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## UNIT 12 CASE STUDIES (CHAMPARAN AND SOUTH AFRICA)

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### 12.1 INTRODUCTION

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Conflict is a dynamic and changeable process. The main aim of conflict transformation is to transform conflict into something socially useful and non-destructive. Gandhi too was of the view that conflicts should be transformed into something constructive. He thus came up with an alternative way, one which was free of violence. He not only explained the details of his alternative way but most of all practiced them in his personal and political life. The section below discusses two case studies from Gandhi's life—South Africa and Champaran—wherein he tried to transform the conflict into a constructive thing. The two case studies have two common threads. Firstly, both the cases had Gandhi leading the campaigns and secondly, they both took place in a colonial context. The main aim of the present unit is to understand how conflict can be transformed in practice.

### Aims and Objectives

After going through this Unit, you would be able to

- Understand how Gandhi transformed the conflicts in South Africa and Champaran; and
- Become familiar with some of the practical aspects of conflict transformation as put into practice by Gandhi.

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## 12.2 SOUTH AFRICA

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Gandhi was trained as a lawyer and was offered work in South Africa by a Gujarati merchant named Dada Abdullah. He took up that offer and landed in Durban, South Africa in 1893.

A few days after his arrival in South Africa, on his first day in court, Gandhi was asked by the judge to remove his turban. He refused to comply and left the courtroom. Some days later, during a train journey from Durban to Pretoria, Gandhi was told by a railway official to move from the first class compartment to the third class, even though he had a valid first class ticket. Gandhi refused to go and was bundled out by a white man and left to shiver in a waiting room. Later he was forced to travel in the driver's coach, even though he possessed a first-class ticket. Soon after he was asked to vacate that seat as well and sit on the foot-board of the coach. When he ignored that order, he was beaten viciously. Finally he reached Johannesburg and started looking for a hotel to put up for the night. However, all the hotels claimed to be full. For the return train journey from Johannesburg to Pretoria, he managed to secure a first-class ticket but only after he quoted extensively from the railway regulations. He boarded the train but was again on the verge of being pushed out from his first-class railway compartment; eventually a European passenger intervened and saved him. These acts of racial discrimination transformed the course of his life and inspired him to fight for the rights of the Indian community living in South Africa.

Once the law suit for which he had come to South Africa was settled, Gandhi wanted to leave for India, but the Indians in South Africa urged him to stay for a month or so, as the bill to disenfranchise Indians was in the process of being passed by the Natal legislature. Gandhi stayed on but not for a month or so but for twenty long years.

Indians had been living in South Africa since 1890 when they were taken to that country to work as indentured labourers on sugar plantations by the white settlers. Some Indian merchants followed them. Ex-indentured labourers along with their children settled down in South Africa after the expiry of their contracts. All these groups of Indians were subjected to racial discrimination. Gandhi refused to accept the inferior status that had been imposed on the Indians by the racist white rulers of South Africa. He fought against the various restrictions that had been imposed on the Indians living in South Africa and in the process developed the new technique of Satyagraha as well as his social vision. Besides, he also established small communes in which an alternative way of life could be practised on a daily basis. These led to the development of his political, social and spiritual ideas.

From 1894 to 1906, Gandhi followed the moderate techniques of prayers and petitions in the fight against discrimination. He tried to unite the various groups of Indians and also tried to give their demands wide publicity by setting up the Natal Indian Congress and starting a newspaper called *Indian Opinion*. This phase depicted Gandhi's organising, fund-raising, advocacy and journalistic skills. However, by 1906, he realised that these moderate methods will not lead him anywhere.

Gandhi's second phase in South Africa began in 1906 and it was characterised by the novel method of passive resistance or civil disobedience. Gandhi renamed it as *Satyagraha* in 1907. The second phase was marked by three campaigns in South Africa in the years 1906-08, 1908-11, and 1913-14. These campaigns were against the following issues: Transvaal ordinance on compulsory registration and passes for Indians, the immigration restrictions, the de-recognition of non-Christian Indian marriages, and the £ 3 tax on ex-indentured labourers.

#### **12.2.1 1906-1908 SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGN**

The Gandhian passive resistance (renamed as *Satyagraha* in 1907) was first used in 1906 in Transvaal when the South African Government enacted a legislation making it compulsory for all Indian residents to get their registration and fingerprinting done. The Indian residents, under the leadership of Gandhi, resolved that they would not submit to this legislation but were prepared to face the consequences. Gandhi formed the Passive Resistance Association to conduct this campaign. After the last registration date, legal proceedings were started against Gandhi and twenty-six others. All of them pleaded guilty and were ordered to leave the country, which they refused to do. Hence they were sent to jail. Slowly the number of passive resisters increased to 155. General Smuts invited Gandhi for talks and promised that if Indian residents registered voluntarily, he would withdraw the legislation. Gandhi accepted this proposal but General Smuts went back on his words and ordered the ratification of voluntary registrations under the law. As a result, the Indian residents publicly burnt their registration certificates.

#### **12.2.2 1908-1911 SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGN**

The Government now brought in a new legislation, the purpose of which was to restrict Indian immigration. Now the campaign against registration was widened to oppose this new law as well. In August 1908, several Indians crossed over from Natal to Transvaal to defy the immigration law. They were arrested. Indian hawkers opposed the law by operating without licence. They too were arrested. In October 1908, Gandhi too landed in jail. He, along with other Indians, was sentenced to a prison term which involved hard physical labour. Still the campaign continued. The Government then started deporting poor Indians to India. There was a sort of a deadlock as both sides stuck to their positions. Gandhi then visited London to speak to the authorities but there was no

significant breakthrough. Finances meant for supporting the *Satyagrahis*' families were running out. Gandhi then set up Tolstoy Farm to house the families of the *Satyagrahis*, thus providing them a way to sustain themselves. In 1911, an agreement was reached between the Government and the Indians but it lasted only until 1912.

### **12.2.3 1913-1914 SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGN**

Meanwhile Gopal Krishna Gokhale visited South Africa and the Government promised him that all discriminatory laws would be abolished. However, that promise was never kept and thus in 1913 the *Satyagraha* was resumed again. The movement was further widened to protest the imposition of a poll tax of three pounds on all ex-indentured Indian labourers. This movement acquired a mass character now as it drew the indentured and ex-indentured Indian labourers, who too joined the campaign. Further, there was a Supreme Court judgement which invalidated all marriages that had not been conducted according to Christian rites. This meant that all Hindu, Muslim and Parsi marriages were illegal and the children born out of such marriages were illegal too. This judgement added fuel to the fire. Gandhi then launched a final struggle, a march which now included women and Indian mine workers as well. Gandhi was arrested twice and released during the course of the march. The third time he was arrested and sent to jail. Several others were sent to jail as well. The people in the jail were subjected to severe treatment. The use of brutal force against unarmed people led to widespread condemnation of the Government. Eventually the Government and General Smuts were forced to go in for negotiations with Gandhi. The negotiations were fruitful as the Government of South Africa agreed to concede to the major demands of the Indians relating to poll tax, registration certificates, and solemnisation of marriages according to Indian rites. It also promised to sympathetically consider the question of Indian immigration. Thus the *Satyagraha* campaigns in South Africa ended on a positive note.

### **12.2.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GANDHIAN SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGNS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The Gandhian *Satyagraha* in South Africa involved careful training of disciplined cadres in the Phoenix Settlement and the Tolstoy Farm; non-violent peaceful violation of specific laws such as compulsory registration, entry permits, trade licenses, etc.; mass courting of arrests; and occasional hartals and spectacular marches. Gandhi paid a lot of attention to organisational and especially financial details. He was always open to negotiations and compromises, so much so that he would withdraw the *satyagraha* unilaterally and abruptly (most people were highly critical of this, but Gandhi stuck to his approach). These were some of the characteristics of the Gandhian *Satyagraha* campaigns that took place in South Africa.

### 12.2.5 GANDHI'S EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Education was a crucial aspect in the Gandhian scheme of things. Gandhi got an opportunity to conduct experiments in the field of education during his stay in South Africa. During a train journey from Johannesburg to Durban, Gandhi read the book *Unto this Last* by Ruskin and this motivated him to live the “life of manual labour, of the artisan and the tiller of the soil.” He thus founded the Phoenix Settlement in Durban in 1904 in order to be able to live that kind of a life. But there were too many outside pressures and Gandhi, in spite of having the willingness to work in the Settlement, was unable to do much.

The book *Hind Swaraj* written by Gandhi in 1909 on board ship on the way back to South Africa from England contained his vision of the ideal of an educated man. Marjorie Sykes, in her book *The Story of Nai Talim*, says that “Gandhiji dreamed of finding out by experience and experiment ‘a true system of education’ which would put into practice the ideal he had put forward in *Hind Swaraj*.” The Tolstoy Farm set up near Johannesburg became that experimental ground for Gandhi. Hermann Kallenbach, a German architect, played an instrumental role in giving the land for the farm as well as setting it up. The Farm was run like a big joint family which consisted of Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Christians. There was a common kitchen in the Farm. The women were in-charge of the kitchen and the children took turns to help them. Even Gandhi frequently tried to assist in the kitchen. The whole community worked on the farm and in the vegetable gardens as well.

The Tolstoy Farm had a workshop too, where children and adults could learn carpentry and sandal-making. Kallenbach was a trained man and he taught Gandhi sandal-making. Regular classes were held at Tolstoy Farm school—two or three classes each day in subjects such as languages, arithmetic, hand-writing, history, geography, general knowledge, science—these classes were mostly taught by either Gandhi or Kallenbach. Gandhi believed that these subjects were to be taught through stories and interesting talks for he believed that “children learned more readily and more thoroughly through their ears than through their eyes.” Another important aspect of the Tolstoy Farm School was that there were classes in religion and the children had to attend all those, irrespective of the religion they belonged to. Thus the residents of Tolstoy Farm were not only faithful to their own religion but also respectful towards all religions. The Gandhian education system thus consisted of education of the body, mind and spirit but what mattered most to Gandhi was conduct.

Both Kallenbach and Gandhi were unable to stay in the Farm throughout the week due to other work pressures and as a result teaching suffered; still Gandhi felt that “the most substantial result of the (satyagraha) struggle is the school”. In any case, the Farm school

lasted for only one year as the Transvaal *Satyagraha* came to an end after an agreement was reached between Gandhi and General Smuts. The residents of Tolstoy Farm, most of whom were the *Satyagrahis* or their families, withdrew from the Farm and returned to their normal lives. Although the Tolstoy Farm educational experiment was a short one, still in Gandhi's words, "My faith and courage were at their highest in Tolstoy Farm."

Writing about the importance of Gandhi's South Africa experience, Sumit Sarkar in his book *Modern India: 1885-1947*, published in 2004 opined: "The South African experience (1893-1914) contributed in a number of different ways to the foundations of Gandhi's ideology and methods, as well as to his later achievements in India."

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### 12.3 THE CHAMPARAN SATYAGRAHA

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Gandhi returned to India in 1915 and took a while to settle in. However, he was not one to remain far from action and soon started championing the cause of the peasants. The Champaran *Satyagraha* was the first movement that Gandhi led on his return from South Africa, which was followed by the Kheda *Satyagraha* in 1918. The peasants of Champaran district of North Bihar were protesting against the white indigo planters.

Champaran had had a long history of agitation and discontent against the planters. Several European planters had settled in Champaran and they were engaged in the cultivation of indigo for more than a hundred years. The planters set up factories in places where indigo was grown in the Champaran district. The Bettiah Estate constituted a large part of the Champaran district. The planters used to realise land revenue from most of the villages of the Bettiah Estate on behalf of the British Raj. They once helped the British Raj to raise loan in England when it badly needed money. In return, the British Raj mortgaged most of the villages under its control to the planters. The planters acquired *mokarri* right for many villages—they could raise any amount of money they wanted from these villages—however, they were supposed to pay a fixed amount of revenue to the British Raj. Increased income thus went to the planters. For non-*mokarri* right villages, the planters had to pay fixed rent to the Raj for a term of years and keep the rest for themselves.

In the early nineteenth century, European planters forced the cultivators of Champaran to cultivate indigo on one-fourth or three-twentieth of their holdings. This system was known as *panch kathia* or *teen kathia* system. The cultivators were forced to divert the best part of their land to cultivating indigo. Those who defied the *teen kathia* system were harassed and subjected to atrocities – their crops were destroyed, houses were looted, cattle was let loose on their lands, they were dragged into false cases, forced to pay fines, and the adamant ones were even beaten up. The *teen kathia* system thus became a norm.

However, by the end of the nineteenth century, cultivated indigo was forced out of the market because of the easy availability and cheapness of German synthetic dyes. The planters started losing out on profits as the price of cultivated indigo declined steeply. The European planters now wanted to relieve the cultivators of Champaran from the obligation of cultivating indigo, but not before they had enhanced the rent and other illegal dues in return for the release. This move was resisted by the cultivators in 1908 in a slightly violent manner, which eventually led to police repression, arrests and jail sentences.

In 1914 the First World War broke out in Europe and it became difficult to import foreign dye from Germany. This brightened the prospects for indigo once again. The cultivators, who had been released from indigo-cultivation, were now being forced by the planters to cultivate indigo. This further agitated the hapless cultivators.

Things were however due for a change in 1917. A local peasant, Raj Kumar Shukla, followed Gandhi all over the country to persuade him to come to Champaran and investigate the matter. When Gandhi reached Champaran, the Commissioner ordered him to leave the district immediately. However, Gandhi refused to leave and instead preferred to take punishment for his defiance of the law. The idea of offering passive resistance or civil disobedience to an unjust order was a very novel one to Indians.

Gandhi was an advocate of conducting careful open-minded investigations based on a scientific spirit. He believed in conducting detailed fieldwork, which would involve testimonies and statistics. This was to be done neutrally and openly and the future course of action depended on this investigation. He applied this approach in Champaran as well. He investigated the complaints made by the peasants against the white indigo planters. This investigation revealed the abuse of power by the local elite and authorities. Thus the authorities were obviously not happy with this and arrested Gandhi. In a statement given on April 18, 1917 before the Motihari Court, Champaran District, Gandhi said:

“I have entered the country with motives of rendering humanitarian and national service. I have done so in response to a pressing invitation to come and help the ryots, who urge they are not being fairly treated by the indigo planters. I could not render any help without studying the problem. I have, therefore, come to study it with the assistance, if possible, of the administration and the planters. I have no other motive and I cannot believe that my coming here can in any way disturb the public peace or cause loss of life. I claim to have considerable experience in such matters. The administration, however, have thought differently.”

The First World War was going on and Gandhi was supporting the war efforts of the British at that point of time. The British thus did not want to alienate him and therefore

the prosecution was abandoned by the local authorities and the survey was allowed to continue unhindered.

Gandhi along with colleagues like Brij Kishore, Rajendra Prasad, Mahadev Desai, J B Kripalani and others toured several villages and recorded the statements and evidences of thousands of peasants by interrogating them thoroughly, to ensure that the information provided by them was correct. The Government, on the other hand, appointed a Commission of Inquiry to investigate into the matter. Gandhi was nominated as one of the members of the Commission. Gandhi convinced the Commission that the *teen kathia* system needed to be abolished. He also asked for compensation for the peasants who had had to pay illegal enhanced dues. However, he later agreed to a compromise settlement wherein the planters had to refund only twenty-five percent of the money they had illegally taken from the peasants. Some critics questioned this compromise and asked Gandhi as to why he did not ask for a full refund. But there were several legal hurdles in asking for a full refund—many planters had sold off their properties and new owners could obviously not be asked to return the money they had never received—this is why Gandhi had agreed to the compromise. Moreover, Gandhi was of the view that the twenty-five percent refund had done enough damage to the prestige and position of the planters'. He was right, for the planters left the Champaran district altogether within a decade. Elaborating on this aspect, Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his *Autobiography* written in 1957 said:

“What the Commission offered to the ryots was far less than their demands. But the main achievement of the year-long agitation lay in this: the planters lost their foothold in Champaran. They had been rendered too weak to be tyrannical or even aggressive.”

Gandhi was committed to non-violence and to ensure that the movement did not turn violent, he brought in his followers from Gujarat and also recruited like-minded members of the local middle class to work amongst the people. As a result, the 1917 protest was characterised by low levels of violence in comparison to earlier such agitations. In 2003, David Hardiman in his book *Gandhi in His Time and Ours: The Global Legacy of Ideas* gives due credit to Gandhi for this by saying:

“When Gandhi took over the leadership of the Champaran peasants in 1917, he insisted on strict non-violence, which, in the context of a society in which landlord violence and peasant counter-violence was an everyday fact of rural life, was a very novel idea.”

Gandhi's enquiry and all-India publicity to the grievances of the indigo cultivators of Champaran led to the abolition of the *teen kathia* system. The movement was thus successful in achieving its main aim without the usage of violence. Talking of the



importance of the Champaran movement and the lessons learnt therein, Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his *Autobiography* said:

“We saw in Champaran on a smaller scale Gandhiji’s *satyagraha* which he later organized through the length and breadth of the country. This agitation which had a very limited objective and covered a small area took one year and even then success was qualified. .... But valuable lessons were learnt. We all worked as one team, in perfect unison, carrying out the behests of the leader. He taught us a new lesson in public affairs. Though he wanted to put an end to the atrocities of the planters, he bore no ill-will against them and no bitterness against the adversary. Nor did we harbour any resentment or malice. The Champaran struggle was a fine rehearsal in the technique of *Satyagraha*. The results achieved were quick and satisfactory because it was *Satyagraha* conducted.”

Champaran was thus seen as a victory for Gandhian methods. But the movement had other impacts as well. Sumit Sarkar in his book (2004), *Modern India: 1885-1947*, written in 2004, says:

“.....the psychological impact far surpassed the concrete activities: Gandhi ‘is daily transfiguring the imaginations of masses of ignorant men with visions of an early millenium’, reported the Bettiah S.D.O. on 29 April 1917. A *raiyat* compared Gandhi to Ramchandra, and declared before the enquiry committee that ‘tenants would not fear the Rakhshasa-planters now that Gandhi was there’.

However, by late 1917, some peasants refused to pay the reduced rent or *sharahbeshi*. This reduced rent had been accepted within the Gandhian settlement. Before leaving Champaran, Gandhi told Rajendra Prasad that the only real solution ‘was the education of *raiya*ts and a constant process of mediation between them and the planters’. Gandhi left behind a group of fifteen volunteers in Champaran, who started constructive village work. But by May 1918 only three village-level workers were still active in Champaran. Success in Champaran was thus partial in terms of conflict transformation as the situation had not been transformed completely.

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## **12.4 FEATURES OF GANDHIAN CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION IN ACTION**

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Conflict transformation is the process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, and if necessary, the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict. Mark Juergensmeyer in his book *Gandhi’s Way: A Handbook of Conflict Resolution* written in 2002, emphasizes the core of Gandhian *Satyagraha* very aptly when he says, “Winning in the Gandhian sense, requires a transformation of relationships.” Besides, conflict transformation sees conflict as a catalyst for change. Gandhi too tried to bring out constructive and positive changes through the non-violent *Satyagraha* campaigns in the conflict situations of South Africa

and Champaran by fighting for truth, respect, rights and justice against racial, discriminatory and exploitative policies. Non-violence was a critical aspect of Gandhian Satyagraha but in practice, Gandhi settled for less than complete non-violence sometimes, as was the case in 1918 when he campaigned for military recruitment in the hope that the British would give some political concessions to the Indians in the post-war period.

Additionally, conflict transformation recognises that conflicts should be transformed gradually. In both the cases of South Africa and Champaran, Gandhi did not intervene at the drop of a hat. He first tried to understand the situation and then tried to reason out with the authorities against discriminatory policies, ever willing to negotiate and compromise. But if these things did not yield results, then he tried to organise the people by raising awareness through his writings and public speeches and finally, training them to perform *Satyagraha*. Gandhi therefore never tried to do things in a hurry as his guru, Gopal Krishna Gokhale had suggested this to Gandhi when he visited him at Tolstoy Farm - never to do anything in a hurry, rather think about it and then express it. Besides, training, capacity building and empowerment of the *Satyagrahis* was important in order to make *Satyagraha* successful.

Moreover, in the course of campaigns against a specific law or an exploitative policy, Gandhi never forgot to work on constructive programmes of reform and social service, for he was of the opinion that only such programmes could build a new social order. The Constructive Programme comprised of “working toward communal unity, the removal of untouchability, a program of adult education and village improvement, peasant uplift and the development of nonviolent labor unions, economic and social equality, decentralized economic production and distribution through the promotion of cottage and small-scale industries, and the abolition of various social evils.” Education was a very important component of Gandhi’s work and this was demonstrated in his two experiments of Phoenix Settlement and Tolstoy Farm. Rajendra Prasad’s *Autobiography* written in 1957 gives a glimpse of how Gandhi tried to strike at the root of social evils while concentrating on the Champaran Satyagraha:

“As a result of our stay with Gandhiji, a revolutionary change came in our day-to-day life. I was, for example, a strict observer of caste rules and restrictions. I would never eat any food touched by a non-Brahmin which was not ordinarily eaten by caste people. Gandhiji told us if this sort of culinary separatism continued we would not be able to carry on public work. People having the same objective belonged to one caste, he said. There was no answer to that sentiment and I changed my ways, as did the others.”

Furthermore, conflict transformation efforts involve a variety of actors. Gandhi too tried to include different kinds of actors in his campaigns in South Africa and Champaran. Most of all, his movements were grassroots based and enjoyed mass participation that was “controlled” rather than uncontrolled and violent. Affirming this fact, Sumit Sarkar in his book *Modern India: 1885-1947*, written in 2004 says: “.....Gandhi acquired the reputation of a man who would take up local wrongs and usually manage to do something concrete about them—a political style in sharp contrast to the established Congress pattern of starting with somewhat abstract all-India issues or programmes and proceeding from top downwards.” Gandhi thus had more faith in the bottom up approach to conflict transformation. Any campaign or movement can only be sustained when the grassroots participate in it.

In the Gandhian scheme of things, understanding and knowledge of the ground situation is important. Gandhi was always open to listening to the other point of view to get a better, objective and wholesome perspective of the problem, for example, in Champaran, the planters took Gandhi to their places to give their side of the story and see things for himself. He did give a patient hearing to their stories. Another feature was that Gandhi always separated the person from the problem. For instance, he maintained good relations with the white planters of Champaran and even visited their houses. As a result the planters too were not bitter. In fact, he sought their help in starting some schools for the ryots in Champaran.

Transparency was another key aspect of Gandhi’s transformative perspective. The following incident narrated by Rajendra Prasad in his *Autobiography* written in 1957 bears testimony to it:

“Once when one of our colleagues was recording the statements of a batch of villagers, a Sub-Inspector of Police came and took a seat near him. Our colleague shifted to another place and the Sub-Inspector followed him. Enraged, our friend asked the officer to see and hear whatever he liked from a distance. The Sub-Inspector complained to Gandhiji, saying: ‘We have orders to keep an eye on what is going on. We do not disturb your men in their work but they do not allow us to go near them. We too have our duty to perform.’

Gandhiji at once called for our friend and asked him if he was working alone or was with other people. The latter replied that he had with him many kisans who were narrating their complaints. Gandhiji asked, ‘Are you doing anything in secret?’ The other replied in the negative. Gandhiji wondered why he was trying to conceal anything from the Sub-Inspector. Our colleague replied that he was not trying to conceal anything but that his nearness disturbed him. Then Gandhiji made a characteristic remark: ‘If you were not disturbed by so many cultivators

crowding around you, why should you be disturbed by the presence of another individual?'....."

While working on conflict transformation, it is important for the leadership to pay attention to organisational details as well as plan for the future. This incident from the Champaran campaign, described by Rajendra Prasad in his *Autobiography* written in 1957, demonstrates that:

"The Governor of Bihar sent for Gandhiji. The letter from Ranchi said that owing to the presence of Gandhiji anarchy and lawlessness were spreading fast. The Government, therefore, wanted to remove him from Champaran but before any orders were issued, the Governor would like to meet him. We felt that Gandhiji might be imprisoned or externed from Bihar and that we might not be later permitted to carry on the work. Gandhiji, therefore, began to make future plans. He divided us into two batches, one to work from Bettiah and the other from Motihari. He gave us full directions about our future course of action in the event of arrest. We prepared duplicates of the thousands of documents we had and arranged for their safe custody. His plans finalized, Gandhiji left for Ranchi."

Building and cultivating relationships and networks is important for conflict transformation. Touching upon this aspect, in his *Autobiography* written in 1957, Rajendra Prasad said: "We were able to meet and know many public workers from different parts of the country and this contact was a valuable experience for us." These relationships and networks proved crucial in working for the independence of India.

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## 12.5 SUMMARY

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Gandhi lived in South Africa for almost twenty years. It was here that he formulated and practised his novel method of *Satyagraha* in order to fight against the racial discrimination, which Indians living in South Africa were subjected to. He also carried out his educational experiments in the Tolstoy Farm set up near Johannesburg. Personally this was a very rewarding and productive period for Gandhi. The three *Satyagraha* campaigns held in South Africa also proved to be a success as all except one discriminatory policy was taken back by the Government. Champaran was the first *Satyagraha* campaign that he led in India after coming back from South Africa. Here he fought for the peasants and cultivators against the exploitative policies of the British Raj especially the *teen kathia* system. The campaign was a successful one for the limited aim of abolishing the *teen kathia* system was achieved.

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## 12.6 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

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1. What were some of the life transforming incidents that inspired Gandhi to formulate the method of *Satyagraha*?
2. Discuss the *Satyagraha* campaigns led by Gandhi in South Africa.
3. What were some of the characteristics of the *Satyagraha* campaigns led by Gandhi in South Africa?
4. Describe the educational experiments carried out by Gandhi during his stay in South Africa.
5. What were the reasons behind the initiation of the Champaran *Satyagraha* campaign? How did Gandhi go about resolving the main issues therein?
6. Discuss the features of Gandhian conflict transformation in action.

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