his struggle in South Africa. The Indian labourers who had gone to South Africa and the merchants who followed them were denied the right to vote. They had to register and pay toll tax. They could not reside barring in prescribed locations which were dirty and congested. Gandhi soon became the leader of the struggle against these conditions and during 1893-94, was engaged in a heroic though unequal struggle against the racist authorities of South Africa. It was during this long struggle, lasting about two decades, that Gandhi developed the technique of Satyagraha based on truth and non-violence. As early as 1896, the roots of the Satyagraha took shape in Gandhi's mind. In the 'Green Pamphlet' he pointed out that his method in South Africa was to conquer "hatred by love." In 1899, Gandhi held out the hope: "victory must be ours, for our case has been

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universally regarded as just, our methods moderate and without reproach".17 And to achieve this victory, Gandhi resorted to Satyagraha. When the Satyagraha struggle started, Gandhi became involved in the publication of the weekly journal, Indian Opinion, published in English and Gujarati. It made a significant contribution in educating Indians and instilling in them the courage to resist injustice. Satyagraha in South Africa would perhaps have been impossible without it. According to Gandhi, through the "medium of this paper, we could very well disseminate the news of the week among the community. The English section kept those Indians informed about the movement who did not know Gujarati and for Englishmen in India, England and South Africa, Indian Opinion served the objective of a weekly newsletter". Gandhi considered Indian Opinion as an effective instrument for mass mobilization against the mighty Britishers.

Gandhi also regularly wrote for the local white press to clarify the Indian stand and expose the partisan and anti-Indian policies of the South African Government. In a letter published in Rand Daily Main on 6th August, 1910, Gandhi wrote: "Will you permit me to correct some statements made in your leading article on Lord Ampthills' action in the House of Lords on the passive resistance struggle. May I remind you that passive resistance started in 1907 when the question of priests, doctors and lawyers had not come up for public discussion, and when it did arise, it simply arose with a view to forcibly illustrate the injustice that had been done by the Government in not conceding the demands of the community. Passive resisters who are not criminals in the ordinary sense of the term have been sent to a penal settlement, like Diepkloof, where the ordinary privileges of prisoners are withheld."18 In his opinion, this was undoubtedly a glaring example of mistreatment. This reflects Gandhi's concern for highlighting issues through the press. In fact, the files of Indian Opinion reflect the steady growth of the Gandhian spirit. The early issues carried petitions and prayers. There was appeal to reason and expostulation. The significant bulk of editorials of Indian Opinion contained a mild protest against racial segregation. For, at this

17 Ibid., p. 153.
18 Gandhi's letter published in Rand Daily Main on 6th August, 1910
stage, Gandhi had firm faith in the British Constitution. However, with the passage of time, the harshness of the Empire, Gandhi had to change his stand. “Is this monstrous; injustice to be really done, he asked, in regard to the anti-Indian regulations which were steadily growing in number? Even at the eleventh hour, we cannot abandon expectation that the better nature, the truer self, of our white brokers will yet assert itself.” He kept on repeating this expectation in several editorials until at last exasperated, he said, "Perhaps in the Transvaal, people are living in the Middle Ages. He had already alerted every Indian in South Africa to be ready for self-sacrifice for the sake of the whole community whose fate was hanging in the balance. He appealed; Individual differences must be sunk in the face of common danger. The slightest deviation would bring us down the precipice. because of the opposition established against us is overwhelming.

After moving its office and printing press to Phoenix, Indian Opinion continuously carried a vivid portrayal of the sufferings of the Indian community in South Africa. It made effort to educate public opinion and to gather with indicated line of duty that every Indian must follow in order to win his elementary human rights. Close communion linked the editorial office with the readers of the journal. The correspondence columns were a good training ground for Gandhi himself. It was as though the whole community of the Indians thought audibly with him through the piles of letters the mails brought. Indian Opinion hardly ever had more than 1,100 subscribers but each copy had a group of eager readers and passed from hand to hand. In fact, Gandhi adopted this style in all his future journalistic efforts.

Gandhi came back to India in 1915 at the age of 46. He was keen to serve his country and his people. He first decided to study Indian conditions before deciding the field of his work. He found the ground ready for action in 1919 that was a watershed year in Indian history. Discontentment was brewing all over the country for several reasons. The Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and martial law in Punjab had belied all the generous wartime promises of the British. The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms that were announced towards the end of 1919, with their ill-considered scheme of diarchy, satisfied few. The Indian
Muslims too were angry when they discovered that their loyalty had been purchased during the war by assurances of generous treatment of Turkey after the war, a promise which the British statesman had no intention of fulfilling. Gandhi was in close touch with the Khilafat leaders for some time. He was sympathetic to the Khilafat cause as he felt that the British had committed a breach of faith by making promises which it had no intention of keeping. In February 1920, Gandhiji suggested to the Khilafat Committee to adopt a programme of non-violent non-cooperation to protest the government's behaviour. On June 9, 1920, the Khilafat Committee at Allahabad unanimously accepted the suggestion of non-cooperation and asked Gandhiji to lead the movement. Prior to this, in May 1920, the All India Congress Committee, in a meeting, decided to convene a special session in September to enable the Congress to decide on its course of action.

Use of Print Media

Non-cooperation Movement

The beginning of the civil defence movement against the Rowlatt Bill was made at a meeting held at the Sabarmati Ashram where, on 24.2.1919, a pledge drafted by Gandhi was signed by those present at the meeting. The pledge read as follows: “Being conscientiously of the opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law Bill No. 1 of 1919 and the Criminal Law Bill No. II of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a Committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person and property.”

Meanwhile, the non-cooperation movement was launched formally on

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August 1, 1920, after the expiry of the notice that Gandhiji had sent to the Viceroy in his letter of 22 June in which he had asserted the right recognized "from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to help a ruler who misrules". The Congress accepted non-cooperation as its own programme of action in its special session of September. The Non-Cooperation programme proposed by Gandhi comprised surrendering of titles and honours, refusal to attend government functions, boycott of government-affiliated schools and colleges, gradual boycott of courts, refusal of military to serve in Mesopotamia, a complete boycott of the reformed council and boycott of foreign goods, besides others. Gandhi promised that if the programme was fully implemented, Swaraj would be ushered in within a year. The Nagpur session of the Congress in December 1920, where the non-cooperation resolution was passed, thus committed the Congress to a programme of extra-constitutional mass action. Several revolutionary terrorist groups also pledged support to the movement. In order for the Congress to fulfill its new commitment, significant changes were introduced in its creed and its organizational structure. The goal of the Congress was changed from the attainment of self-government by constitutional and legal means to the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means. The new Constitution of the Congress, the handiwork of Gandhiji, introduced other great changes among them, the working committee was reconstituted with 15 members; Provincial Congress Committees were to be organized on a linguistic basis; membership was reduced to four annas per year.

Gandhi’s response to Non-cooperation was, “rejection is as much an ideal as the acceptance of a thing. It is necessary to reject untruth to accept truth..... we have lost the power of saying no.... this deliberate refusal to co-operate is like a weeding process that a cultivator has to resort before he sows. Non-cooperation is the nation’s notice that is no longer satisfied to be in tutelage.... An India prostrate at the feet of Europe can give no hope to humanity. An India awakened and free has a message of peace and goodwill to a groaning world. Non-cooperation is designed to supply her with a platform from which she will preach...
The adoption of the Non-Cooperation Movement by the Congress, which was started earlier by the Khilafat Conference, provided it a new energy and from January 1921, it began to register considerable success all over the country. After having conceived the programme of non-cooperation, Gandhi took a whirlwind tour of the country to popularize his ideas of non-cooperation. He addressed hundreds of meetings and met a large number of political workers. Along with this, he strategically utilized the press to add impetus to the movement. He had also taken over the editorship of the journals, Young India and Navajivan by then. Introducing the two journals to his readers, Gandhi wrote: "With much striving, I have formulated some principles for my life and put them into practice, it is my sincere aspiration to place these principles before India and share my happiness with her; a newspaper is one means to that end. The agitation against the Rowlatt Act was an object lesson in Satyagraha. Hence Navajivan will keep it alive before the public". In these journals, Gandhi freely ventilated his views and also used them to educate the public on Satyagraha. Gandhi used these journals to inform the masses on various aspects during the non-cooperation movement. For instance, in an article, 'The Doctrine of the Sword' in the Young India, Gandhi wrote: "Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is law of the brute. I have, therefore, returned to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For Satyagraha and its offshoots, non-cooperation and civil resistance are nothing but new names for the law of suffering".

A large number of lawyers and judges believed that if they non-cooperated, the plight of common man would be worse off with no one to defend his rights. Gandhi answered all these criticisms through the columns of Young India and Navajivan. He generated public discussion on all these issues and presented the arguments put forward by both the parties so that the public could come to an independent judgement and freely follow the dictates of conscience.

20 Young India, 1-6-21, p. 172.
21 CWMG, Vol. XX, pp. 161-64.
22 Young India, 21.7.1920, p. 203.
Some selections from Gandhi’s arguments in defence of his unconventional ideas as excerpted from his journals are given below: “when..... Government does not represent the will of the people, when it supports dishonesty or terrorism, the judges and executive officials by retaining office become instruments of dishonesty and terrorism .... I would submit to our distinguished countrymen who occupy high offices that their giving up their offices will bring the struggle to a speedy end and would probably obviate the danger attendant upon the masses being called upon to signify their disapproval by withdrawing cooperation”.

In speech after speech and in editorial after editorial, Gandhi explained ceaselessly and untringly the nature of this movement. The movement of non-cooperation is nothing but an attempt to isolate the brute force of the British from all the trappings under which it is hidden and to show that brute force by itself cannot for one single moment hold India. Thus Gandhi adopted different techniques for mobilizing the masses such as extensive tours and padyatra, speeches at public meetings, effective journalism, prayers and bhajans, fasts, brahmacharya and swadeshi and fighting for the rights of minorities and especially untouchables. Gandhi touched every heart and every aspect of Indian life. He mobilized the masses and directed their struggle for complete freedom and reconstruction of the society. Gandhi’s writings were very forceful and were written with conviction. They left a great impression on his readers. Thus he wrote once in the context of non-cooperation in the Young India: “Our non-cooperation is neither with the English nor with the West. Our non-cooperation is with the system the English have established, with the material civilization and its attendant greed and exploitation of the weak. Our non-cooperation is refusal to cooperate with the English administrators on their own terms. He asked the English: Come and cooperate with us on our terms, and it will be well for us, for you and the world. However, Gandhi was aware of the mood of the masses and the sentiments that prevailed. He was quick to warn his countrymen about any form of violence through his journal. Violent resistance is itself non-cooperation

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23 CWMG, Vol. XVIII, pp. 68-70.
and it is immoral because of its violence. It becomes moral when it is non-violent. Non-cooperation with evil is a sacred duty.\(^{24}\) Gandhi supported non-cooperation based on nonviolence. The active state in you requires you to resist the wrong doer. Gandhi was quick to respond to the various forms of participation by various sections of the society during the peak of the non-cooperation movement. The 19th January, 1921 issue of Young India, for instance, had the following item as a flier (the top news): "Students strike in Calcutta. The latest information to hand about the great students' strike of Calcutta is that nearly 8,000 college students are on strike. The following colleges are affected some wholly, others partially, Bangabasi and Ripon. This was not merely a great moral booster for the students' struggle in Bengal but also inspired students' groups in other parts of the country."\(^{25}\)

This caption was followed by a long letter titled 'To Young Bengal' written by Gandhi himself that was carried over in the second page. Gandhi wrote, "I have just read an account of your response to the nation's calls. I had expected no less; I certainly expect still more. You have taken the step. You will not recede. We cannot get Swaraj if not one class in the country is prepared to work and sacrifice for it. The Government will yield not to the logic of words. It knows no logic but that of brave and true deeds. You dare not go back without hurting yourselves and the cause. Intolerance is a species of violence and therefore against our creed. Non-violent non-cooperation is an object lesson in democracy. The moment we are able to ensure non-violence, even under circumstances the most provoking, that moment we have achieved our end, because that is the moment when we can offer complete non-cooperation.\(^{26}\) The next issue of the Young India had a one and a quarter column report titled 'The Student Movement in Calcutta' on the front page. It was basically a news report and contained all the facts and figures about the protest movement, apart from explaining the style and method of the students' struggle. This was certain to

\(^{24}\) Young India, 21-07-1920, p. 89.
\(^{25}\) Ibid., 19-01-1921, p. 19.
\(^{26}\) Ibid.
inspire and train other such movements in other parts of the country. As the non-cooperation movement progressed, cases of assault on people increased."

Gandhi would immediately know the significance of publishing something like brutalities of the British administrators on the freedom fighters. Thus the January 12, 1922 issue of Young India had an item titled 'Summary of Reports of Repression'. Besides the news of 'Cases of assault at Secunderabad' on volunteers, brave tales of 'Two Wives' of the Secretary of Sitapur District Congress Committee and beating up of two reputed Zamindars of Hajipur in Bihar, the summary contained details like number of workers sent to jails from Chittagong.  

Gandhiji used to write sometimes for the English daily, the Bombay Chronicle, which was started by Sir Pherozshah Mehta and was edited by B.G. Horniman. He also occasionally contributed to the English monthly, Young India, with which Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Umar Shobhani and Shankerlal Banker were associated. Articles by Gandhiji were published in the Hindustan of Ranchhodadas Bhavan Lotwala as well as in the Gujarati monthly Navajivan and Satya edited by Indulal Yagnik. After Gandhiji had settled in Gujarat and after his participation in different public activities, he felt the need of a Gujarati journal to publish his views elaborately and extensively. He put the proposal before Shankerlal Banker and Indulal Yagnik. Both were associated with the Navajivan and Satya. They took up Gandhiji's proposal and decided to convert their monthly into a weekly. It was decided to publish the proposed weekly under a new name Navajivan from Ahmedabad under the editorship of Gandhiji.

Again, in November and December 1920, the weekly contained articles written by Gandhiji, each one of them explaining the Non-cooperation movement that was contemplated. These aimed at clarifying Gandhiji's stand on the movement and the programmes suggested by him. Its issue dated 22nd December, 1920 was full of information about the 35th session of the Indian

27 Ibid., 20-01-1921, 91.
28 Ibid., 22-01-1922, 94.
National Congress due to meet at Nagpur that year. When the Congress was in session, arrangements were made to procure telegraphically the news about the business transacted at Nagpur. The Navajivan, during January 1921, was full of details about the resolutions made and the speeches delivered at the Nagpur session. When that body held its 36th session at Ahmedabad during December 1921, a whole issue of the Navajivan was devoted to news about it with full texts of the speeches of the participants in the discussions of the resolutions moved and adopted. It appears from some notices appearing in the Navajivan during those days that arrangements were made to sell single copies of the weekly through hawkers in the city of Ahmedabad and that as these copies were soon exhausted, reprints had to be issued to meet the demand.

Gandhiji was running English weekly the, ‘Young India’, at that time. Some articles written for that journal were published in Gujarati Weekly, Navajivan. Gandhiji had written an article ‘Tampering with Loyalty’ in September 1921. That article was published in the Gujarati Weekly, Navajivan, dated 2nd October, 1921, under the caption ‘Rajdroha’ (Rajdroha means sedition in Gujarati). Again, Gandhiji had written an English article, ‘The Puzzle and its Solution’ in the Young India in December 1921. That was published in Gujarati in the Navajivan dated 15th December 1921, under the heading ‘Viceroy in Munzvan’ (The Dilemma before the Viceroy). The third article appeared in the Young India during February, 1922, under the title ‘Shaking of the Manes’. It appeared in the Navajivan dated 26th February 1922, as ‘Hoonkar’ (Roaring of the Lion). The Government which was watching these writings of Gandhiji decided to launch prosecutions against him as the editor and against Shankerlal Banker, the publisher of Young India, for what the Government termed 'seditious' writings. Subsequently, Gandhiji and Banker were arrested, in the second week of March 1922. They were charged with contravening section 124-A. of the Indian Penal Code, later convicted and sentenced. Gandhiji was released in 1924 on health grounds. He assumed the editorial responsibility of Navajivan and Young India in the first week of April that year. He continued to review the political situation in the country and to spread his views through these journals.
The Gujarati press was coming more and more under his influence. This is evidenced not only by the increasing space devoted by it to Gandhiji's views and activities, but also by the reports of the two conferences that Gujarati Journalists held (December 1925 and December 1927, both in Ahmedabad). It was declared that the press corps in Gujarat were under the total influence of Gandhiji and that the call of the nation had become the life and blood of the Gujarati press. At the beginning of the year 1928, the Government of Bombay proposed to raise the land revenue assessment in the Bardoli area of the Surat District by 22 per cent. The landholders of that area disapproved of this increase; they approached Gandhiji and told him their grievances. Gandhiji agreed to help organize a no-tax campaign in that area. He addressed an appeal to the peasants of Bardoli on 5th February, 1928, in which he said that the name of the Bardoli connotes Swaraj and vice versa. He advised the peasants to show their strength in the resistance movement and named Vallabhbhai Patel as their Sardar (leader) for the conduct of the movement. Navajivan had been reporting the progress of the movement, and Gandhiji devoted one whole issue of his weekly to Bardoli matters.

He published in it the full text of the letters exchanged between Vallabhbhai Patel and the Governor of Bombay. The Gujarati press had already started reporting news about the activities in Bardoli. The Bombay Samachar commenting upon the issue, blamed the Bombay Government for what it termed as an unjust levy. The Sanj Vartaman quoted the arguments of Vallabhbhai; the Gujarat said that 'Bardoli was agog with activities'. The Jame Jamshed exhorted the people of Bardoli to keep up their pledge, the Sanj Vartman reiterated Gandhiji's advice to the Satyagrahis of Bardoli. The Gujarat said that the demand of the people of Bardoli was just and hence 'victory will undoubtedly come to the people'. Some papers advised the Bombay Government to act judiciously and wisely; some emphasised the demand of the Satyagrahis to set up an inquiry into the matters. The Government made arrangements to confiscate the properties of those who did not pay their revenue dues. They had deployed a special police force for the purpose. Government had also set up a publicity bureau to publish hand-outs from time to time. In these hand outs, the Government gave its own
version of the revenue assessment issue. The Congress workers had also set up their information office from which they issued daily Patrikas (leaflets). These they distributed all over the District and sent some to the newspapers in Surat, Broach, Bombay, and Ahmedabad. It is reported that more than 10,000 leaflets were distributed everyday. The Government started taking action against those who did not pay up their revenue as per the Government assessment. By May 1928, the number of confiscations of property had increased and many peasants' properties were taken over by the Government. Vallabhbhai then addressed an appeal to the people to raise funds for rendering monetary assistance to the Bardoli Satyagrahis.

Gandhiji was very benovelent and thus he readily reiterated that appeal through the Navajivan. He said, the present Satyagraha is a Yajna a sacrifice which needs offerings. He called upon the people to donate to what he termed the 'Satyagraha Fund'. This appeal was published and supported by journals throughout Gujarat. The Prajabanhu and the Navajivan opened a 'Bardoli Satyagraha Fund' and started collecting contributions. They also devoted special columns to the publication of the periodical collections received for the fund. It was reported by these journals that Rs.1, 99,857 had been collected by June 1928 and that the figure surpassed four lakhs of rupees by August that year. After some negotiations, the Government agreed to set up an inquiry into the revenue assessments and the Satyagraha was called off in August 1928. The announcement was carried by all the Gujarati dailies and weeklies and was praised profusely with comments. Other Journals such as the Deshbbakta, the Nootan Gujarat, the Sanj Vartman and the Gujarati paid tributes to the Satyagrahis, the Government and to Vallabhbhai whom they all believed to have emerged as a true Sardar (leader) of the people of Gujarat. Gandhiji had brought out one whole issue of the Navajivan called the 'Bardoli Ank-the Bardoli Special Number' in which he paid tributes to the people of Gujarat for the support that they had given to the movement. The Sanj Vartman, the Bombay Samachar and the Gujarati published photographs depicting the different stages during the Bardoli Satyagraha movement.
Civil Disobedience Movement

The 44th session of the Indian National Congress met at Lahore during the last week of December 1929, resolved to change the creed of the Congress organization by construing the word 'Swaraj' in article to mean "complete independence - Purna Swaraj". That resolution had authorized the All India Congress Committee to launch upon a programme of Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes. This became a starting point of a series of events culminating in a movement against the Government. When the Congress session met at Lahore, the Gujarati dailies and weeklies were full of reports about it. Independence resolution of the Congress was more than that pertaining to any other subject. The main topic of discussion was the interpretation of the term Swaraj with reference to dominion status. Commenting upon this in the Navajivan dated 5th January, 1930, Gandhiji had explained that the word Swaraj meant 'absence of dependence of India on anyone in any matter'. The Bombay Samachar thereupon published the following words in bold type on its front page in its issue dated 9th January, 1930. Gandhiji wrote again on the Independence resolution in the Navajivan dated 12th January. In that issue, he also reported his speech before students of the Ashram in which he said, "I do not know what form the Civil Disobedience movement will take but I am desperately in search of some effective formula however". 29

The subsequent issues of some of the dailies were full of hints that Gandhiji might be arrested at any time. Some of the press headings were Gandhijini dharpakadna vagata bhankara and Gandhijini dharpakad thavani vaki (both meaning that Gandhijis' arrest was imminent). Gandhiji then wrote to the Government and put out a list of 'demands' (these were even including repeal of the salt tax) which, in an article, he characterised as the soul of independence and a test of true Swaraj. Quoting these words, the Bombay Samachar and the Gujarati wrote editorials on 16th February, 1930 and the Gujarat mitra and Darpan cn the 16th while the Prajabandhu had been writing similarly since the

29 Navajivan, 12-01-1930.
13th of that month. “The responsibility for the current unrest lies entirely with the British Government. But people would not put off their contemplated movement in spite of the steel frame of the bureaucracy”, was the message, loud and clear.

Gandhiji worked as a motivating force then and wrote in the Navajivan dated 23rd of that month, saying, 'If I am arrested, people must continue the programme of Civil Disobedience’. He wrote again on 2nd March in the same journal saying that he proposed to break the salt law in contravention of the Governmental restrictions. He then sent a letter to the Viceroy explaining his stand on the current issues and published the full text of his communication in the Navajivan dated 9th March. He also announced that on the 12th March, he would begin to track on foot a distance of 241 miles from Ahmedabad to Dandi in the Surat District where he proposed to collect natural salt in contravention of the prohibitory regulations with a view to putting Civil Disobedience into action. Gandhiji's letter was published by the Gujarati dailies and weeklies with big headings along with editorial comments. Some of the headings were, Gandhijini Viceroy's hradaydravak appeal (A heart moving appeal by Gandhiji to the Viceroy), Gandhiji sarkarne akhrinamu (Gandhiji's ultimatum to the Government). While the editorial comments were, 'still there is time for the Government to act judiciously', 'the present movement', a Mukti Sangram for Bharat (freedom fight for India) in which Gujarat must make its offerings': Gujarat will not lag behind this time.

During the Civil Disobedience Movement, the Government passed the Press Act, giving itself numerous powers. Gandhi gave a fitting reply to this ordinance. He asked the press not to be cowed down. His argument was: They may confiscate type and machinery, they will not confiscate pen and still less speech, but recognize that they can succeed in confiscating even these last two. But what they will never succeed in suppressing and what is after all the thing that matters is the thought of the nation and at the present moment, there is hardly a man or woman breathing in India who with every breath does not breathe of disaffection, sedition, disloyalty and whatever other term one may use to describe
the mentality of the nation which has set its mind on destroying the existing
system of Government.30

Gandhi’s Communication Strategy during Salt Satyagraha and Round
Table Conference

The Indian National Congress, in its Lahore session in December 1929,
passed a resolution proclaiming Complete Independence, Purna Swaraj, as the
country’s immediate goal and authorized the launching of a Civil disobedience to
achieve it. Explaining to a correspondent as to why the prefix ‘purna’ was used
with ‘swaraj’, Gandhi wrote, “‘Swaraj’ in the Congress constitution was given a
double meaning, it could be within the Empire, if possible; without, if necessary.
A word or an expression had, therefore, to be found in order to connote the last
meaning only. We could not do without the term ‘Swaraj’. Hence the expedience
of ‘Purna Swaraj’”31

Salt Satyagraha by Gandhi

Another earmarking movement led by the Father of Nation was the Salt
Satyagraha that started as scheduled on the 12th March with a batch of 78
Satyagrahis. The Bombay Samachar splashed the news on the front page in
bigger type. ‘Tapasvi Rama Panchavati chhodi Lanka leva vicharechhe’ - The
ascetic Rama abandoning his hermit abode in Panchavati sets out to take Lanka.
So did all the Gujarati Journals. Describing the situation, late Nandalal Bodiwala,
founder editor of the Ahmedabad daily, Sandesh and other newspapermen said
that ever since the news was in the air that a Civil Disobedience movement was
going to be launched, people had been addicted to read the day-to-day political
happenings and press comments. Hence, almost all the Gujarati dailies had sent
their correspondents to cover the news about Gandhiji’s march, as did some
English dailies and foreign journals. Bodiwala said that he had brought out
special supplements in a bigger size to publish the news about the distance

31 Ibid., Vol. XLII, p. 455.
traversed by the marchers, about the manner in which people received the marchers in their respective villages and especially about the utterances made by Gandhiji from time to time. He said that the demand for news had increased so much in Gandhiji that not only dailies but weeklies and fortnightlies had to issue special supplements. He himself had to bring out four and at times six supplements a day. So did the Khedarartman and Pratap from district Kheda and Surat. Popular identification with the movement and their expectations from the press were such that the Journal not supporting the movement met with public condemnation. Ranchhoddas Bhavan Lotwala's journals were writing against the Civil Disobedience movement and were characterizing it as a 'mad' step. It is reported that some people in Bombay had called a meeting to express their disapproval of Lotwala's Journals and subsequently the latter suffered a loss.

Gandhiji reached Dandi on 5th April, 1930. He went to the seashore the next day and picked up natural salt declaring that "everyone was free to prepare and sell salt no matter what the Government did", and that "people throughout the country should break the salt law and should be willing to court arrest if that be the consequence". The newspapers which gave news of Gandhiji's defiance of the salt law also published news about similar acts of defiance from almost all parts of the country. Regarding Gandhi's Dandi march, Anthony R Deluca wrote: The march had clearly confirmed Gandhi's status as a prominent international political figure... he also exhibited a profound awareness of international public opinion as he promoted his message of non-violence and issued the following appeal form Dandi at the end of the march, "I want world sympathy in this battle of Right against Might".32

The Navajivan which had been publishing the news, about Gandhiji's march and the reports of his speeches since he set out on 12th March, gave information in greater detail about the arrests and lathi charges throughout the country. It was issuing supplements for this purpose. In one of them was

published on the front page in bold type a message from Gandhiji congratulating Gujarat “I want still more from the people”.\textsuperscript{33} Gandhiji then proceeded to Dharasana where the Government salt depot was situated. But he was interrupted and was arrested on 4th May, 1930. That led to a number of demonstrations and arrests in the country. The comments in the Gujarati press from 5th May, 1930, onwards can be summarized as Mahatmaji has contributed his mite: it is up to the people now to show their strength. A fund should be raised to help continue the Satyagraha. People should stick to their pledge; non-violence as preached by Gandhiji should not be abandoned.

While the nature of the news and comment appearing in the Gujarati press regarding the nationalist movement was as has been described, the growth that it had attained by the middle of 1930 was as indicated below. There were 91 Gujarati journals and dailies, 71 weeklies and 9 fortnightlies with an aggregate of 2,08,125 copies per issue in circulation by that time. Data about the monthlies in circulation during 1930 are not available as in figure of 36,500 copies per issue, while the weeklies had touched a total of 1, 62,875 and the fortnightlies that of 8,750 copies per issue in circulation by that time. The Gujarati dailies were published now not only from Mumbai, but in addition from Surat, Nadiad, and Ahmedabad and were very critical of the Government. When the press comments and reports reached such a stage, the Government promulgated an ordinance, the Ordinance of 1930, under Section 72 of the Government of India Act of 1919. That ordinance revived the Indian Press Act of 1910 which had been repealed in 1922. Under the ordinance, which, according to the Government, was meant to 'Provide for the better control of the Press', magistrates were empowered at their discretion to demand securities of not less than Rs. 500 from any person keeping a printing press, it may be recalled that keepers of priming presses were required to make a declaration under Section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act. 1867. From the publishers, who were required to make a declaration under section 5 of the 1867 Press Act, Magistrates were also empowered under the

\textsuperscript{33} Navajivan, 12-03-1930.
ordinance to demand securities. Powers to declare such securities forfeited were
conferred upon the magistrates when it appeared to the local Governments that
any matter published was likely to have a tendency, directly or indirectly,
whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise, to
do certain things which would bring the Government into hatred or contempt.
When the ordinance became operative, the Prajabandhu of Ahmedabad
suspended publication, as the editors put it, 'before securities were demanded'.
The Navajivan also closed down officially but efforts were made to continue
publication of a sheet or two of cyclostyled copies of the journal.

Round Table Conference

During this period, a Round Table Conference had been convened in
London by the British Government to discuss Indian problems. Subsequently,
negotiations took place between Gandhiji and the Government and the
Government issued orders to release Gandhiji and the other Congress leaders by
the last week of January 1931. The Prajabandhu had resumed publication from
16th November, 1930 and the Navajivan by the middle of March, 1931. Gandhiji
got to London to attend the Round Table Conference on 29th August, 1931. The
news about the proceedings at that conference was supplied to the press by
Reuter's news agency and the Sanj Vartman sent its own correspondent to cover
the news from London. The press during those days was full of news about the
conference proceedings and of comments which exceeded in space which was
allotted to the news from London. Gandhiji returned to India by the end of
December 1931. He was arrested again on 4th January, 1932. By now, the Indian
Press Emergency Powers Act of 1931 was already in operation. The people
converged on the office of the Navajivan on 14th January, 1932. The
Prajabandhu which had started publication from 16th November, 1930, closed
down again on 10th January, 1932. However, the management of those weeklies
made arrangements to issue a single-sheet daily newspaper called the Gujarat
Samachar from 16th January, 1932. The then editor, Indravadan Thakore states
that the management did so to supply the reading public with the latest news
about current politics, hence, the daily contained only news and no editorials. It may be noted here that the circulation of the new dailies in Ahmedabad (the Sandesh and the Gujarat Samachar) increased rapidly as did that of the Bombay Samachar in Mumbai. To cope up with the demand, the Bombay Samachar had to be published on a newly purchased rotary printing machine.

The mass-movement culminated in the release of Gandhiji and the other Congress leaders. Before these events are recorded, a reference to the Gujarati press as it stood by the end of the year 1932 should be made here. There were in all 207 Gujarati journals of varied periodicity including 2 dailies, one bi-weekly, 68 weeklies, four fortnightlies, in clearer terms. The Congress resolution asked the British Government to indicate the place of India in any order envisaged. The resolution was commented upon by Gandhiji in the English weekly, the Harijan, dated 15th September, 1939 and its Gujarati version was published in the Harijanbandhu the following week. The Congress resolution was published by the Gujarati newspapers with big headings some of which read: Tamari neeti saaf saaf shabdoman janavo' (Declare your policy in categorical terms); 'Britainne Gandhijini chetavni' (Gandhiji's warning to Britain). 'Ahimsano antim vijay nishchit the’ (the ultimate triumph of nonviolence is certain); 'Congresse kareli spashta vaato' (The Congress talks plainly). Thus the views of the Gujarati press on the Indian political situation tallied with those of the nationalist sections in the country. On 22nd October, 1939, the Congress called upon all Ministries run by that party in the provinces to resign their offices by the 31st of that month. It also called upon the legislatures in such provinces to adopt a resolution asking Britain to declare her 'War-Aims'. While all the Gujarati newspapers published this news with big headlines, some of the dailies and weeklies wrote editorials in which they expressed concern. Gandhiji commenting in the Harijanbandhu, “The resignation of the Congress ministries was a necessity, but the next step is by no means clear. Congressmen seem to be expecting some big move.”34 Soon after this, the Congress decided to launch Satyagraha by individuals who were to

make propaganda against the war efforts of the Government and was to court arrest as a consequence. It started with the arrest of Vinoba Bhave on 31st October, 1939, following the arrest of almost all Congress leaders in the country. Vallabhbhai Patel was arrested in Ahmedabad on 17th November, 1940, followed by many congressmen in Gujarat who offered Satyagraha and courted arrest. The Gujarati newspapers had made arrangements to publish the names of the individual Satyagrahis, the details about their background, the notices that they had served on the Government and the manner in which they courted arrest. By December, 1941 about 20,000 Congressmen throughout the country were held in detention but they were released by the beginning of 1942.

**Quit India Movement**

As the tempo of the war in the Far East gained momentum, the Allies saw the defeat of the Colonial powers in their erstwhile colonies largely due to the lack of sympathy and local support. Statesmen in the USA and China, therefore, suggested that Britain should pay heed to the demands of the Indians voiced by the Congress party. Unwillingly, Britain sent Sir Cripps to India on a mission intended more to satisfy Britain’s allies than to see any breakthrough in the Indian situation. Holding no promise of Independence, the mission exposed the hollowness of the British claim that they were fighting a war for the establishment of democracy in the world.

In India, things were in a bad shape. There was division in the Congress ranks over the nature of struggle against the British and the Japannese,\(^{35}\) communal atmosphere was full of recrimination as Gandhi’s remarks were mutilated and given malicious construction\(^{36}\), food shortages and famine crushed the people of Bengal, stories of refugees from Burma poured in with harrowing accounts of the British discriminated between the Whites and Indians. Under the circumstances, though it seemed that the conditions were far from favourable for launching a movement in order to overcome the conditions yet a movement


\(^{36}\) Ibid., Vol. LXXVI, p. 29.
A forceful movement asking the foreign powers to withdraw completely from India was the Quit India Movement. Thus, to the different mass-movements launched by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji against the Government, one more was added with the passing of a resolution by that organization (Congress) in August 1942, asking the British to withdraw from India.

Prior to the passage of the Quit India resolution, Gandhi wrote an appeal "To every Briton", wherein he asked them to "retire from every Asiatic or African possession and at least from India". He believed that such a step was "essential for the safety of the World and for the destruction of Nazism and Fascism". He further went ahead with his request for a "bloodless end of an unnatural domination for a new era, even though there may be protest and wailing from some of us". He also made appeals to the conscience of international leaders and common people in other countries to see the genuineness of his request for the end of foreign domination. Hostilities were declared on 3rd September, 1939, between Britain and Germany, involving India once again. Those who were running the Gujarati press knew from the past experience the interest that the reading public showed in news about the war. They were aware of the fact that information about the war was in greater demand than before, because of the affect that the war had on Indian economic and, more particularly, political conditions. Now that the war news was supplied by the news agency (the Associated Press of India in collaboration with the Reuters news agency which was working on a global level) more rapidly than before and also because the bigger printing machines (mostly cylinder and in some cases rotary machines) could print their copies more speedily, with the latest information and in bigger type, some of the Gujarati news papers brought out special supplements. These supplements announced in big headlines the outbreak of the war. The newspaper

37 Ibid, pp. 98-100.
38 Ibid, pp. 311-12.
headlines and comments pertaining to the war during September 1939 were: Poland has been a sufferer at the hands of the Nazis; German action is blind and brutal; Herr Hitler chhadeehok kareli vachanbhangni parampara par prakash (A searchlight on the series of open breaches of promises by Herr Hitler); German jahajo par British vimani fojoe karelo hallo (The British Air Force attacks the German ships); Lokshahi Juthono Germanono Samno Karvano Nirdhar (Determination of the democratic forces to meet the challenge of the Germans).

The Gujarati press thus evinced a support of Britain against the Nazis in the initial stages, as in the case of World War.

But the nationalist sections in the country viewed the situation in a rather different vein and wanted the people also to view it similarly. Hence the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress meeting at Wardha during September 1939 passed a resolution saying that the British Government should declare its war aims in regard to Democracy and imperialism in Songadh, Dhoraji and Anjar (Kuchh). Of these 18 fortnightlies, the Jyotirdhas, was the organ of some social reformists in Ahmedabad. Two were trade bulletins, one was a cinema magazine and the rest were meant for different castes or sects. The monthlies included the Navrachana and 13 others from Mumbai; the Yuvak, the Street Jeevan, the Kumar, the Rekha and six others from Ahmedabad; two from Surat; the Patidar from Anand, the Sharda, the Gunsundari, the Pustakalaya, the Gramjeevan and fourteen others from Baroda; the Samaj Sheekshak and two others from Navsari; the Jyoti, the Gharshala and fifteen others from Bhavnagar; three from Rajkot and one each from Mehsana, Visnagar, Patan, Jamnagar, Wadhwan Jetpur, Gondal, Limbd and Junagadh.

The dailies were of a uniform size - 22 inches long and 17 inches broad with seven columns each, printed on bigger size cylinder or rotary machines. They contained mainly news procured through the news agencies and through accredited correspondents. In some cases, the dailies published weekly sections addressed to women or children or devoted to health and hygiene and to religious matters. The weeklies and the bi-weeklies such as the Gujarati, the Prajabandhu,
the Gujarati Punch and the Sayaji-Vijaya used to give weekly round-ups of the news, comments and literary articles. The monthlies like the Rekha were devoted to political and literary comment while others were full of diverse matters. Generally, the weeklies were seventeen inches in length and eleven inches in breadth while the monthlies were nine by six inches length and breadth wise. All these Gujarati journals - dailies, biweeklies, weeklies, fortnightlies and monthlies - contained advertisements which occupied considerable space. These advertisements, both display and classified, had increased on account of the wartime fillip that the economy received. It is to be noted here that the industrialists who spent profusely on advertisements were indirectly strengthening the press which was supporting the nationalist movement against the Government.

By the beginning of 1942, the war situation was becoming unfavourable to Britain. The British possessions in South East Asia were going over to the Axis. The war-news at that time was reported by the Gujarati press in a way which indicated a change after the nationalist sections in the country had become more active. The reporting provided, besides, a contrast to that of World War I when the nationalist sections had not grown so influential. The headings were: 'Britainne boom padavvani German yojna' (German plans to gag Britain) 'Japani sainyoni aage kuch' (Advances made by the Japanese troops); 'Sathi sainyoni lagaataar pichhe hath' (successive retreats of the Allied forces). Under these circumstances, the war-cabinet in Britain announced their decision on 11th March, 1942, to send Sir Stafford Cripps to India for consultations with the Indian leaders and for finding out some solution to meet the emergencies created by the war situation. The announcement was made by the British Premier in the British Parliament and was reported in India by the Reuter's news agency. It was reported and commented upon by the Bombay Samachar by saying 'Cripps was coming to India to mislead the leaders' (undha pata bhanavava) and that 'the proposals must be devoid of any substance' (Damvagarni). Similar comments were made by the Gujarat Samachar and the Vande Matram.

The negotiations lasted from 22nd March to 11th April, 1942, when Sir
Stafford Cripps left India after an announcement of the failure of the negotiations was made. But some of the Gujarati newspapers which had made special arrangements to procure intelligence about the negotiations between Sir Stafford Cripps and the Congress leaders had started writing since March 30, in the following words: 'Crippsji bhens laya ke bada paap' (Cripps had defined expectations); ‘Cripps yojana sicikarashe nahin’ (the Cripps proposals will not be acceptable). Gandhiji had been writing on all these issues in his weeklies. On 11th May, 1942, he wrote an article captioned. ‘To Every Briton'. Gandhiji had requested (as had the Congress organization in a resolution adopted earlier) Britons to support him in his demand for a withdrawal of British rule from India. That article appeared in the Gujarati Weekly Harijanbandhu under the heading, Angrejo Jav (Britishness Quit).39 The Gujarati press which had been quoting Gandhiji's articles took up this phrase in subsequent writings. It exhorted the people to 'respond to the call of the nation' and to 'be ready for a fight till the finish.'40 In view of the situation, the Congress organization resolved, on 14th July, 1942, to request the withdrawal of the British rule from India and to launch a struggle under the leadership of Gandhiji, should negotiations between the Congress and the Government fail. This resolution was published by all the Gujarati dailies under big headlines and was commented upon from that day onwards. The Bombay Samachar said, “Delhi had been shaken due to this resolution” and the 'Janmabhoomi and the Vande Mataram' said, 'still there is time for Britain to enter into a compromise with India'.41 Then these papers published the following words of Gandhiji, 'Bhale mari ane bijaoni dharpakad they' (what of that if I and others be arrested) and added that Gujarat would not 'lag behind in such an eventuality'. Then followed a series of addresses by Vallabhbhai Patel in Ahmedabad and Mumbai from 25th July to 3rd August. These addresses were given the front page treatment and were published under different headings which read as: 'Kolpan bhog apava taiyar raho;
agnipareekshano samaya aavipabonchyoche. (The moment for an ordeal by fire has come: be prepared to give any sacrifice). Along with this the Janmahhoomi, the Vande Matram and the Bombay Samachar published the photographs of the different Congress leaders reaching Mumbai during the first week of August and this practice of the press made the news more lively and the situation more tense.

The All India Congress Committee met as scheduled on 7th and 8th August and adopted a resolution asking the British to quit and to declare India free. The message that Gandhi gave to the nation was as following:

“Everyone is free to go to the fullest length under ahimsa. Complete deadlock by strikes and other non-violent means. Satyagrahi must go out to die not to live. They must seek and face death. It is only when individuals go out to die, the nation will survive. Karenge ya Marenge.”

The meeting concluded late at night on the 8th and soon afterwards the Government declared the Congress organization as an unlawful association and arrested Gandhiji and Congressmen throughout the country in the early hours of the 9th. This led to a series of disturbances involving lathi charges, tear-gas shelling and firing by the police throughout the country. The Gujarati newspapers gave that news on the afternoon of the 9th in special supplements, and from the 10th onwards, there were other reports of the disturbances from all parts of the country. The Government's attitude towards the press in this respect took the form of a series of restrictive orders affecting the nature of comment and reports. Ever since hostilities were declared early in September 1939, the Government had passed the Defence of India Act and the rules interalia which provided for a pre-censorship of material published in the press relating to certain matters. When the Congress organization launched the 'Individual Satyagraha' movement in 1940, the Government had issued a notification according to which, the publication of any matter calculated directly or indirectly to foment opposition to the prosecution of the war and publish accounts of speeches, meetings, etc.,
calculated to that effect were prohibited. When the Indian National Congress adopted its August resolution asking the British to withdraw from India, the Government of India issued a fresh notification on 8th August, 1942. In that it was said, ‘the printing or publishing of any factual news (which expression shall be deemed to include reports of speeches or statements made by the members of the public) relating to the mass-movement sanctioned by the All India Congress Committee or relating to the measures taken by the Government against that movement, except news derived from official sources or from the Associated Press of India or the United Press of India or the Orient Press of India or from a correspondent regularly employed by the newspaper concerned and whose name stands registered with the District Magistrate of the district in which he carries on his work, shall be prohibited.

The declaration of various Congress committees as unlawful associations rendered them liable to prosecution under the Criminal Law Amendment Act anyone who assisted their operations. It follows, therefore, that the editor of any newspaper who supported or encouraged the mass movement sponsored by the bodies referred to above, or who opposed the measures taken by Government to avert or suppress that movement, would be guilty of an offence against the law. Moreover, the publication of factual news, both by the selection of events reported and by the manner in which they are displayed, can do even more to advertise and thus support the movement than editorial comment thereon. The responsibility of the press is, however, as great as its undoubted influence and in order to ensure that, responsibility may be exercised in a manner that will not bring the press into conflict with authority. Government consider it necessary: (a) to exercise a measure of control over the origins of factual news relating to the movement so as to ensure that what is published is derived only from recognized and responsible sources, and; (b) while imposing no direct control over the expression of editorial views, to leave editors themselves in no doubt as to the limits beyond which it will not be in their own interests to go (but) Government wishes it to be clearly understood that they do not propose to allow any newspaper to continue to publish matter, whether it takes the form of news or
views, which in their opinion, will encourage the movement or incite people to take part in it or which will excite popular feelings in favour of the movement or against the measures that Government will be compelled to take to combat it.

The notification and the press-note have been quoted here at length to indicate the nature of the news and comments the press could publish about the mass-movement that had begun after the arrest of Gandhiji and other Congressmen in the country. Many a Gujarati journal had to close down and many more were called to book by the Government. Subsequent events were the cessation of war in Europe and the release of the Congress leaders followed by a series of negotiations, culminating in the transfer of power to India on 15th August, 1947. We have brought out that phase of the Gujarati press when it was associated with the mass-movements launched by the nationalist organization under Gandhiji's leadership. It has been seen that the nature of content in the journals changed as a consequence and particularly because Gandhiji, during his stay in Gujarat, provided the Gujarati press with specific guidance and elaborate arguments through his weekly Navajivan. With increasing mass-awareness and popular participation in the movements, the nature of the news coverage and press comment became such that the Government issued prohibitory orders restricting not only editorial comment but also the publication of factual news. However, preoccupied with the news and views of the nationalists as the Gujarati press was, it secured a vast readership throughout Gujarat. It kept up the popular interest in the mass-movements and received in turn a further fillip, functioning thus as an initiator and sustainer of the nationalist agitation till the British withdrew from India in 1947.

GANDHI AS JOURNALIST

Romain Rolland, one of the best biographers of Gandhi, assumes: "Nations have short memories and I should have but slight faith in India’s power to remain true to the Mahatma’s teaching if his doctrines were not an expression of the deepest and the most ancient longings of the race. For if there is such a thing as genius, great by its own strength, whether or not it corresponds to the
ideals of its surroundings, there can be no genius of action, no leader, who does not incarnate the instincts of his race to satisfy the need of the hour, and require the yearning of the world.43 A year after Gandhi’s death, the Harijan wrote: “All work in whatsoever sphere was a means mainly of service in Gandhiji’s eyes. Newspapers and journals can build up a fitting memorial to him in this matter by conforming or trying to conform to the unimpeachable standards of journalism practiced by our revered and beloved”.44 As a journalist, Gandhi wanted to educate the people so that they could understand not only the significance of independence - political, economic and social - but also participate actively in freeing humanity from the bondage it was in. Gandhi’s motto as a journalist was service. He once said, “One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it, another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments, and the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects.”45 Such was the conviction of Gandhi in South Africa that he constantly kept a companion for his writings and gave him expression for publication through his journals and newspapers. Thus he used the press as a tool for political mobilization is confirmed by the fact that he brought out four major journals: Indian Opinion, Young India, Navajivan and Harijan, all with the purpose of arousing ‘among the people certain desirable sentiments’, besides a number of books producing a total of two million English wordage. “His instrument for creating social change was to create mass awareness. His tools were letters, articles and speeches.”46 Gandhi has been termed as the most influential writer and journalist that India has produced. He knew the power of the word, spoken and written, in inspiring people to action. He resembled a charismatic arbiter when airing grievances, be it in South Africa or India. His words were loaded with purpose, "No one who has used the words on a massive scale has been as

44 Harijan, 2-02-49, p. 87.
46 Harijan, 2-02-49, p. 98.
passionately purposive as Gandhi. No one has brought into use words with such intense longing to be down-to-earth on the one hand and paradoxically, to reach for the stars on the other."\textsuperscript{47} Gandhi plainly wrote his objective, "I write as the spirit moves me at the time of writing." He further said, "I write to propagate my ideas."\textsuperscript{48}

Gandhi's journey in journalism started quite early in his life, when he made contribution of nine articles on Indian diet, customs and festivals in a magazine Vegetarian in London. When on arrival in London in September 1888, to study law, Gandhiji, at the age of 19, for the first time realized how actively he would be associated with the newspaper for the rest of his life. Gandhi consistently wrote for the next six decades. The press, for him, became a tool for informing, educating and mobilizing the masses. He used newspapers to educate masses about public causes for which he led mass movements. The Indian Opinion was the first journalistic tool of Gandhi that was unveiled on June 4, 1903 in South Africa. It was a weekly newspaper and was published in English, Gujarati, Tamil and Hindi for the advantage of Indians inhabiting in South Africa. As Gandhi recalled later about the purpose for which the Indian Opinion was launched, "A struggle which chiefly relies upon internal strength cannot be wholly carried on without a newspaper. We could not have educated the local Indian opinion, nor kept Indians all over the world in touch with the course of events in South Africa in any other way, with the same ease and success as through Indian Opinion, which was a most useful and potent weapon in our struggle."\textsuperscript{49} Next in Gandhi's armoury was Navajivan, a Gujarati monthly that was started as a weekly on October 7, 1919 with Gandhi as the editor. And the magic of Gandhi's pen soon showed up. Writing the editorial for the first issue of Young India, which was also relaunched under Gandhi's editorship a day after Navajivan, Gandhi exulted: "The editing of Navajivan has been a perfect

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{48} Ibid., p. 100.
\item \textsuperscript{49} Gandhi, M. K., An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth, op. cit., pp. 262-63.
\end{itemize}
revelation to me. Whilst Young India has little more than 1,200 subscribers, Navajivan has 12,000. The number would leap to 20,000 if it would get the printer to print that number. It exhibits that a vernacular newspaper is a felt want. I am proud to think that I have numerous readers among farmers and workers. They make India... the English journals touch but the fringe of the ocean of India's population.50

Gandhi was aware of the readership while writing in various languages. He wrote trilingual, in English, Gujarati and Hindustani. Gandhi's tone and tenor changed while writing in different languages, because he had the ability to empathies with the audience and understand their expectations and requirement in a newspaper. Gandhi said that he was editing the English Journal, Young India, which along with Navajivan, priced at one anna each, mainly for the advantage of his friends in the Madras constituency. Still, however, Young India sold more copies than the combined total of several newspapers in India. There was not only a new thought but a new language in newspaper writing, and what he wrote was finest in journalistic writing. The last of Gandhi's journals, Harijan, also priced at one anna, began publication on February 11, 1933 from Poona. While the first Gandhi decade in India is often called the story of Young India, the decade of the thirties was dominated by Harijan, which was begun to help Gandhi in his crusade against untouchability. Introducing the weekly to his readers, Gandhi wrote in the inaugural issue: "The English edition of the Harijan is being published by and for the Servants of Untouchables Society at my request. Ten thousand copies are being printed. If you diligently study the Harijan, it will give you an epitome of the week's doings in the different parts of India in connection with the campaign against untouchability."51 Besides the English version, Harijan was brought out in Hindi and Gujarati and it went by the names of Harijan Sevak and Harijanbandu, respectively. In subsequent years, the journal was also published in Urdu, Tamil, Oriya, Marathi and Kannada.

50 Navajivan, 08-10-1919.
51 Harijan, Vol. 1, Introduction
Initially, Gandhi wanted to keep politics out of Harijan but soon the journal became the voice of Indian reaction. The message of ‘Do or Die’ rang from the meek looking pages of the Harijan. When Gandhi and his followers were locked up after the Quit India Resolution, the government confiscated and destroyed it. Harijan was revived in February 1946, survived Mahatma’s death, only to peter out in 1956. Today, the crafts of Gandhi's journalistic charisma are repositories of vivid memories and scholarship, adorning the thousands of libraries over the world, these journals reveal stories of India's emancipation from colonial rule, distend the richness of India's heritage and culture, and give innumerable leads to social scientists for pursuing research. The existing work, which looks into the role of these journals in political mobilization, is based on one such lead. The vastness of Gandhi makes it very difficult to keep the focus of the topic intact. However, every attempt has been made and precautions taken, to ensure that the focus remains.

GANDHIJI'S IMPORTANT WRITINGS

Gandhi was a prolific writer who has left behind a vast body of articles and books. These are now complied in a hundred Volumes of “The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi” published by publication division, Government of India, New Delhi. His compilation also includes a mindboggling number of letters, drafts, petitions and circulars written by him.

Gandhi’s journalistic career spanned nearly half a century. Beginning with his unpublished “London Diary (written in 1889)”, his first publication was a series of articles published in “The Vegetarian (1891-95)”, a journal of the Vegetarian Society of England. These attempts have been noticed only in retrospect. What established Gandhi as journalist was his editorship of the weekly “Indian Opinion (1904)” published from South Africa. Similarly, “The Green Pamphlet” on the conditions of Indians in South Africa followed by a note on the same topic, were the most widely distributed propaganda material on any public question at that time.
Green Pamphlet

Gandhi’s first major essay in journalism was the ‘Green Pamphlet’ (so called because its cover was green) describing the condition of Indians in South Africa. Gandhi wrote the piece while he had come from home to Rajkot on a brief visit from South Africa (1901). Ten thousand copies of the Pamphlet were published. The success of the Pamphlet made Gandhi more confident of the efficacy and publicity value of the print media. Open letters from Gandhi to public men in India followed. Gandhi came to be acknowledged as an authority on South African affairs. India’s English Press solicited letters and articles from Gandhi.

Back in South Africa, the ‘Green Pamphlet’ was a subject of publicity, though of a different kind. In India, the Pamphlet had turned Gandhi into hero of the Indians in South Africa while in South Africa, the same Pamphlet had made him a villain in the eyes of the white settlers. When after a brief visit to India, Gandhi returned to South Africa with his wife and family and other Indians, the whole convoy was not allowed to land on the African soil. Gandhi was man-handled and beaten up by a hostile white crowd. But for the cunning of his friend in the police department, Gandhi would have lost his life. Later on, there was widespread denunciation of the violence in the white press and Gandhi managed to score a point over his detractors by refusing to book culprits.

It should be noted here that the misinterpretation of the subject was largely the doing of the British news agency, the Reuters, which showed that the world came to know about the affairs of the South Africa through Gandhi’s writings and was exercised over it. Thus even before taking up his own journal to publicise the cause of Indians’ Gandhi had made extensive use of the print media via the local newspapers and by printing pamphlets. This was in spite of the fact that he wrote very few articles on the conditions of Indians in South Africa till he

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was requested by the The Times of India to do so. Except for the series of six articles that he wrote for The Times of India between June 1899 to April 1903, most of his articles dealt with non-political issues.

**Indian Opinion**

Indian Opinion, a full-scap-sized-three-column weekly journal, was started at Durban on June 4, 1903 by two of Gandhi's close aides, Madanjit Vyavaharak and Manshukhlal Hiralal Nazar. The former looked after the press. The latter was a journalist from Mumbai and held editorial charges till 1906. The Indian Opinion was begun to vent the feelings of the Indians in South Africa and to improve their condition. It was a non-commercial venture. Initially, the journal was started in Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil and English languages. Later, the Hindi and Tamil versions were withdrawn. The journal was a mirror of an important part of Gandhi's life. "Week after week, I poured out my soul in its columns and expounded the principles and practice of satyagraha"\(^{54}\), beginning from the first issue in which Gandhi wrote an editorial titled, 'Ourselves', Gandhi continuously wrote for Indian Opinion till 1914, the year of his departure from South Africa.

Gandhi's touched upon different aspects of exploitation of Indians in South Africa. Gandhi made the journal a potent weapon in his fight against the racial and discriminatory policies of the British Government. He declared at a later date that Satyagraha would probably have been impossible without Indian Opinion. Gandhi outlined three objectives of the journal: first, to make Indian grievances known to the governments in South Africa and in Britain and to the people of India; second, to make the Indians in South Africa aware of their own defects so that they could make effort to overcome them; and third, to eliminate the prevailing distinctions between Hindus and Muslims and among Gujaratis and Tamilians and others. Gandhi wrote in one of the initial issues of the Journal, "The British rulers in India follow a different policy. They do not desire that we

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\(^{53}\) Indian Opinion, 27-01-1906, pp. 56-60.

should come together and become united. Here, in South Africa, these groups are small in number. We are all confronted with the same disabilities; we can easily essay an experiment in achieving unity”. 55

Many years later, acknowledging the importance of Indian Opinion in his struggle in South Africa, Gandhi wrote in his autobiography: “Satyagraha would probably have been impossible without Indian Opinion. The readers looked forward to it for a trustworthy account of the Satyagraha campaign as also for the real condition of Indians in South Africa…….. It was as though the community thought audibly through me. It made me thoroughly understand the responsibility of a journalist and the hold I secured in this way over the community made the future campaign workable, dignified and irresistible.” 56 Gandhi describes himself as a General and Indian Opinion as his weapon in his book ‘Satyagraha in South Africa’ in the following statements: “I propose to acquaint the reader with all the weapons, internal as well as external, employed in the Satyagraha struggle and now therefore proceed to introduce to him Indian Opinion, a weekly journal which is published in South Africa for him every day.” 57 At another place, he wrote:

“I know of many, whose first occupation on receiving the paper would be to read the Gujarati section through, from beginning to end. One of the readers would read it, and the rest would surround him and listen. Not all who wanted to read the paper could afford to subscribe to it by themselves and some of them, therefore, would club together for the purpose.” 58

The journal was very interactive and readers were always invited to contribute their opinions and suggestions on crucial issues. In fact, the style of Gandhi’s struggle - passive resistance - got an Indian name through a campaign in

58 Ibid., p. 133.
the Indian Opinion. Looking for an apt name for his technique of struggle, Gandhi invited suggestions from his readers. There was an overwhelming response and finally 'Sadagraha' was chosen which was changed as 'Satyagraha' by Gandhi. This instance reflects the wonderful ability of Gandhi in involving the masses constructively and instilling in them a sense of participation. The files of Indian Opinion incorporate a series of growing images of the Gandhian spirit. In the early editorials, only a mild protest against the racial segregation was seen. At the initial stage, Gandhi had firm faith in the British Constitution which was steadily shattered. Indian opinion continuously carried a vivid portrayal of the shattered Indian community in South Africa. It successfully made effort to educate public opinion and indicated the line of duty that every Indian was needed to follow in order to assert his or her basic human rights. There existed a close link between the readers and the editorial office of Indian Opinion. Gandhi himself was in close touch with the readers through the regular correspondence column. The editorials and columns of letters in Indian Opinion carried many features of popular interest. It had contributors writing from abroad too. Gandhi kept Indians in South Africa informed about the progress of the freedom movement in India. He wrote in strong protest against the Bengal partition and encouraged the boycott of foreign goods by Indians in South Africa. He stood for the adoption of the Vande Mataram as the Indian national anthem. Gandhi called it "A Passionate Prayer" and published it in Gujarati and Devanagari scripts in the Indian Opinion.

Young India

The success of Indian Opinion in educating and awakening the Indians in South Africa had been epoch-making effort on the part of Gandhi. He realized the requirement for a similar organ after he intensified his campaigns against the British rule in India, a couple of years after coming to his motherland in 1915. This need became more pronounced after Gandhi started his satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre in 1919. Gandhi assumed the editorship of Young India, which was published by the management of the
Bombay Chronicle, in 1919. The objective of the Indian Opinion, as declared in the newspaper, was a "desire to promote harmony and goodwill between the different sections of one mighty empire."59

But by the time Gandhi became related to the Young India and Navajivan, his hopes in the British justice had been shattered. He was becoming more and more conscious of the true nature of colonialism and was preparing the country to fight injustice through satyagraha, as practised in South Africa. Gandhi thus spelt the policy of Young India. Apart from its duty of drawing attention to injustices to individuals, it also devoted its attention to constructive satyagraha as also sometimes cleansing satyagraha. Cleansing satyagraha is a civil resistance where resistance becomes a duty to remove a persistent and degrading injustice such as the Rowlatt Act. Gandhi poured out fire through his pen. He sincerely felt that the alien government had no right to govern. He wrote a number of fiery articles like 'Tampering with Loyalty' and ‘The Puzzle and its Solution' in the pages of Young India to arouse the Indian masses. Apart from this the journal was also used to educate the masses on different socio-political and economic issues of national and international importance. Gandhi used articles written by renowned personalities of the freedom struggle on various issues. The Journal was also utilized as a forum for intellectual debates, for instance the debates between Gandhi and Tagore on ‘Khadi’ and ‘Scope of Education’. The management of Young India entrusted its editorship to Gandhi. Writing about this development later, Gandhi noted in his Autobiography: “I was anxious to expound the inner meaning of Satyagraha to the public, and also hoped that through this effort, I should at least be able to do justice to the Punjab situation. For, behind all this writing, there was potential Satyagraha, and the Government knows as much."60

Navajivan

The first issue of the Navajivan came out on 9th September, 1919.

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Gandhiji, as the editor, said, “There is no dearth of journals in Gujarat at present. But, being a Gujarati by birth and a Gujarati indeed, I aspire to be absorbed into the life of Gujarat, for I can serve the country only by doing so. This will be the first occasion when I shall be known publicly in Gujarat as an editor. I wish that the Navajivan should reach the huts of the farmers and the weavers because I am going to write in their language; I am going to pray that the Navajivan be read by the women folk as well”\textsuperscript{61}. Gandhiji had announced in the same issue that it was the solemn resolve of all associated with the Navajivan to say whatever they felt, no matter what restrictions Government had enacted for the press. He also declared that the Navajivan would not contain any advertisement.

In the inaugural issue of Navajivan, Gandhi wrote: “I think I have a service to render to India by delivering a message to her……. I am convinced that I have no gift better than this for India. I have always been avid of placing before the people this priceless thing, and several others of which I have had ample experience. One powerful modern means for this purpose is the newspaper.”\textsuperscript{62}

The Navajivan, in its issues during December that year, took up the Khilafat and the Punjab issues in view of the 34th session of the Indian National Congress due to meet at Amritsar (Punjab) and after the session concluded gave details in its issues during January 1920 about the resolutions adopted with the text of the speeches made thereon. Gandhiji wrote in successive issues about the demands made by the Congress organization and explained their implications. The weekly frequently gave information about the tours undertaken by Gandhiji and published in detail the speeches made by him from place to place. In addition to that the weekly used to include articles on Swadeshi, Khadi, Spinning, Satyagraha, and Cow-protection, Gandhiji used to request those who were literate to read the Navajivan aloud before those who were not capable of reading; he also expressed his satisfaction that the Navajivan was read so extensively by the people of Gujarat. Navajivan was a regional journal in Gujarati, published along

\textsuperscript{61} Navajivan, 09-09-1919.
\textsuperscript{62} CWMG, Vol. XV, pp. 419-21.
with Young India under the editorship of Gandhi. Outlining its purpose, Gandhi wrote in the March 12 issue of the Young India that it was published "for the sole purpose of educating the nation to win Purna Swaraj through truthful and non-violent means." 63

Harijan

A couple of years after the Young India and Navajivan were silenced, Gandhi realised the requirement for another journal. But this time the need was different, the pitch was different and the motives or goals were different to help him in his crusade against untouchability. Born in 1933, the paper Harijan initially carried items only devoted to social issues. "It will be solely devoted to the Harijan cause," Gandhi wrote after being released from prison in May 1933, "and will scrupulously exclude all politics." 64 So much so that there was a complete blackout of important political news of the day, there was no mention of the Congress session and the Government of India Act of 1935. The Harijan became a mouthpiece for the Harijan movement and village industries. The paper published useful extracts from books on rural problems. However, the tide of surging nationalism in later years did not let Harijan maintain its focus. Increasingly, it started carrying the messages of the non-violent satyagraha of Gandhi and became a chief messenger of the Quit India Movement. The slogan of 'do or die' given by Gandhi during the movement was conveyed to the masses through the Harijan. It became a fiery propaganda vehicle, so much so that just after the arrest of Gandhi on 8 August 1942, the Harijan was closed down. However, even after that, Gandhi's message appeared to be echoing: "The Harijan may be suppressed, its message cannot be, so long as I live. Indeed, the spirit will survive the dissolution of the body and somehow speak through the millions." 65 The millions did speak, and Harijan lived up to its cause.

63 Young India, 12-03-1920, p. 45.
64 Harijan, 05-05-1933, p. 99.
65 CWMG, Vol. LXXVII, pp. 343-44.
Hind Swaraj

One of Gandhi’s seminal works is Hind Swaraj which was written in Gujarati and published in a book form in Gujarati in January 1910 by Gandhi's own International Printing Press. The English translation by Gandhi himself came out a few years later. Hind Swaraj is written in the literary genre of dialogue: a dialogue between a newspaper editor and a reader. It was addressed to a mixed audience: the expatriate Indians who were attracted to terrorism and political violence, the extremists and moderates of the Indian National Congress, the Indian nation and the English. As to why he wrote the book, he said there was first of all the consequent urge to communicate. Secondly, he wanted to clarify the meaning of Swaraj. Thirdly, he realised it was essential to respond specifically to the ideology of political terrorism adopted by the expatriates. Fourthly, Gandhi was anxious to teach the Indians that modern civilization posed a greater threat to them than did colonialism. Lastly, he wanted to contribute towards the reconciliation of Indians and Britons. Finally, Gandhi believed that through Hind Swaraj, he would be able to provide Indians a practical philosophy, an updated conception of Dharma that would fit them for life in the modern world. The urgency with which Gandhi wrote Hind Swaraj shows that it was written with a definite purpose in mind. He wrote: “During my stay in England, I had occasion to talk with many Indian anarchists. My booklet, Indian Home Rule, had its birth from the necessity of having to meet their arguments as well as to solve the difficulties of Indians in South Africa who held similar views.”

Hind Swaraj was the seed from which the tree of Gandhian thought has grown to its full stature. No wonder that it has been known as ‘a very basic document for the study of Gandhi’s thought’, his ‘confession of faith’, a ‘proclamation of ideological independence’, and the nearest he came to producing a sustained work of political theory. Anthony J. Parel has very convincingly elaborated upon the reasons that impelled Gandhi to write this Hind

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Swaraj. By the Indian nation, Gandhi means ordinary Indians, irrespective of their religious, linguistic, regional or caste differences as well as the new emerging middle class, referred to in the text as doctors, lawyers and the wealthy. And by the English, he means both the British ruling class living in India and Britons living in Great Britain.67 Dennis Dalton, in his book, ‘Gandhi’s Power’ writes: The aim of Hind Swaraj was to confront the anarchists and violence-prone Indian nationalists with an alternative to violence derived from Gandhi’s earliest experiments with satyagraha. Equally important is the book’s concern with the concept from which it takes its title: this is Gandhi’s first extensive statement on swaraj, his idea of freedom68.

An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth

The first edition of Gandhiji’s Autobiography was published in two volumes. Volume I in 1927 and Vol. II in 1929. The original in Gujarati which was priced at Rs. 1/- has run through five editions, nearly 50,000 copies having been sold. Gandhi said, “If I had only to discuss academic principles, I should clearly not attempt an autobiography. But my purpose being to give an account of various practical applications of these principles, I have given the chapters, I propose to write a title of ‘The Story of My Experiments with Truth’. These will of course include experiments with non-violence, celibacy and other principles of conduct believed to be distinct from truth. But for me, truth is the sovereign principle, which includes numerous other principles. This truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought also and not only the relative truth of our conception but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal Principle, that is God.”69

Gandhi further clarified in his writing that “If anything that I write in

these pages should strike the readers as being touched with pride, then he must take it that there is something wrong with my quest and that my glimpses are no more then mirage. Let hundreds like me perish, but let truth prevail. Let us not reduce the standard of truth even by a hair’s breadth for judging erring mortals like myself.”

The book ‘An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth’ is divided into Five Parts. He started the book from the Chapter “Birth and Parentage” and concluded it by the Chapter of “at Nagpur’s Farewell”. The book proved to be a masterstroke of communication and it was soon translated into various foreign and Indian languages and still continues to change lives across the globe.

**Satyagraha in South Africa**

Other original work of Gandhi was Satyagraha in South Africa published in the form of book in 1928 written in Gujarati and translated into English by Valji Govindji Desai and had been revised by Gandhi himself and assured the reader that the spirit of the original in Gujarati has been very faithfully kept by the translator. He admitted that, “The original chapters were all written by me from my memory. They were written partly in Yervada Jail and partly outside from my pre-mature release. As a translator knew of this fact, he made a diligent study of the file of Indian Opinion and whenever he discovered slips of memory, he has not hesitated to make the necessary corrections. The reader will share my pleasure that in no relevant or material particular has there been any slip. I need hardly mention that those who are following the weekly chapters of my experiments with truth can not afford to miss these chapters on satyagraha, if they would follow in all its detail the working out of the search after truth.”

The Satyagraha struggle of the Indians in South Africa lasted eight years. The term Satyagraha was invented and employed in connection therewith.
preface of the book ‘Satyagraha in South Africa’, Gandhi expressed his feelings regarding the launching of Satyagraha in South Africa by saying, “I had long entertained a desire to write a history of that Struggle myself. Something only I could write. Only the general who conducts a campaign can know the objective of each particular move and as this was the first attempt to apply the principle of Satyagraha to politics on a large scale, it is necessary any day that the public should have an idea of its development.”

**Yervada Mandir**

Gandhi in Yervada Central Prison wrote weekly letters to the Satyagarha Ashram, containing a cursory examination of the principle Ashram observance. As the Ashram influence had already travelled beyond its geographical limits, copies of the letters were multiplied for distribution. They were originally written in Gujarati. There was a demand for translation into Hindi and other Indian languages and also into English, translated by Valji Govindji Desai in English and his translation was revised by Gandhiji himself during his incarceration. He said, “I have gone through it carefully and touched up several passages to bring out my meaning more to my liking. I need hardly add that if I was writing a news for the English reader, perhaps I should write a wholly new thing. But that would be going beyond my commission and perhaps it is as well, that even the English reader has the trend of my thought as expressed to the inmates of the Ashrams, and in the year 1930. I have, therefore, taken the least liberty with the original argument.” The book contains Sixteen Chapters written in 38 pages while the last chapter on ‘Swadeshi’ was written when he was released from Jail in 1931.

**Constructive Programme**

The Constructive Programme may otherwise, and more fittingly, be called construction of Purna Swarajya or complete Independence by truthful and non-

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72 Ibid., preface, p. xi.
violent means. Gandhi first wrote Constructive Programme in 1941 and revised it in 1945. The items included in it have not been arranged in any order, certainly not in the order of their importance. When the reader discovers that a particular subject, though important in itself, in terms of Independence, does not find place in the programme, he should know that omission is not intentional.

Gandhi, while drafting his Constructive Programme of rural development took care of social, economic, political and moral aspects of development. His approach to constructive programme can be classified into five segments, viz., economic, educational, social, environmental and political. The Constructive Programme, as revised, has 19 items including Improvement of Livestock. These include (i) communal unity; (ii) removal of untouchabilities; (iii) prohibition; (iv) khadi; (v) other village industries; (vi) village sanitation; (vii) new or basic education; (viii) adult education; (ix) women; (x) education in Health and hygiene; (xi) provincial languages; (xii) national language; (xiii) economic equality; (xiv) kisans; (xv) labour; (xvi) adivasis; (xvii) lepers; (xviii) students; and one more to be included (xix) improvement of Livestocks.74

**Key to Health**

**Key to Health**, according to Gandhiji, this new name was given to his earlier articles written under the heading Guide to Health in or about the year 1906 for the benefit of the readers of the Indian Opinion in South Africa. These articles were later published in a book form but the copies were not available in India. Late Swami Akhandanand took permission from Gandhi to publish an Indian edition which proved fruitful. The book was translated into several Indian languages. An English translation also appeared. This reached the West, and was translated into several European languages. The result was that the book became the most popular of all his writings. For this, Gandhi said, “I have never been able to understand the reason for this popularity. I had written those articles casually and I did not attach much importance to them. But perhaps the reason for

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the popularity is to be sought in the fact that I have looked upon the problem of health from a novel point of view, somewhat different from the orthodox methods adopted by doctors and vaidyas. Whether my presumption is correct or not, many friends have been pressing me to publish a new edition putting forth my views to date.”

‘Key to Health’, according to Gandhi, is that anyone who observes the rules of health mentioned in this book will find that he has got in it a real key to unlock the gates leading him to health. He will not need to knock at the doors of doctors or vaidyas from day-to-day.

Gandhi was a born journalist and writing was in his blood. His writings were different in both style and content from the writings of the leader-journalists. Their style usually was grand and aimed at impressing the educated class of Indians. In contrast, Gandhiji’s language was simple devoid of embellishments yet clear, straightforward and easily understandable. He wrote on a variety of topics not confined to politics and he was a diligent correspondent who replied to every letter written to him. His compassion, humility, nobility and his concern for the poorest of the poor breathed through his writings. His writings also focused on economic issues like poverty and unemployment with suggestions as to how to remove them. Health and hygiene also occupied an important place in his writings. Spiritual growth was another important area which he usually touched upon. Infact, one can find him writing on almost everything under the sun which had relevance for human beings. The vide range of topics also shows that Gandhi was aiming at not only freedom of the country but also the building of the nation which further differentiated him from the other leaders.

After going through the whole gamut of Gandhi’s writings, it becomes clear that print media occupied an important place in Gandhi’s communication. His insistence on putting the minutest detail in black and white and his belief in

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publicity of a cause he thought right further strengthens his view. In view of the style and content of his writings, Broomfield has described him as a great "scribbler". Whatever came to his mind was put on the paper. That is why there was never much of a difference in the content of what he wrote or what he spoke. This is not to say that what he wrote was of inferior quality but to emphasise that for Gandhi who was continuously practicing self control like a yogi to get a right expression was never a problem. It is said that Gandhi liberated his writings from the tradition of written word. Infact, the written words constitute only half of Gandhi's repertoire of communication. One, however, draws solace in Gandhi's words, "After I am gone, people will remember my words." This indicates that Gandhi knew that the dialogue he had initiated will not end with his death. And even in the absence of his physical body, his words would carry weight.

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