

PART TWO CORRESPONDENCE

SECTION 1 GENERAL (Dated)

Document 1 Minister of Justice – MR, 2nd November 1965

Whereas I, Balthazar Johannes Vorster, Minister of Justice, am satisfied that you engage in activities which are furthering or may further the achievement of the objects of communism, I hereby, in terms of paragraph (a) of sub-section (1) of section ten of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950 (Act No 44 of 1950), prohibit you for a period commencing on the date on which this notice is delivered or tendered to you and expiring on the 30th day of November, 1970, from:

- (1) absenting yourself from the magisterial district of Durban;
- (2) being within:
 - (a) any Bantu residential area as defined in the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945 (Act No 25 of 1945);
 - (b) any Bantu compound;
 - (c) the premises of any factory as defined in the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act, 1941 (Act No 22 of 1941);
 - (d) any place which constitutes the premises on which any publication as defined in the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, is prepared, compiled, printed or published;
 - (e) any place which constitutes the premises of any organization contemplated in Government Notice R1906, as amended by Government Notice No R1947 of the 27th November 1964, and any place which constitutes premises on which the premises of any such organization are situate;
 - (f) any place or area which constitutes the premises on which any public or private university, university college, college, school or other educational institution is situate;
 - (g) any harbour as defined in section one of the Railways and Harbours Control and Management (Consolidation) Act, 1957 (Act No 70 of 1957);
 - (h) any place or area which constitutes the premises of any superior or inferior court as defined in the Criminal Procedure Act, 1955 (Act No 56 of 1955), except for the purpose of:
 - i) applying to a magistrate for an exception to any prohibition in force against you under the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950;
 - ii) attending any criminal proceedings in which you are required to appear as an accused or a witness;
 - iii) attending any civil proceedings in which you are a plaintiff, petitioner, applicant, defendant, respondent or other party or in which you are required to appear as a witness;
- (3) communicating in any manner whatsoever with any person whose name appears on any list in the custody of the officer referred to in section eight of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, or in respect of whom any prohibition under the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, or the Riotous Assemblies Act, 1956 (Act No 17 of 1956), is in force;
- (4) performing any of the following acts, that is to say –
 - (a) preparing, compiling, printing, publishing or disseminating in any manner whatsoever any publication as defined in the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950;
 - (b) participating or assisting in any manner whatsoever in the preparation, compilation, printing, publication or dissemination of any publication as so defined;
 - (c) contributing, preparing or compiling in any manner whatsoever any matter for publication in any publication as so defined;
 - (d) assisting in any manner whatsoever in the preparation or compiling of any matter for publication in any publication as so defined;
 - (e) giving any educational instruction in any manner or form to any person other than a person of whom you are a parent;
 - (f) taking part in any manner whatsoever in the activities or affairs of any organization contemplated in Government Notice No R2130 of the 28th December 1962, as amended by Government Notice No R1947 of the 27th November 1964.

Given under my hand at Pretoria on this 2nd day of November 1965.

Minister of Justice

Note

The Magistrate, Durban, has in terms of section 10(1)(a) of Act No 44 of 1950 been empowered to authorize exceptions to the prohibitions contained in this notice.

Document 2 Minister of Justice – MR, 2nd November 1965

Whereas I, Balthazar Johannes Vorster, Minister of Justice, am satisfied that you engage in activities which are furthering or are calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of communism, I hereby, in terms of sub-section (1) of section nine of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950 (Act No 44 of 1950), prohibit you for a period commencing on the date on which this notice is delivered or tendered to you and expiring on the 30th day of November, 1970, from attending within the Republic of South Africa or the territory of South-West Africa:

- (1) any gathering contemplated in paragraph (a) of the said sub-section; or
- (2) any gathering contemplated in paragraph (b) of the said sub-section, of the nature, class or kind set out below:
 - (a) Any social gathering, that is to say, any gathering at which the persons present also have social intercourse with one another;
 - (b) any political gathering, that is to say any gathering at which any form of State or any principle or policy of the Government of a State is propagated, defended, attacked, criticized or discussed;
 - (c) any gathering of pupils or students assembled for the purpose of being instructed, trained or addressed by you.

Given under my hand at Pretoria on this 2nd day of November, 1965.

Minister of Justice

Note

The Magistrate, Durban, has in terms of section 9(1) of the above-mentioned Act been empowered to authorize exceptions to the prohibitions contained in this notice.

Document 3 MR – Chief Magistrate, Durban, 15th November 1965

Dear Sir,

Re: Variation of Banning Order

In terms of Paragraph (a) of sub-section (1) of section ten of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, (Act No 44 of 1950) I have been restricted to the District of Durban. I wish to draw your attention to the fact that I live at Phoenix Settlement in the Magisterial District of Inanda-Verulam.

Would you therefore by virtue of powers vested in you in terms of Section 10 (1) A of Act No 44 of 1950 amend the restriction to include the magisterial district of Inanda-Verulam.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that if this authority is not given to me today. I will have nowhere to sleep tonight.

Yours faithfully

Mawalal Ramgobin

Document 4 Magistrate, Durban - MR, 15 November 1965

Sir,

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 15th November, 1965, and have to advise you that paragraph 1 of your Banning Order under Section 10(1) (a) of Act No 44 of 1950 is hereby amended, temporarily for one month, to the extent that you may reside at Phoenix Settlement in the Magisterial District of Inanda-Verulam, pending confirmation by the Honourable the Minister of Justice.

Yours faithfully

Magistrate: Durban

Document 5 Peter Mansfield, National Union of South African Students, Press Release, 29th November 1965

Press Release 21/65

The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) is shocked to learn of the banning of Mr Mewa Ramgobin, immediate past president of the University of Natal (Non-European Section) Students Representative Council and a former executive member of NUSAS.

We call upon Minister Vorster to cease showing his contempt for the rule of law and to bring all the "un-people" that he has created – the detained, the banished and the banned – before the courts of our land. If Minister Vorster does not believe that he can substantiate before the courts the guilt of those he has found guilty, he should release them from the existence to which he has condemned them. On behalf of the students whom we represent and the vast majority of South Africans, we object to any man setting himself up as judge, jury and prosecutor.

A government which uses totalitarian methods to defend freedom and democracy becomes an enemy of that which it professes to defend. We call upon the government and Minister Vorster in particular, to return to the rule of law and to cease forever the practice of conviction without trial.

Peter Mansfield
Acting President

Document 6 MR – Security Police, Durban, 14th December, 1965

Sir,

Particulars and details (description) of land at Phoenix Settlement

Herein is an extract of the above from our Deed of Transfers dated and numbered 430/1905 and 898/1905. The information being submitted to you is for facilitating the variation of the banning order imposed on Mr Mawalal Ramgobin, of the above address.

1. A certain piece of freehold land in extent 80 acres 3 roods 15.2 perches more or less situated and being the Remainder of the Portion D of Lot A of the Farm Piezang River in the County of Victoria, Colony of Natal. Bounded Northerly by Remainder of Lot A; Easterly by Melk Houte Kraal; Southerly by Lot C of A; and Westerly by Remainder of Lot A.
2. A certain piece of freehold land in extent 20 acres more or less situate and being Portion 'I' of Lot 'D' of Lot 'A' of the Farm Piezang River in the County of Victoria, Colony of Natal bounded Northerly by Remainder of Lot D; Easterly by Remainder of Lot D; Southerly by Lot C of A; Westerly by Lot E of A.

Trusting that the forgoing will expedite the variation of the banning order.

Yours faithfully

M. Ramgobin

Document 7 Minister of Justice – MR, 25th February 1966

Re: Application to study at the University of Natal

With further reference to your letter of the 23rd November 1965, I am directed by the Honourable the Minister of Justice to inform you that your application has been refused.

Yours faithfully

Minister of Justice

Document 8 MR, Affidavit, 23rd April 1966

[Ramgobin is a combination of two Hindu two words: Ram and Gobin, are two Hindi deities. Interview with Mewa Ramgobin by Iain Edwards, Tape 1,23rd January 2003.]

1. I, Mawalal Ramgobin, born at Inanda on 10 November 1932, presently residing at Phoenix Settlement hereby apply to the Population Registrar and the Registrar of Births, Marriages and Deaths for the insertion of the surname Ramgobin in the Population Registrar and in my birth registrar for the following reasons:
 - (a) I am already known as Mawalal Ramgobin
 - (b) My Birth Certificate does not reflect a surname
 - (c) My Marriage Certificate does not reflect a surname
 - (d) Accordingly I wish to have both these documents amended
2. The following documents are submitted as proof that I am known by the surname:
 - (a) Identity Card
 - (b) My B.A. Certificate obtained from Natal University also states Mawalal Ramgobin
3. I never assumed, described myself by, or passed under any other surname.

Signed at Durban on the 23rd day of April 1966

M. Ramgobin
Deponent

The deponent has acknowledged that he knows and understands this affidavit which was sworn to and signed before me at Durban on the 23rd day of April 1966

Commissioner of Oaths

Document 9 **MR, "Locke's views on sovereignty", University of South Africa, student essay, 16th September 1967**

1. 'According to Locke, although the state of nature is a condition of affairs in which men have no common authority over them, God 'put him (man) under strong obligations of necessity, convenience and inclination to drive him into society'. Therefore, one cannot say that society is unnatural to man. The family, the primary form of human society, is natural to man, and civil or political society is natural in the sense that it fulfils human needs. For although men, considered in the state of nature, are independent of one another, it is difficult for them to preserve their liberties and rights in actual practice. For, from the fact that in the state of nature all are bound in conscience to obey a common moral law it does not follow that all actually obey this law. And from the fact that all enjoy equal rights and are morally bound to respect the rights of others it does not follow that all actually respect the rights of others. It is in man's interest, therefore, to form an organized society for the more effectual preservation of their liberties and rights. The picture painted by Locke of the state of nature is not an ideal condition of affairs for he did maintain that, though the law or nature be plain and intelligible to all rational creatures, yet men being biased by their interest, as well as ignorant for want of studying it, are not apt to allow of it as a law binding them in the application of it to their particular cases'.
2. It is desirable therefore, that there should be a written law to define the natural law and decide controversies. In the second place, though a man in the state of nature enjoys the right to punish transgressions, men are only too apt to be over-zealous in their own cause and too remiss in the cause of others. Consequently, there should be an established and commonly recognized judicial system. Added to the above two considerations, in the state of nature men may often lack the power to punish crimes, even when their sentences are just. Thus, notwithstanding all the rights and privileges of the state of nature mankind is quickly driven into society.
 - (1) Locke: Civil Govt. 52
 - (2) Ibid: 53

And to this extent the liberty of the state of nature is curtailed. But men relinquish these powers in order to enjoy their liberties more securely. It is reasonable to assume with Locke that no rational creature can be supposed to change his condition with an intention to be worse. Furthermore, Locke is of the opinion that whosoever out of the state of nature unite into a community must be understood to give up all the power necessary to the ends for which they unite into society to the majority of the community, unless they expressly agreed in any number greater than the majority. According to this assumption the original compact must be understood as involving the individual's consent to submit to the will of the majority. "It is necessary the body should move that way whither the greater force carries it, which is the consent of the majority".

1. Either the unanimous and explicit consent of every individual is required for every measure to be enacted, and this in most cases is impracticable; or the will of the majority must prevail. Locke evidently considered that the

right of the majority to represent the community was practically self-evident; but he apparently did not realize that the majority might act tyrannically with regard to the minority. At any rate his main concern was to show that 'absolute monarchy was contrary to the original social compact, and he doubtless thought that the danger to liberty from majority rule was much less than the danger to liberty which comes from absolute monarchy. And having included consent to majority rule in his original compact he was able to say that absolute monarchy, which by some men is counted the only government in the world, is indeed inconsistent with civil society and can be no form of civil government at all.

2. One obvious objection to the theory of the social compact is the difficulty in finding historical instances of it. The question arises, because of this, whether Locke thought of the social compact as an historical event. He himself raises the objection that there are no instances of man in the state of nature meeting together and making an explicit agreement to form a political society. He then proceeds to argue that some instances can in fact be found, such as the beginnings of Rome and Venice and of certain political communities in America. And even if we had no records of any such instances, silence would be no disproof of the hypothesis of a social compact. For, 'government is, everywhere, antecedent to records, and letters seldom come in amongst a people till a long continuation of civil society has, by other more necessary arts, provided for their safety, ease and plenty'.

All this suggests that Locke did in fact regard the social compact as an historic event. But he insists at the same time that even if it can be shown that civil society grew out of the family and tribe and that civil government is a development of patriarchal rule, this does not alter the fact that the rational foundation of civil society and government is consent. Even if it could be shown that political societies originated in a social compact, in the consent of the men who voluntarily created these societies, how could this justify political societies or society as we know it? For it is evident that the citizens of the Republic of South Africa, for instance, give no explicit consent to being members of their political society and subjects of its government, whatever their ancestors may have done. In order to meet the objection Locke has to have recourse to distinction between tacit and explicit consent. If a man grows up in a certain political society, inherits property according to the laws of the State and enjoys the privileges of a citizen, he must be supposed to have given at least tacit consent to membership of that society. For it would be utterly unreasonable to enjoy the privileges of a citizen and at the same time to maintain that one was still in the state of nature. In short, according to Locke, a man who avails himself of the rights and privileges of a citizen of a certain state must be supposed to have voluntarily undertaken, at any rate tacitly, the duties of a citizen of that state. In Locke's account of the origins of political society we find a conflation of two elements; the Greek theory of the natural character of political society and the rationalist attempt to find a justification for the limitation of liberty in organised society when a state of nature has been presupposed in which unlimited liberty (notwithstanding Locke's moral obligation to obey the natural moral law) is enjoyed. Locke's political theory allows for two compacts, one whereby political society is formed, and the other whereby government is set up. There is, in fact, no mention of the two explicit compacts but, Locke tacitly assumes that there are two. By the first compact a man becomes a member of a definite political society and obliges himself to accept the decisions of the majority, while by the second compact the majority (or all) of the members of the new formed society agree either to carry on the government themselves, or to set up an oligarchy or a monarchy, hereditary or elective. Unlike Hobbes, where the overthrow of the sovereign logically involved the dissolution of the political society in question, on Locke's theory this is not the case, because political society was formed by a distinct compact and can be dissolved only by agreement of its members.

Whilst there is a good deal to be said in favour of this assumption, one must emphasize that Locke appears to think of the relation between citizen and government in terms of the idea of trusteeship rather than in terms of a compact. The people set up a government and entrust it with a definite task; and the government is under obligation to fulfil this trust. "The first and fundamental positive law of all commonwealths is the establishing of the legislative power and the community put the legislative power into such hands as they think fit with this trust, that they shall be governed by declared laws, or else their peace, quiet and property will still be at the same uncertainty as it was in the state of nature".

Locke speaks of the legislature as the 'supreme power' in the commonwealth and all other powers, in any members or parts of the society must be derived from and subordinate to it. When there is a monarch who possess supreme executive power he can, in ordinary language, be called the supreme power, especially if acts need his consent to become law and the legislative is not always sitting; but this does not mean that he has in himself all the power of making law, and it is the whole legislative which is the supreme power in the technical sense. Locke emphasized the desirability of a division of powers in the commonwealth. For example, it is highly undesirable that the persons who make the law should themselves execute them. For they may exempt themselves from obedience to the laws they make, and suit the law, both in its making and its execution, to their own private advantage and thereby come to have a distinct interest from the rest of the community. The executive should, therefore, be distinct from the legislative. Because Locke argued and emphasized the desirability of a separation of powers in the commonwealth he has absolutely nothing corresponding to the sovereign of, say, Hobbes. This is of course true if we attach to the word 'sovereign' the entire meaning which Hobbes attached to it; but, as we have seen; Locke recognizes a supreme power, namely the legislature. And in so far as it is the supreme power in the commonwealth, to that extent it may perhaps be said to correspond to Hobbes' sovereign.

Though, however, there can be but one supreme power, which is the legislature, to which all the rest are and must be subordinate, yet the legislature being only a fiduciary power to act for certain ends, there remains still in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislature when they find the legislature acts contrary to the trust reposed in them. Thus the power of the legislature is certainly not absolute, because it has a trust to fulfil. "And it is, of course, subject to the moral law, for Locke lays down the bounds which the trust that is put in them, (the members of the legislature) by the society and the laws of God and nature has set to the legislative power of every commonwealth in all forms of government." According to Locke the legislature must govern by promulgated laws, which are the same for all and not varied in particular cases. Furthermore, these laws must be designed for the common good of all the people and that the legislature must not raise taxes without the consent of the people, given by themselves or their deputies; for the principal purpose for which society is formed is the presentation and the preservation of property. And over and above all these, the legislature is not entitled to transfer the power of making laws to any person or assembly to which the people has not entrusted this power, nor can it do so validly. With present day experiences, when one speaks of the separation of powers, one generally refers to the threefold distinction of the legislative, the executive and the judiciary. But Locke's triad was different, consisting of the legislative, the executive and what he calls the 'federative'. The federative power comprises the power to make war and peace, alliances and treaties, and all the transactions with all persons and communities without the commonwealth. Locke regarded this as a distinct power, though he maintains that it can hardly be removed from the executive in the sense of being entrusted to a different person or to different persons. In any case the two points on which he insists are that the legislative must be supreme and that every power, including the legislative, has a trust to fulfil.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. John Plamenatz: Man and Society. Vol 1 Longmans, 1965
2. John Locke: Concerning Civil Government 2nd Essay London, 1952
3. Coker: Readings in Political Philosophy Macmillan, 1934
4. Copleston: History of Philosophy. Image, 1964

Document 10 South African Mutual Life Assurance Society, Medical Examination of Indian Lives, 27th October 1967

Members of the Field Staff are reminded that Indian proponents are to be referred to European Doctors and must not be examined by Indian Doctors.

Assistant Branch Secretary

Document 11 MR – Chief Magistrate, Durban, 14th December 1967

Dear Sir,

Re: Temporary Variation of Banning Order

In terms of Para (a) of Sub-Section (1) of Section Ten of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950 (Act No 44 of 1950), the Hon the Minister of Justice, in November 1955, restricted me, inter alia, from entering any educational institution.

In view of the fact that I am due to write an examination for an Honours Course, with the University of South Africa, I am hereby seeking your permission to enter the M.L. Sultan Technical College, Centenary Road, Durban on the following days and at the stipulated times:-

Wednesday	31 st January, 1968	between	1.45pm-5.05pm;
Saturday	3 rd February, 1968	between	8.45am-12.05pm;
Wednesday	7 th February, 1968	between	1.45pm-5.05pm;
Saturday	10 th February 1968	between	8.45am-12.05pm;
and	Wednesday	14 th February 1968	between 1.45pm -5.05pm.

My registration Number with the University of South Africa is R2143 and my Examination Number is 83.

Thanking in anticipation.

Document 12 **MR – Arun Gandhi, 16th June 1969**

Dear Mr Gandhi

The above committee at its meeting of the 7th inst. Decided unanimously to place on record your magnanimous efforts in negotiating for the available Gandhiana with the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, New Delhi. Please accept our thanks for this.

The Nidhi has agreed, per direct indication, to send to us all their listed films in 35, 16 and 8mm, tape recordings on and by Bapuji, gramophone discs, books and all their pamphlets. I will be advising them directly about the available wall space in the Museum and Library, in order that they may be in a position to prepare life size photographs of Bapuji for our use here.

You will be pleased to note that the Nidhi has been requested to proceed with the preparation and completion of a replica of the model of Sarvodaya, for Manibhuvan's use in Bombay. The cost of this is to be borne by us.

With regards to you and your family,

M. Ramgobin
Secretary

Document 13 **MR – C.J Saunders, 31st March 1970**

Dear Mr Saunders,

Re: Donation to Phoenix Settlement Trust

It is with a great sense of satisfaction and endearment to you that I thank you for all the work you did in making it possible for the SA Sugar Association to grant us a gift of R40,000.

I believe that without your personal involvement and identification with the Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Celebrations, our task of raising the funds could be phenomenally more difficult.

It is our sincere wish that you will always continue to be the pillar of strength that you have already been to us.

My best wishes to you and your family,

Yours sincerely,

M. Ramgobin
Organising Secretary

Document 14 **Anson Lloyd – MR, 29th June 1970**

Dear Mr Ramgobin

As I did not have an opportunity of saying goodbye to you yesterday at the conclusion of the ceremonies, I would like to take this opportunity of expressing sincere thanks on behalf of my wife and myself for the courtesy and attention shown to us yesterday.

I also wish to congratulate you personally on your outstanding achievement in bringing the ceremony to such a successful conclusion. It was a unique occasion which will have done a tremendous amount of good for the furtherance of harmonious relations between the Indian and White groups. I believe that a considerable amount of goodwill and understanding will have been fostered through this ceremony and the information which was disseminated.

It must have been a source of great distress to you that you were not able to attend the actual ceremony and I sympathize with you in the difficult position in which you were placed.

I am enclosing a copy of my address, which I believe is required for the Museum. I have sent a copy to Pat Poovalingam and left a few copies behind yesterday for Indian press representatives.

With best wishes for your future endeavours on behalf of the Indian people.

I remain,
Yours sincerely.

Anson Lloyd
Chairperson
South African Sugar Association

Document 15 Mary [Grice] – MR, 5th July 1970

Dear Mewa

Just a note to thank you very much for having us all at Phoenix last weekend and for telling us about Gandhi and the idea behind the Settlement. I think our tour was successful on the whole – apparently one (white) she said she'd never have come if she'd known it was organized by Black Sash!

But personally she has her eyes opened! Not only to Sash's ideas, but to what goes on in and around Durban.

Sorry I never got to Phoenix on Monday but apart from my further staying, we also had friends for the night only, and they didn't leave till 10am. I hope you enjoyed meeting them all.

With very many thanks.

Sincerely

Mary

Document 16 André [Brink] – MR, 25th October 1970

Dear Mewa,

Please excuse the long delay, but the last lap of this year's lectures has been particularly demanding. This is the first chance I have of sitting down to thank you and your family very much for your wonderful hospitality and friendship during the weekend we spent at Phoenix. We shall continue to remember it with much warmth and gladness, and I do hope there will be an opportunity to relax there again.

I am holding thumbs for you for next month: do let me know whether the ban is lifted. It will be a new breath of freedom to you – if any such breath is at all possible anywhere in this country. We shall probably leave here just after 20 November – first to my parents in the Transvaal, then to Alta's in the Cape, and possibly overseas in January.

Please convey our heartfelt thanks to you whole family and to Kamala as well.

Very sincerely,

André

Document 17 R.C. Chandler – MR, 30th October 1970

Dear Mewa,

I have great pleasure in informing you that you have won the Championship Prize for Mutual Square 'B' for the year ended 1969/70.

Your Net Retained Review total of R248, 473 secured you this prize.

I look forward with confidence to seeing you surpass this outstanding figure in the ensuing year.

Good luck and my best wishes of the current year.

Yours sincerely,

R.C. Chandler

New Business Manager
Old Mutual

Document 18 MR – Mr Justice Blackwell, 23rd December 1970

Bram Fischer and Justice

“The sort of thing that led Abram Fischer, the world famous senior counsel and presently serving a life sentence for political offences in South Africa, is continued evidence of the injustices inflicted on the black peoples of our country,” said the Hon. Justice Leslie Blackwell at his Constantia holiday cottage this week.

Very emphatically Justice Blackwell drew on the case of the Opera House shindig in Cape Town. He said, “The Opera House kept for the exclusive use of the European population and this in the one town in South Africa where opera was kept alive by the Eoan Group - which is predominantly Black. It is very incongruous that an institution built from public funds should and could be kept away from such a large group of the tax-payers.”

“As for me I am not as brave as Bram Fischer. I don’t have the instincts of a crusader as he was, because for me it was very different to be a party politician and a crusader at the same time.”

With a kind of longing in his voice and with certain firmness Mr Justice Blackwell remarked, “I ask for the release of Bram Fischer on the grounds of humanity. Fischer’s life has been a very dramatic and melancholy one. What he was and what he is today are both because of his sense of humanity.”

“In my opinion, we know Fischer would have been a judge of the Supreme Court in South Africa. But he chose the harder way. And make no mistake I very deeply respect a man who is prepared to sacrifice and give his all for a cause - whether I agree with his cause or not. And Bram Fischer, like *Mahatma* Gandhi and others are cases in example.”

Did not Martin Luther start the Reformation by nailing his ninety five theses to a Church door in Augsburg and so start the Reformation? Fischer, too, felt the same way very acutely for the reforms and changes for Black South Africa.”

“Though twenty years my junior I have known Fischer to be an entirely selfless man. One of the leaders of the Johannesburg Bar, Bram was constantly briefed by the mining companies on the Reef. And these briefs coming to a confirmed Communist, “chuckled Justice Blackwell. “However, things are different now. And I had hoped that the Bar in Johannesburg would have taken up his cause.”

Raising his stentorian voice and with a deep sense of conviction the aging judge shouted. “His continued detention is all wrong. My sympathies will always go out to a man or men who are willing to be in a minority and who have the courage to express their views may they be Communists in capitalist countries or capitalists in communist states or even communists in our present-day South Africa.” To illustrate his point further Justice Blackwell asked whether the following ditty was not evergreen and right.

“Dare to be Daniel,
Dare to stand alone,
Dare to have a purpose firm
And dare to have it known.”

Mr Justice Blackwell suggested, “That if Fischer were allowed out he would be given his parole.” “It is usual to indulge in acts of clemency when some very important public occasion arises. I hope that the Republican Celebrations due to take place in 1971 might be thought a fitting occasion to exercise clemency in the case of Abram Fischer and other persons in like circumstances” pleaded Justice Blackwell.

“In respect to Mrs Helen Joseph, house arrested for several years he remarked, “It is terrible the way she is being punished.” Justice Blackwell first met Mrs Helen Joseph twenty five years ago in Durban and they have since remained very close friends.”

On parting and with a firm handshake the 85 year old legal bulwark smiled and said, “For whatever I have done and said I have no repentance but since I am getting on in years and because of bad health I intend to remain out of active politics. My public career has ended and it is up to society now to take up the cause of Bram Fischer.”

Mr Justice Blackwell is now partially blind and short of hearing. At age 30 he was elected to parliament on the UP ticket and he remained in parliament for the following 27 years. Shortly after his term in parliament he became a judge of the Supreme Court and it was during this period that he wrote his famous book called FAREWELL TO PARLIAMENT. After retirement he spent some years in Rhodesia and then came back to SA to be the professor in LAW at Fort Hare University. On Fort Hare he reminisced, “Fort was a liberal college with a fine academic tradition now this broken. Every student opposed to the policy of the government is liable to be barred or even banned.”

It could be safely said that Justice Blackwell may be the only living person who visited *Mahatma* Gandhi during the latter's imprisonment in Johannesburg. He was a bridge partner of Sir Rama Rau, who was the Indian representative in South Africa in the twenties. He vividly recalls an incident at Sauer's Building in Johannesburg during Mr Gokale's visit to South Africa. Mr Justice Blackwell was accompanying the late Mr Gokale to visit Mr Patrick Duncan, the former Governor General." An Afrikaner lift boy, Gert, questioned "where are you going to, no bloody colliers are allowed in this lift. You walk; my instructions are that it is for Europeans only."

Document 19 Arun Gandhi – Alan Paton, 24th December 1970

[First page of letter]

Dear Mr Paton

I write to you today officially in your capacity as Chairman of the Trust.

The minutes of your meeting held on October 7th 1970 have just reached me.

The reference to "my negotiations" with Mr Basson on the question of demarcation of the settlement obviously needs some clarification.

At the outset I must emphasise that there were no "negotiations".

Secondly it seems grossly ridiculous to presume that I could have led Mr Basson to believe that Phoenix Settlement is my personal or family property. By your emphasis on this absurd mistake in the minutes of the Board of Trustees have cast a blot on my integrity.

I do not believe that my action needs to be defended and if I offer this, yet unsolicited, explanation it is only to straighten out your records and erase from the minds of those who harbour any doubts about my bona fides.

Mr Basson was my guest in Bombay in 1969 when, out of sheer gratitude for what little we had done, he offered to help us in some way or another. The future of Phoenix Settlement vis-à-vis the Group Areas Act was uppermost in my mind though I was not aware at the time of any official decision taken by the Government of South Africa.

What better opportunity could there be than for me to ask him to use his power as a Member of Parliament to persuade the Government to leave Phoenix Settlement out of the purview of the Group Areas Act?

Though he wanted to do something for me and my family personally Mr Basson said he would look into the matter.

There were no further letters of discussions about this till I received a letter from him a couple of months ago saying that after one and a half years of persuasion he has managed to solicit from the Minister an assurance that Phoenix Settlement will not be included in the "Bantu" area.

[End of document]

Document 20 Mr Justice Blackwell – MR, 28th December 1970

Dear Mr Ramgobin,

I was considerably startled when I read your draft article. Most of it I may have said to you in our conversation, perhaps unwisely, and a lot of it I could not possibly pass for publication. I have taken the trouble of preparing a re-draft which you may use, with my best wishes. Particularly do I not wish you to tell the story of Gokale, or refer to the non-Europeans in this country as black, or to put into my mouth an exaggerated condemnation of the disadvantages under which they suffer.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

Draft Article

I was privileged to have a long talk with Mr Justice Blackwell at his temporary home in Constantia with its breath-taking view of Table Mountain. Mr Blackwell, now nearing 86, is the oldest of the retired judges in this country, and has been in public life in South Africa in some form or other, since the age of 30. His eyesight has begun to fail, and his hearing is not up to standard, but otherwise he is in good health, and his mind and memory are keen as ever.

His name came once more into prominence some three months ago when he entered a plea for clemency on behalf of Abram Fischer, who for some years has been languishing in gaol after a conviction under the Communism Act. I rang up Mr Blackwell, and told him that I was married to a grand-daughter of *Mahatma* Gandhi, and was myself an aspiring student for the Natal Bar. He and his wife received my wife and me friendly fashion. Mr Blackwell remembers being taken by one of Mr Gandhi's European friends to visit him, when he lay in the Fort at Johannesburg awaiting trial for some of his pro-Indian activities in this country. In Parliament he achieved much unpopularity, along with J.H. Hofmeyr, for his defence of the Indian section in this country, a defence which earned both of them their expulsion in 1938 from the United Party caucus.

Coming back to Abram Fischer, Mr Blackwell said that Mr Fischer belonged to a younger generation, and had never been a personal friend of his. He, personally, had never had any Communist sympathies, but he gave to Abram Fischer the respect he would give to anyone who was prepared to suffer for the sake of conscience. It was Luther who risked death and disgrace when he nailed his 95 theses to the church door (was it at Augsburg or Nuremberg?). He, Mr Blackwell, would have a sneaking respect for a Jesuit in a Protestant country, or a Socialist in a hard-line Capitalist country. So it was with Fischer. He had a comfortable senior practice at the Bar, and could look forward to an honoured place on the Bench, but was prepared to sacrifice to be just. Mr Blackwell went on to express the hope that on the occasion of the Republican Festival which is due next year, some measure of clemency might be extended to Fischer, under sufficient safeguards that his liberty would not be used to further his Communistic ideals. No one in this country had had a more dramatic fall, or suffered more deeply. His grandfather was a Cabinet Minister under Louis Botha, his father Judge-President of the Free State, and he himself a leader of the Johannesburg Bar with a large and lucrative practice mainly from Capitalist sources; yet all of this heritage he sacrificed for an unpopular cause. I repeat that no one in this country has had a more catastrophic fall.

It was Mr Blackwell's plea for Abram Fischer which drew a letter to him from my mother-in-law, widow of Manilal Gandhi, a son of *Mahatma* Gandhi, of Durban, and this served as our introduction. Mr Blackwell was warm in his criticism of the policy which is proposing to exclude non-whites from the Cape Town Opera House, now in course of building on the Foreshore. In Cape Town, we find, he said, the largest, best-educated and artistic section of the Coloured people, and for years, their Eoan Group has delighted Cape Town audiences with their performances of Opera sung in the original Italian. How can we justify, says Mr Blackwell, excluding these people from the Opera House?

Mr Blackwell told me that he had always been a Liberal - a Gladstonian Liberal - and was so still today in this country, where the word Liberal has become almost a dirty word. He was in Parliament for 27 years, and left it to become a Judge. He still takes the keenest interest in public affairs.

Document 21 MR – Wage Board, 1970

Dear Sir,

The recommendations of the Wage Board in respect to the minimum rates for unskilled members as gazetted are viewed by us with much disdain and we therefore submit herein our objectives to these findings. We object to the findings because:

1. It seems that no consideration has been given to the rapidly rising cost of living particularly the recent rises in the price of food staple to the African man.
2. An increase to R15.00 in 3 years seems absurd particularly when one realizes that already many firms are paying R15.00 and more per week to their employees.
3. No consideration seems to have been given to the existing minimum effective levels or the poverty datum lines.

We wish to emphasize that for any effective and realistic recommendation to be determined it is essential that due consideration be given to the existing socio-economic, political milieu in the country.

For the Wage Board to play any effective role in protecting the thousands of workers excluded from the benefits of the IC Act, it is imperative that due recognition be given to the cries of the African workers for higher wages. Not to satisfy the aspirations of the African workers can only leave workers at the mercy of employers and vulnerable to exploitation.

It is our recommendation that the minimum level be realistically increased and that the annual increment be revised to a level commensurate to the spiralling price index.

Document 22 Alan Paton – Arun Gandhi, 28th January 1971

Information Officer
Times of India
Bombay

Dear Arun

Thank you for your letter of December 24th which has just reached me.

It is very difficult for me to see in what way a blot has been cast on your integrity. The Minute to which you refer deals with press reports, not with any statement which you yourself made. I have no doubt that you were offended by the sentence "Mr Gandhi also to refrain from such negotiations and consultations without our prior authority". At our next meeting I shall move that this be amended to read "The Committee felt that Mr Gandhi should have advised us that he had discussed with Mr Basson in regard to the future of the Phoenix Settlement".

If you do not mind my saying so, you are being unduly sensitive.

Yours sincerely

Alan Paton

Document 23

Alan Paton – Pat Poovalingam, 28th January 1971

Dear Pat

As you know, Anne's father and stepmother are staying with us, and whether it is convenient or not, I have to look after them to some extent. It just so happens that we can take them to Underberg on Monday and stay till Friday. I am sorry about this because it means that I will not be at the meeting. I would be glad therefore, if you would take the trouble to amend the minutes of last October in the way that I suggest. One could have treated Arun's letter much more severely, but I do not think it is worth it. This is where I differ from a certain friend of mine in that I have become very peace loving. However my friend is still young, and maybe one day he will become so too.

Yours ever

Alan

PS. I am very annoyed to hear that Sakunthalay thinks that Anne's father is the most fascinating man she has ever met.

Document 24

MR – Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, 8th March 1971

Dear Chief

Re: Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Lecture – 1971

Our Trust is hereby extending an invitation to you to present the 1971 Gandhi Memorial Lecture, which most probably will be held at Phoenix Settlement on Sunday the 3rd October 1971 commencing at 3.00p.m.

Trusting that you honour our Trust by accepting this invitation.

Yours sincerely

M Ramgobin
Organising Secretary

Document 25

Colin Winter – MR & Mrs Gandhi, 14th April 1971

The Bishop's House
Diocese of Damaraland

Dear Mr Mewa Ramgobin and Mrs Gandhi

Marge Schmidt, me secretary is a realist. She took one look at the list of people I had seen in Durban and Maritzburg, and quietly said "You'll never do it". So please excuse a roneo-ed letter. The list is formidable, thanks for the wonderful efficiency of those good people who organised my trip for me. An exhausted but highly delighted Colin Winter clambered on board the Durban jet for Johannesburg. My head felt drained and if the stewardess had asked me for my ultimate destination, I would have answered as I did before in the States. "If it's Tuesday it must be Belgium!"

I leave for Walvis Bay tomorrow to attend the annual meeting of our wonderful Missions to Seaman Branch down there. Eight days accumulated mail will be trucked down with me, and Marge my secretary has promised to work round the clock to get us up to date, as I leave for Johannesburg and various Provincial meetings soon.

I find it hard and almost impossible to tell you all what your love and hospitality has meant to me. "Damaraland is no gravy bowl" thus spoke Bishop Bob Mize to me. He should know, having carried the burdens of this diocese with vision and courage for over eight years. To get out of South West, to meet people of sympathy and concern is the greatest possible tonic and uplift. Thank you for all you did to encourage me and to send me back with greater determination to carry on. It helps so much when people care.

A queue of missionaries were waiting to see me when I got back to my house; some splendid challenges await us in the building of the ecumenical centre; one of two folks abroad have also written promising support. There is so much to thank God for. Should you wish to be placed on our mailing list for the periodic papers we send out, please let us know by writing to me at the above address and we will see you are kept in touch. I have no need to tell you that this was the most thrilling part of the whole trip. We will keep you informed how these contacts develop. May we ask for your continued prayers for them and for this diocese and those of us who serve it?

John Muafangejo held an art exhibition at Windhoek last evening. It was a great success. For me it symbolized the whole concept of our work. He was surrounded by members of the community of Simon the Zealot and others who work here with me; he looked relaxed and happy in the middle of some of Windhoek's most cultured people. Dozens of fold have had a hand in teaching John, loving him and encouraging him to become the great artist he is today. His tribute to the Anglican teacher and lay reader, a Kwanjama, who gave him a home, nursed him in his early formative days, and sent him to us, would make a beautiful story. As John accepted the applause and congratulations of the gathered crowd, I thought that all our strivings, our isolation, our sacrifices; our yearnings had reached a high point of fulfilment. Our work is for people: to bring them to the fullest maturity in Christ. John stood tall amongst friends, among equals, who loved him and who obviously rejoiced in this his finest hour. We'll continue in Damaraland to work to this end, and will never be daunted no matter what opposition or interference we encounter. One look at John Muafangejo's face last night would have convinced the most sceptical that we dare not compromise this approach.

My love and thanks to you all.

Colin
Damaraland

Document 26

**Secretary, Group Chairman's Fund, Anglo American Corporation –
MR, 3rd May 1971**

Dear Mr Ramgobin

I refer to your discussion with our office on the 28th April 1971 and have the pleasure in enclosing our cheque for R12,500, being payment of the final instalment of the donation made jointly by Anglo American and De Beers to the Phoenix Settlement Trust.

We hope that these contributions will enable you to complete successfully some of the projects you would like to establish and, in due course, we look forward to receiving an annual report, or some other confirmation of how our donations have been spent.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely

N. Gregory
Secretary

Document 27 Public Relations Officer, South African Sugar Association – MR, 6th May 1971

Dear Mr Ramgobin,

We have pleasure in enclosing our cheque for R10,000 being our second annual payment towards the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Trust's Polyclinic at Phoenix.

At the same time I would like to take this opportunity of extending the best wishes of the Sugar Association for the success of the Clinic.

Yours sincerely

Clive Serrurier
Public Relations Officer

Document 28 Phyllis Naidoo – Minister of Justice, 18th May 1971
[No attachments included]

Sir,

Re: M.D. Naidoo: Robben Island: 129/67

I seek your assistance with the above-named, my husband, who is at present incarcerated at Robben Island, for certain Political Offences.

1. On the 27th March 1971, I visited my husband at Robben Island, who informed me that he had been degraded from Group B to Group C. I had planned to enquire the reason for this, immediately on my return home. Unfortunately I was house arrested soon thereafter. The shock of this further restriction, together with the necessary reorientation of my life and that of my three minor children kept me unduly occupied.
2. However, on the 4th May 1971, I addressed letters to the Commission for Prisons, and the Officer Commanding, Robben Island, per registered post to which I have not had the courtesy of an acknowledgement nor a reply. I enclose copies marked "A" and "B".
3. On the 6th May 1971, I addressed a further letter complaining of the lack of letters from my husband (copy marked "C").
4. On the 11th May 1971, I received a letter from my husband dated 14th March 1971, censored on the 31/3 (copy marked "D") If your notice at the top of this letter it reads as follows:
(BIPV Besoek (D GROEP) M.D. NAIDOO 129/67) *i.e.* the grouping is worse than my information.

I am very concerned about this, My Lord for the under mentioned reasons:

1. For reasons mentioned in annexure "B"
2. When I saw my husband, he looked shockingly thin and emaciated.
3. Visitors to Mr Ahmed Kathrada, who is serving a life sentence, were informed by him in January that he was on a hunger strike. Knowing my husband, I fear that he too may be on such strike. I am terrified at the consequences to his health which has never been good at the best of times. (He has pleurisy – a condition which is bound to recur)
He is 52 years old and normal prison food being notoriously inadequate, I dread to think on his diet if he is on a hunger strike.
4. My husband is an ex advocate of the Supreme Court of this country, having been struck off the roll by order of the Natal Provincial Division dated the 16th February 1968. On being threatened with a House Arrest Order, I sent him on the 2/2/71 copy of a letter I had addressed to the Minister of Justice for his advice and further representations on my behalf (Annexure "E")

On the 27/3/71 when I visited him he had not had the letter, the shock to him of the apprehended House Arrest, 30 minutes visiting time was hopelessly inadequate to obtain his advice.

On the 31st March 1971, when the order was served on me, I sent my husband a telegram immediately thereafter again seeking his advice. (Annex "F")

On the 8th April 1971, I sent him a copy of a letter to the Magistrate seeking relaxations from the House Arrest and informing him that I had through my attorneys sought from the Minister his reasons for restricting me. (Annex "G" & "H")

He is my husband, the father of our three minor children, with a legal training who is surely best equipped to advise, and whose advice I most urgently need. In the difficult conditions that obtain under the added restrictions, he might advise that I leave the country. I wish to know what he wishes me to do.

The time allocated for visiting, the difficult conditions for such visit – flanked by two Officers who interpret anything and everything “Political” and therefore not to be communicated makes a personal visit most unsatisfactory, and well high impossible, not to mention the cost of such visit.

In all the above circumstances, would not your Lordship please consider the possibility of sending a Judge to Robben Island to investigate, and thus allay my fears.

I shall be most grateful to you for any assistance your Lordship may decide to render.

Yours faithfully,

V.P.R. Naidoo (Mrs)

Document 29

Pat Poovalingam – Paul Pretorius, Deputy-President, NUSAS, 18th June 1971

Dear Mr Pretorius

With reference to your letter of the 30th March, I have to advise that your request is granted subject to the usual rules of hospitality and especially the under mentioned conditions, which are applied because of the essential character of the Phoenix Settlement. You will no doubt arrange with your local officials to contact the organiser and make all the practical arrangements for cleaning up and preparation both ante- and post- occupation. We appreciate your offer to pay such expenses as may be incurred. In this connection, I am told a fee of R350 is being levied. This is not correct; a jest apparently having been misunderstood.

Because the Phoenix Settlement was established by Mahatma Gandhi who advocated an austere, puritan existence, consumption of meat and liquor upon the premises is not permitted and the Settlement is out of bounds to any suggestion of ‘permissive’ behaviour between the sexes. Further, because Mahatma Gandhi preached the strictest non-violence, both in word, thought and deed, it follows that for this and a variety of other good reasons, hospitality for residence upon the Settlement can only be given to those who do not subscribe to any overt or covert violence or form of violence for political or other purposes. For instance, I am certain that the approval for violence given recently by some Churches would have been complete anathema to Mahatma Gandhi and would be in direct opposition to his teachings, which it is part of the functions of the Phoenix Settlement to perpetuate. The further condition therefore is that your members will not do anything or say anything whether upon the Phoenix Settlement or elsewhere which might embarrass the Phoenix Settlement.

Yours sincerely

P. Poovalingam
Working Committee

Document 30

Steve Biko – MR, 12th June 1971

Dear Sir,

Thanks for your letter accepting our invitation re: symposium on “APARTHEID – BLACK MAN’S VIEW POINT”. We are delighted to have you amongst the speakers.

May I express our regret that the venue of the conference has had to be changed from Fort Hare to the University of Natal-Alan Taylor Residence. The authorities at Fort Hare have persistently refused to relax their ban on our President Mr Barney Pitso. Hence we were at the last moment forced to change the venue to Durban. Their last word to us was that the matter would be discussed at a Council meeting and we will be informed of their decision on Wednesday 16th. We felt that this would be too late to allow us to inform all our centres if they ultimately agree. Some of our centres are closing on the same date. We hope this change of venue will not inconvenience you in any way.

The symposium will be a public one and hence will be attended, I believe, by quite a number of people over and above the participants at conference.

The other speakers will be Dr Bala of Butterworth, Mr Adam Small from Cape Town and two student speakers. We have not broken up the topic into aspects. We hope therefore that all views will find relevance under the general topic.

We look forward to seeing you.

Yours faithfully

Steve Biko
(Conference Organizer)

Document 31 W.I. Grobler – MR, 18th June 1971

Dear Mr Ramgobin,

I am enclosing herewith for you information a copy of a list of the members of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program for our Group to visit Durban from July 4 to July 1, as well as a copy of their schedule. As you will notice the Group will leave the hotel at 08:30 for a visit to the Phoenix Settlement and have a discussion with yourself and other members of your Board.

Please be kind enough to telephone Miss Carol Hamilton, Tel: 8511 and give her the names and designations of the people the Group will meet during their visit to the Phoenix Settlement as I would like to include this in our official programme.

May I on behalf of our Management Committee express our gratitude to you for making this visit possible.

Yours sincerely,

W.I. Grobler
SA Director
UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC

TOUR GROUP

Visit to Durban

Sunday – 4/7/71

11:55: Arrival of flight SA 505 at Louis Botha Airport.
Proceed to Royal Hotel.
13:00: Lunch at hotel.
14:00: Leave for Valley Trust, socio-medical project focused upon promoting health, as guests of SA Sugar Association. (About 300 guests including Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Bishop Zulu will be present).
17:15: Return to hotel.
19:00: Leave hotel.
19:15: Dinner at 235 Lambert Road, as guests of Mr and Mrs Duchesne Grice to meet Zulu Leaders.

Monday – 5/7/71

8:30: Leave hotel by bus for Phoenix Settlement, home of *Mahatma* Gandhi, visit Gandhi Memorial Clinic and Library. Meet Mr Ramgobin and other leaders.
12:00: Lunch at Verulam as guests of Indian Town Board.
14:30: Leave for Tongaat.
15:00: Tour of Tongaat Sugar Estates: Meet Mr Chris Saunders, Chairman of the Board and other Directors.
17:00: Leave of hotel.
19:30: Dinner at 189 Clare Road, Sydenham, as guests of Mr A.N. Rajab, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the S.A. Indian Council, and Mrs Rajab.

Tuesday – 6/7/71

8:30: Leave hotel for tour Medical School of the University of Natal, King Edward VIII Hospital and University of Natal.
12:30: Lunch at University of Natal.
18:30: Cocktail party at Marine Hotel to meet prominent Durban citizens.

Wednesday – 7/7/71

6:00: Leave hotel for Airport.
7:00: Departure of flight SA 601 for East London.

UNITED STATES – SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

TOUR GROUP

Professor N.J.J. Olivier, Department of Bantu Studies, Stellenbosch
Dr and Mrs Lewis Hoskins, (Professor of History, Earlham College and Vice-Chairman, USSALEP)
Dr and Mrs G. Bennett, (US Management Committee Member)*
Mr G. Burditt, Attorney, Burditt and Calkins, Chicago*
Mr J. Patterson, President, John Patterson & Co. (Management Consultant Firm), New York
Mrs E. Purcell, Chairman of the Board, Vassar College*
Mr J. Rhodes, Junior Fellow, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass*
Mr and Mrs E. Sylvester (President, Cooperative Assistance Fund, Washington, DC)*
Mr J. Brewer, General Secretary, USSALEP*
Mrs Joy Oldridge, Staff Member, USSALEP*

Those marked with (*) are Black Americans.

Document 32 **Dennis Hurley – MR, July 1971**

Dear Mewa,

On considering your invitation to send a message to the meeting concerned with the revival of the Indian Congress, I came to the conclusion that, in the light of past history, the Congress would be looked upon as a political party. It is not customary for our Church to associate itself explicitly with political parties, much as we may sympathize with their objects, so I regret that I do not find myself in a position to be able to send that message.

My regrets and good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Archbishop of Durban

Document 33 **Alex Boraime – MR, 19th July 1971**

Dear Friends,

I am very interested to learn of possible developments in the Natal Indian Congress. After careful deliberation I find I am not able to send a formal message of greetings.

Although I have a deep personal interest in politics and believe passionately in the necessity for the Christian Church to involve itself directly in the realm of politics I do not think it right to send formal greetings to any one particular political party. For example, I would not send greetings to the Progressive Party although I believe they have a definite contribution to make.

With regret and good wishes.

Alex L. Boraime
Methodist Youth Council

Document 34 **N. Pityana – MR, 19th August 1971**

Dear Mr Ramgobin,

On behalf of my Executive and the black students of South Africa, I wish to thank you for the contribution you made towards making our July Conference the success it was.

You may not be aware that your presence on a SASO platform gave inspiration and confidence to not only the conference participants but also to the mass of people walking the streets of our country in political wonderland. Blacks must rely on their own resources to put across the message that will set them thinking about their own salvation.

We offer to have your name on our mailing list and in that way you shall be kept informed about the activities of SASO. It will be greatly appreciated if you can freely express your opinions and give advice where necessary about the direction followed by SASO in future.

Yours sincerely,

N. Pityana
Secretary-General
South African Students Organization

Document 35 Robert J.D. Robertson – MR, 1st October 1971

Dear Mewa,

I do not know you well, but having met you on those two occasions I write this letter so that those who read it on its way to you may put me down as one who is much distressed at the way in which you are being treated and who greatly admires the way in which you are responding to that treatment.

May God protect you, your charming wife and your children.

Yours sincerely,

Robert J.D. Robertson

Document 36 Geoff Budlender – MR, 1st October 1971

Dear Mewa,

I received a copy of my letter which appeared in the "Daily News", which had been edited, and as a result was almost nonsensical, as you will have noticed! I am enclosing a copy of the original letter just so that you'll know that I haven't gone totally out of my mind (yet).

Regards to all.

Geoff Budlender
President, UCT SRC

Original copy of letter as published in *Daily News*, 22nd September 1971

Dear Sir,

So Mewa Ramgobin has been banned, and he goes to join the many others who are suffering five years of "living death".

I write this letter because I know Mewa Ramgobin well. Earlier this year, he led the Committee for Clemency (SA) which was pleading for general amnesty for all South African political prisoners. When I first met him, he was touring the country to establish regional branches of the Committee.

When I learnt that his previous banning order (also for five years) had expired only a few months before, my first reaction was that he must be crazy; why should anyone who had already suffered for five years, expose himself to yet another banning order? Why not take the easy path, and remain silent?

It soon became apparent that Mr Ramgobin, far from being foolish, was a man of great courage and dedication. He is a man who could have had the best things in life. If he had remained silent. But he chose to speak out for justice, because he knew that he had to.

What impressed UCT students most, when he addressed them in March, was his total dedication to non-violence as a means of changing South Africa. A devout follower of the teachings of *Mahatma* Gandhi, he taught us that violence is self-defeating; all it does is to create further violence.

So he toured the country, and worked almost full-time for several months on the campaign for clemency. He drew support from some of South Africa's leading citizens: academics, clergy, professional men and businessmen. The campaign failed; the Minister refused him even a brief interview so that he could hand over the petitions supporting his campaign.

He then turned to another peaceful political activity: that of reviving the South African Indian Congress, a legal organization. He received great support, particularly in Natal. And then he was banned.

One cannot help asking if this is how the government treats black people who are engaging in peaceful political activity, what hope is there for the suppressed masses? What incentive is there for them to remain within the bounds of the law? What have they to lose by changing from non-violent to violent methods?

These are but some the questions we should ask of ourselves, and of the government. If we can all learn something from Mewa Ramgobin's courage and dedication, and his deep concern for all South Africans, then his sacrifice will not have been in vain.

Yours faithfully,

Geoff Budlender
President, UCT SRC

Document 37

H. E. Mall, Legal Opinion, 1st October 1971

Opinion

Consultant is the wife of Mr Mewa Ramgobin who is employed as a secretary/organizer and treasurer of the Working Committee of the Phoenix Settlement. Recently the Minister of Justice imposed certain "Banning Orders" on Mr Ramgobin under the Suppression of Communism Act. (Act No44 of 1950).

Among these "Banning Orders" is one in terms of Section 9(1) of the said Act which notice prohibits him from attending any gathering contemplated in paragraph (a) of the said section 9(1); or any gathering contemplated in paragraphs (b) of the said section 9(1), of the nature, also or kind set out below; any social gathering, that is to say, any gathering at which the persons present also have social intercourse with one another; any political gathering, that is to say, any gathering or which any form of state or any principle or policy of the Government of a State is propagated, defended, attacked, criticized or discussed; any gathering of pupils or students assembled for the purpose of having instructed, trained or addressed by you.

Consultant wishes to be advised on whether her husband can continue to attend meeting of the committee, as its employee for the purpose of "advising the committee on what is happening" and to check such instructions as the Committee may give him providing that all meetings of the Committee which he attends, have or are not political discussions.

The question is whether it can properly be said that a meeting of the working committee is a "gathering" within the definition of that word in section 1 of the Act. The word "gathering" is there defined as meaning "any gathering, concourse or procession in, through or along any place, of any number of persons having a common purpose, whether such purpose is lawful or unlawful".

From the use of the words "having a common purpose" it is clear that the word "gathering" does not mean any gathering whatsoever.

In the case of RV Khan 1953 (3) SA (AD) 177 Centilevers CJ after discussing the words "common purpose" and after dealing with the Shorter Oxford Dictionary definition of the word "purpose" says at p184. "Consequently if persons assemble in order to achieve some common object by concerted action such an assembly would be a gathering within the meaning assigned to that word in the Act". This *ratio decidendi* was accepted and applied in the cases of RV Lan 1956 (2) 246 AD and Dudley v Minister of Justice 1963(2) 464.

In the latter case Steyn CJ said on p468:

"It was common cause that the test to be applied is whether the persons gathered together, or some of them, have a common object which they intend or desire to achieve by concerted action. In terms of the definition, the common purpose required, is the common purpose of those who constitute the gathering. It is what they have in mind when they are gathered together. Their minds must at that stage be directed towards a common object and they must contemplate its achievement by concerted action, *i.e.* concerted action in a causal relationship to the achievement of the common object".

It follows therefore, that a meeting of members of a society called to discuss its affairs, without any reference to the possible taking of some concerted action as a result of the intended discussion, is not one which has a common object

which the members intended or desired to achieve by concerted action. Consequently such a meeting is not a "gathering" within the meaning of section 9(1) a of the Act.

See: S v Moonsamy 1963(4) SA 334
Dudley v Minister of Justice (ibid)

The answer to the question whether consultant's husband would be entitled to attend committee meetings of the Phoenix Settlement or not must depend upon the nature of the proceedings at such meetings. If the affairs of the committee are to be discussed and no concerted action contemplated then he would not be attending a "gathering" as defined.

In the case of R v Sachs 1953 (1) SA 392 (AD), the accused attended a mass meeting of the Garment Workers Union, of which he was General Secretary. The occurred object of the meeting was to protest against "Banning Orders" served on him by the Minister of Justice. He was convicted of attending a "gathering" because a number of persons hoped that by their concerted action a resolution of protest would be passed, as that was the object they had in view.

Directions of a company who call a meeting of shareholders to consider resolutions affecting the company have a common purpose and if a "restricted" person were to attend such a meeting, he would be contravening the provisions of the Act.

See: R v Kahn (ibid) at page 184.

In other words if any form of concerted action is contemplated at a meeting, or if the purpose is to achieve some common object by discussion, the meeting would be a "gathering" within the meaning of the Act and by attending it consultant's husband would be contravening the provisions of the Act.

Document 38

MR - Minister of Justice, 2nd October 1971

Dear Sir,

Banning and House Arrest: Mawalal Ramgobin

I hereby respectfully make this application for the lifting of the banning and house arrest orders imposed on me.

In drawing your attention to the fact that my earning time as an insurance salesman is curtailed by the house arrest order I am also enclosing an affidavit in furtherance of my request to have the said orders lifted. I wish to state that most insurance sales are invariably made in the evenings.

However, it is my conviction that you will, for the sake of the future well-being of our country and all our peoples, give this application your very careful consideration.

Trusting that an early communication will be forthcoming.

Thanking you.

I remain.
Yours faithfully,

Mawalal Ramgobin

Document 39

Jenny Cunningham – MR, 7th October 1971

Dear Mr Ramgobin,

It is with the greatest sympathy that I am writing to you on behalf of Wits SRC to convey to you our deep concern at the arbitrary banning orders served on you by the South African Government.

I should like also to convey SRC Resolution number 67/72:

It was resolved:

67/72

That this SRC noting:

- 1) That Mr Justice Moloto, General Secretary of the University Christian Movement, was banned on Sunday, September 26th and is restricted to the Mafeking area;

- 2) That Mr Mewa Ramgobin, whose previous five years banning order expired in November 1970, has been banned again after leading the Committee for Clemency (SA) and attempting to revive the South African Indian Congress:

Therefore

- 1) Condemns the action of the Government in banning these two men who were engaged in peaceful political activity;
- 2) Expresses its extreme concern at this disruption of the lives and the humiliation they must suffer under banning orders:

Mandates the President of the SRC to:

- 1) Release a statement to the Press voicing objections to such breaches of the rights of individuals; convey condolences to Messrs Moloto and Ramgobin.

This SRC can only imagine the devastating effects that this will have on your life – only you and your fellow sufferers can possibly know its implicit cruelty. But we know that you will be strong and resolute no matter what and we should like you to know you have our full support – we shall attempt to do what little we can for as long as you remain a banned person.

May I wish you health and strength during the long and painful period what you must now face.

Yours sincerely,

Jenny Cunningham
President-SRC

Document 40 Ela Ramgobin to Mr R.C. Chandler, Old Mutual, 11th October 1971

Dear Mr Chandler,

I enclose herewith a press statement which I have issued. I would however like you to know I am deeply disturbed that while you have obviously succumbed to pressure be it from the Organization for which you work or the security police or even such big power blocks like the South African Sugar Association or you know best who, that at this stage you do not hesitate to place the blame on Mewa's ability to work. I would have expected that people particularly those in such high positions as yourself would have courage enough to stand by their convictions whatever these convictions maybe, and to reveal the true facts rather than to choose the course you have taken.

I would like you to know that I was present at my husband's office and on one occasion a friend of mine too was present when you had telephoned and expressed your displeasure at my husband's activities. Your present action therefore was not a surprise to us as coming from you but I had thought that the Old Mutual was a much larger organization and would have expected it to be tolerant, and moreover concern itself with business rather than politics. I am truly disappointed and will fight tooth and nail to clear my husband of all blemishes.

I am sending a copy this letter and my statement to Mr Strigland (PRO) whom I personally know.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs E. Ramgobin

Document 41 MR – Pat Poovalingam, 21st October 1971

Dear Pat,

Please send me by bearer a copy of minutes of September meeting, circulated by you. This I want (i) for minute book record, (ii) to check on matter re: Fund raising etc.

Both of them are urgent.

I have not yet received the notes re: Minutes of the last meeting. They, I believe were taken by the signatory and I have already reminded him on two different occasions.

Yours

It was decided that it would be best if we could discuss this matter with representatives from the SA Mutual. We should be pleased if you would agree to this.

Yours faithfully,

Peter Cooper
Secretary/Treasurer

Document 45 **MR - Minister of Justice, 29th November 1971**

Sir,

Re: House Arrest and Banning Orders

I wish to draw your attention to the fact that you have already acknowledged receipt of my application (with accompanying affidavit) requesting the lifting of the said orders. I have not received your intimation of your decision yet.

May I respectfully suggest, if you have not yet decided to life the orders, that:

- (i) If you, Sir are going to ban and house arrest people like me, who are committed to Non-Violence, then, in fact, you are allowing those who believe and subscribe to violence a justification for their actions and views.
- (ii) I say and maintain unflinchingly that at no time have I acted and expressed myself without considering my love for my country – South Africa.
- (iii) That whatever I have done and said, maybe you will disagree with me, was done and said because I am concerned about the future of our common mother land – South Africa.
- (iv) That I have never espoused the cause of communism because I reject all forms of totalitarianism.
- (v) I believe you will consider my application with due deference to the fact that all of us together will have to build and protect our country on the basis of understanding and tolerance, love and justice – fundamentals that have been the basis of my work.

Hoping to hear soon from you.

Yours faithfully,

Mawalal Ramgobin

Document 46 **Alan Paton - MR, 9th December 1971**

Dear Mewa,

Ela asked me to speak to a group at Phoenix last weekend. I evaded giving her a reply, but if she had asked me again, I intended to tell her that certain difficulties would first have to be cleared away.

I am told that during a visit by some Americans to Phoenix while I was away, they enquired after me, upon which you attacked me on the grounds that I had now become a supporter of Apartheid.

Is this substantially true? If it is, then I shall have to reconsider my whole position in regard to you.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Paton

Document 47 **MR – Alan Paton, 13th December 1971**
[Unsigned hand written draft letter not sent]

Dear Mr Paton,

Your letter dated December 9th 1971 reached me this morning. I wish to make it clear immediately that Ela's asking you to speak at Phoenix, under the aegis of the Gandhi Work Group Committee. Commenting on the last paragraph, your first, ("is this... then I shall have to reconsider my whole position in regard to you."), I honestly believe that you had not only reconsidered your whole position in regard to me but had already struck certain attitudes towards me.

However, answering your letter substantially.

- (i) My observations on your attitude and views towards Separate Develop as told to a visiting American group were made not as a result of them enquiry after you, but as a result of my expressing my personal views on Separate Development.
- (ii) That my observations were not an attack on you personally, but an appraisal what I consider "unjust" – (SD)
- (iii) That in my appraisal:
 - (a) I was, and still am of the belief that Separate Development is an excuse for racism and bureaucracy
 - (b) That Separate Development for me is an evil,
 - (c) That our fight in SA is not against Afrikaaner Nationalism only, but against a whole system made possible and further instructed by Western imperial interests,
 - (d) That the process of detribalizing an already detribalized people in effect, *inter alia*, divides the unity of people a unity that is vital for the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in SA.
 - (e) That the trend in SA, presently, is the Sep Dev, as an experiment is supported by the *verligte* Afrikaner individuals, the Progressive Party (for whom SD e.g., "now" a fact, and even liberals like Dr Alan Paton.
- (iv) You, yourself will recall that you draw a distinction between SD and Apartheid. Of course you have the right to do so. I don't draw this distinction. I believe SD is a more sophisticated form of Apartheid. I may be wrong.
- (v) What I wish to remind you of (I do know you are aware) is that a rejection of SD as an experiment will necessary mean the creation of an equitable society our all levels – politically, economically and convincing that neither

Document 48

MR – Alan Paton, 14th December 1971

Dear Dr Paton,

Thank you for your letter dated 9th December 1971.

In view of what you say in your letter would it not be best for us to meet and clear the air? I can make myself available at a time and place convenient to you.

Yours sincerely,

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 49

General Manager, South African Mutual Life Assurance Association – P. Cooper, 14th December 1971

Dear Mr Cooper,

Mr Mewa Ramgobin

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of 25th November 1971 addressed to the Society's Managing Director, who is now away from the office on leave.

That the SRC is concerned over the situation in which Mr Ramgobin now finds himself is a matter that we can understand, but I am sure that you will appreciate that the Society's relationships with its personnel are private matters that are best not discussed with third parties.

At the same time, the Society cannot allow wrong impressions to continue to exist, and I would assure you that the facts in your letter, and on which the SRC based its resolution, are not all correct. It would not be proper, in the light of the private nature of the employment of all our staff, for the Society to convey to you precisely in what respect these facts are wrong, but I would stress to you that the Society is most mindful of the responsibility that it carries in its dealings with its staff. Consequently, we were disturbed to note that the SRC considered that the treatment Mr Ramgobin received from the Society was shabby and I am hopeful that these comments will re-assure your Council that the Society has not been unfair to him.

Yours sincerely,

General Manager

Document 50

Alan Paton – MR, 23rd December 1971

Dear Mewa

Thank you for your letter of December 14th. I must warn you that I am not feeling very well disposed towards you, however if you think that in these circumstances a meeting would improve the situation perhaps you would call me at 78920.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Paton

Document 51 M.D. Naidoo - Phyllis Naidoo, 24th December 1971 [*Photocopied handwritten letter with attached original handwritten letter dated 13th January 1972*]

29/67 M.D Naidoo `C`
 Robben Island Prison

[Date stamped by Robben Island Censor Office as have been processed and sent on the 28th December 1971]

[Across the top of this letter MR writes `TO BE CONTINUED`

Darling,

Your December letter has not reached me yet. I expect it is on its way. I have still to receive your acknowledgement of my letters 15/5, 27/10, 6/11 and 27/11. Add to that 12/12. The two letters I mentioned at the visit were dated 25/1 and 26/6. I was very pleased to learn that you had understood me perfectly. It is, I think, essential that you continue to pursue the matter.

Yesterday, examination results arrived. To my surprise and consternation – very pleasant, I will admit – I had passed all four subjects. A B in Bus. Econ and C's in Acc. Com Law and Econ. So your wish has come true. I shall not be returning home with an unfinished degree! I am, however, a bit put out by the fact that for the first time in my life my estimation of my performance in an exam (Acc II) was so far out. Fortunately i was in the right direction. Very gratifying is the fact that my prof – Prof J.L. Weyers – has written to congratulate me on behalf of all the tutors in the Bus Econ department. Although I missed a distinction, it appears only 12 students did better that 65% of the course. Of course I know I ought to have done better. Prof. Herbst (Bus Econ Dept.) has also written (a circular letter) virtually inviting me to tackle honours in Bus. Econ. I shall be replying to both these letters next week but I am embarrassed as I have to inform then that if I am able to do honours at all my preference is to do it in Economics – not Bus Econ.

I expect Elsie would have got in touch with you over the weekend. In any event I have asked them to telegram the results to you. I await an answer. Who knows? I may be surprised!

You should also have had your results. How did it go? If you have not already done so, do write as soon as you can. As I indicate (my letter 27/11) I've a strong urge to do Maths I. But whether I do depends on (1) having sufficient money – I am still awaiting the receipt for the money you sent, and (2) your results, if you have come down in either on your courses, I may need to spend time working with you which will be much more important for us than spending time on maths – even though I am at present thinking of registering for Maths IA and Maths IB (two half courses) only. There will be a lot of work involved. I look forward to your comments.

Geo, Dev and Dilly have got down to a job that was long overdue. I can hardly tell you how pleased I am. But I can hardly emphasize enough that the intensity of the desire to run a business successfully is not to be equated with the know-how and the ability to do so. One must therefore study hard to acquire the basic knowledge to keep abreast of technological developments, to be aware of resources, plans and activities of competitors, and, above all, to be responsive to market demand. Many customers, no doubt, will prefer a less expensive product to quality. A basic question is involved here – in the long run a reputation for quality will pay off. Great skill is required to steer the business successfully until such time as it becomes established. Much courage is required but this must be founded on foresight and the minimising of business risk i.e. boldness must be planned and calculated. I wish them well.

You appear to be receiving a lot of mail from many quarters. It is no doubt heartening – even inspiring – when you hear from total strangers – although some of them only seek your help. It must be a job answering all these letters and attending to requests. It must surely be a fascinating exercise trying to understand why a particular stranger writes to you. You must have found you need to know to reply appropriately.

Must sign off now. Give my love to ... and ... and our guy. Did the 3 sis enjoy their day in CT. I'm sure they must have. Give them all my love. Consider a course of AKTIVAKID for Si (never mind Mac's remarks). Best wishes with your birthday.

With all my love,

As ever,

Yours

MD

Document 52

Anne Kersti Dehlin – MR
[Letter envelope marked January 1972]

Dear Mr Ramgobin,

We are three young members of Amnesty International, the Swedish Section. We suppose that you already know what kind of organization AI is. If not, we can tell you that it is an organization dedicated to working for the release and humane treatment of political prisoners in every country regardless of its political persuasion.

We have read of your banning in the press and we are very concerned about your situation. We believe that we have the possibilities to offer you books. For example if there are any special ones you desire, and maybe financial help, if necessary. Before writing more to you we hope to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Anne Kersti Dehlin

Document 53

Edgar Brooks – MR, 10th January 1972

Dear Mr Ramgobin,

I enclose with this an original letter received by me from the General Manager of the South African Mutual Life Assurance Society. I think that the real answer is that they did not find out anything about your alleged inefficiency until you were in political trouble. I do not think, however, that it will do any good to pursue this correspondence. I think that it is always a good thing to shake people like this up, but that is as much as we can do.

With regret,

Yours sincerely,

Edgar Brooks

[Letter not attached]

Document 54

Anthony [Barker] – MR, 15th January 1972

Dear Mewa,

I was given to see in the NUSAS newsletter that your ban has in no way been removed or modified. I know how you feel about this, and share your sorrow in full sympathy.

Sincerely and affectionately,

Anthony

Document 55

Steve Biko – MR, 17th January, 1972

Dear Mewa,

The speech that you wanted arranged has been booked. You will speak at Varsity on the 12th March at 1.15pm. You will be speaking in SS1. This is a Friday. Unfortunately I cannot arrange for you to be picked up at the airport. I myself have

a 10.40 lecture. I think it would be best if you caught the bus to the airport terminal. I will fetch you from there at about 11.35am. I have a 12.30pm and at 1.15pm we will go speak.

I look forward to seeing you again.

Regards,

Steve

Document 56

MR, Application for Life Assurance, 24th January 1972

Dear Sir,

Mawalal Ramgobin: Proposal for Life Assurance, Date of Birth: 10/11/1932

Further to my telephone notification to you this morning I hereby place on record that in 1968 I underwent and had cysts removed from my eyelids. The removal was performed by Dr Quirke of SA Mutual Buildings, Gardiner Street, Durban. I wish to apologize for the omission in my medical declaration for the above application and hereby request you to make this life assurance with your company.

Regretting all inconvenience.

Yours faithfully,

Mawalal Ramgobin
Applicant

Document 57

MR – Helen Suzman, 28th January 1972

Dear Mrs Suzman,

You will forgive me for writing only when, it seems, I seek your assistance. Yes, you are placed in a position whereby you can, as you have so often done in the past, sponsor the legitimate causes of underdogs like me. So, if you do discover that I am selfish, I am so because I and people like myself are placed in circumstances which are very peculiar only to South Africa and ironically to totalitarian countries like the Soviet Union.

However I am enclosing for your attention a copy of an affidavit that I sent to the Hon Minister of Justice, Mr P.C. Pelsler in October 1971, requesting him to review the Banning and House Arrest Orders served on me. He refused to have the orders either lifted or even amended, in order that my livelihood not be affected.

I am communicating with you in order that my case be placed in correct perspective. I have NEVER espoused the cause of Communism nor have I ever advocated violence as a method to effect change in South Africa. All my work, political or otherwise, has been characterized by my insistence on non-violence and democracy, tolerance and understanding. So much so that I am in a position to defy anybody from the Hon. Minister of Justice downwards to prove that my work on all levels threatened the security of the state. In fact my work has always been based on my deep love for South Africa.

I am prepared to furnish copies of all my speeches and all these on tape to substantiate my assumption. Even on the revival of the Natal Indian Congress my stand was publicly made clear.

Since the Hon. Minister of Justice has already, through the Press, announced that the Diggs-Ramgobin affair had nothing to do with the imposition of restrictions on me, is it then rational for me to assume that the banning and house arrest orders were mistakenly served on me? Unless, of course the Hon. Minister of Justice has other information which is not known to me. But, I am prepared to be subjected to any trial in a court of law and I am convinced that within the terms of references of the laws of the land, I will be proven innocent.

If you think that this appeal to you is not within the ambit of your activities then I respectfully ask you to ignore me and the cause that I espouse. But having full knowledge that love and understanding, justice and tolerance are further made meaningful in situations like our strife-ridden South Africa. I am convinced that the Helen Suzman I know will not desist nor will she desert the cause of PEOPLE who cannot champion their own cause through known, democratic channels.

It is my conviction that if known protagonists of love and non-violence are going to be silenced and incapacitated with the force of law then nobody, yes nobody, including the government of the land has the moral right to expect PEOPLE, animate as they are, to remain for ever docile and non-violent.

Hoping that you will have a 'good' 1972 parliamentary session and also hoping to hear soon from you.

Sincerely,

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 58

Helen Suzman – MR, 3rd February 1972

Dear Mr Ramgobin,

I have received your letter and the enclosed affidavit.

I will raise your case with the Minister of Justice, although I must at this stage tell you that since he has so recently refused to lift to or amend the restriction orders against you, it is unlikely that my representations will have any effect.

I will keep you advised.

Yours faithfully,

Helen Suzman
Member of Parliament

Document 59

June-Rose Goba – MR, 10th March 1972

Dear Mewa,

I hope you are surprised why I've taken so long to write. I wanted to settle down first and let you know about the whole situation. Well, after I had met you in your office, I went to the station to confirm my booking. But which to my disappointment and to my disadvantage, I learned that I couldn't have my booking fixed up for the 15th, but they told me I had to confirm it for the 20th February.

On the 20th, I had to go back to the station, but still they postponed it the 25th of February on a Friday. So I left Durban on the 25th of February at 7.30pm. Imagine the worry I had; and one thing I detest is being late for school. But, as a matter of fact, in this case I had to be patient since circumstances compelled me.

Mewa, I don't know and I can't express myself and tell you how honest, how sincere, how grateful I am to you for what you did for me. If it were not for you, I wouldn't be at school this year. This taught me to consider the problems of human nature, which is made out of our courage of God who is Love, understanding and compassion; to partake in their routine problems as you did in my case. May God bless you and extend that love of human nature you have. Nature has bestowed you with a wonderful quality, which is "consideration".

Thank you

Yours faithfully

June-Rose Goba

Document 60

Sha, Sahdham, Sukthin [Naidoo] – MR, 20th March 1972

Dear Uncle Mewa,

I am sorry that my letter is so late. But since I have a dove and a pigeon all my time is taken up with them. Their names are Jenny and Suzi. Uncle Docrat objected to the birds in a cage, so we returned it to the owner and they are now free around the house irritating mum with their droppings.

The accident has left mummy shocked. Sukthi is fine. Sha will receive his yellow belt on Thursday. We are waiting for Aunt Ela to give us news about joining the scouts.

Thank you for the R15 which you never forget to send. Daddy's letter arrived today and he is well.

Love

Sha, Sahdham, Sukthin

Document 61

Pyarelal [Nayyar]- IC Meer, 30th March 1972
[Letter with three attachments]

[Pyarelal Nayyar was Gandhi's private secretary in Gandhi's later years, and after Gandhi's death produced a ten volume biography of Gandhi]

Dear Shri I.C. Meer,

Sometime back I wrote a letter to Arun Gandhi, the relevant extracts from which are enclosed herewith. In reply he informed me that he had passed on my request to you and to *Shri Mewalal Ramgobin* but had received no reply. He suggested that I might write to you and to *Shri Mewalal Ramgobin* directly. Hence this letter which is for *Shri Mewalal* also.

I shall feel very grateful to you if you could do the needful as set down in my letter to Arun Gandhi. May I expect to hear from you by the return?

By way of introductions let me say that I had the privilege to be associated with *Gandhiji* from the year 1920 when I was studying for my MA.. From then on I was with him till the 30th of January, 1948 when he left us. Since his death I have been engaged in writing a multi-volume biography of him. This task was put upon me by our national leaders – P. Nehru, and Sarda Patel, Dr Rajendra Prasad and Vinoba Bhave. Three volumes of the series *viz.* "Mahatma Gandhi – The Last Phase" Vols. I & II and "Mahatma Gandhi – The Early Phase" have already been published and I am now working on the successor volume which is nearing completion. The information that I need is to go into this volume and I shall feel most obliged if you could provide it to me soon. I would suggest that you get into touch with Mr R.F.M. Immelman (25 Kingsway, Pinelands, Cape) former Librarian of the University of Cape Town Library. He has been very kind to me and I am sure he will prove to be great help in this also.

By the way, sometime back Mr Immelman sent me with his compliments a copy of a magnificent volume "Portrait of Indian South African" by Fatima Meer. I wonder if this talented author is related to you and if so how. If it is not impertinence on my part, may I ask to know?

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Pyarelal

Part Two: Extract from letter dated 10/13 March 1972 to Sushilaben Gandhi, Durban

1. Could you get the following sent to me *per* VPP.
 - a) Phoenix Settlement Golden Jubilee Number.
 - b) Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Number.
 - c) The issue of *Indian Opinion* Memorial Number in which my article on Manilal Gandhi appeared. It reached you too late to be included in the Memorial Number.
2. On p367 of *Bapu's* "My Experiments with Truth" there is a passage describing how Parsee Rustomji and *[Indistinct]* got involved. I need very badly a photocopy of it to be made for me. Please bill me for the charges. If that will take time I would request you at least to ascertain and let me have the date and the year of the incident. Was it after *Bapu* had shifted to Johannesburg in 1903 or was it in the period before his return to India in October 1901?
3. Is there any collection of SA newspaper clippings or brochures and pamphlets or books bearing on *Bapu* or his South African struggle in the *Indian Opinion* office or at the Phoenix? I would like to have a list of such books, brochures and pamphlets.
4. Could you get someone in Cape Town to get a microfilm copy made of H.M. Adamson's unpublished thesis "The Indian Question in South Africa – 1900-1914"? Mr R.F.M. Immelman (25-Kingsway, Pinelands, Cape) former Librarian of the University of Cape Town Library had offered to get it sent to me and I had even remitted to him R3.40 to cover the charges. But somehow I never received the microfilm. Immelman has now retired. He has since more than compensated me for it by getting sent to me two magnificent books, one by Mr Bridglal Pachai and the other by Fatima Meer, but my work is held up for want of the microfilm of the Adamson thesis. My letter addressed to the Librarian Cape Town Library fetched no reply. You will be putting me under a very great debt of gratitude if you can get me the microfilm in question and the information that I have asked for about Parsee Rustomji. I would also request you to send me some good photos of the Phoenix Settlement as it stands today.

Part Three: Extract from letter dated Nov 11, 1971 to Shri Arun Gandhi, Bombay

Please refer to my letter of August, 25, Shri Chandra Chudan told me he also had written to you on the same subject. Have you had any news from South Africa? The best source to approach would be the Durban Municipal Corporation where they must have kept a births and deaths record. I would suggest that you ask Mr Meer to contact the Durban Municipal Corporation for authentic information in regard to the dates of birth of Devadas and Ramdas.

I also need a photocopy of Parsee Rustomji's confession in respects of smuggling referred to on p 369 of "My Experiments with Truth" which, according to *Bapu*, he had hung up in his office. I need particularly the date of that statement.

Could you get someone to have a look at S.R. Naidoo's Private Collection of documents relating to the Indian questions at Pietermaritzburg and P.R. Pather's Private Collection at Durban. I find them mentioned on p122 of "The History of the *Indian Opinion*" 1903-1914, by B. Pachai MA – Archives Year Book for South African History. Twenty Fourth Year (Cape and Transvaal Printers Ltd., Cape Town, 1963). *Shri S.P. Joshi* also had mentioned these collections to me. In case there is an index of these collections I would like a microfilm of the same made at my cost and sent to me. Could you manage it?

I also want your help in obtaining either in the original or in microfilm or rapid copy the following:

- Aiyer PS. "Conflict of Races in South Africa" (African Chronicle Printing Press, Durban).
- Aiyer P.S., "The Indian Problem in South Africa". (African Chronicle Printing Press, Durban).
- Calpin G.H., "Indians in South Africa".

Part Four: Extract from letter dated August 25, 1971 to *Shri Arun Gandhi*

I have been trying in vain to find the exact dates of the birth and death of Herilal, Manilal, and Ramdasbhai. Kantibhai told me that there was bound to be record of the dates of their birth with the Immigration Office in South Africa. Could you enquire and let me know. It is of utmost importance for me to know precisely their dates of birth in order to refute certain aspersions that have been cast on *Bapu* in a recent publication. I know the exact date of birth of Devadas, having often heard from *Bapu's* lips that Devadas was born on the Mafeking Day which is 17th May, 1900.

PS. Regarding Devadas's date of birth, even on his passport the date given was 22-5-1900. But Lakshmben writes to me that Devadas himself was of the view that it was not the correct date. As I mentioned to you *Bapu* told us more than once that Devadas was born on Mafficking Day which was May 17, 1900. I would therefore wait till I get the information from the Durban Municipal Corporation.

Document 62 MR – Alan Paton, 2nd July 1972

Dear Dr Paton

In my concern for the future of the Phoenix Settlement I am taking this liberty to write to you directly. I do hope the Working Committee of the Trust will not feel slighted by this communication with you.

As I indicated to you on the 19th June 1972 on the telephone that it hardly becomes one merely to espouse principles in regard to the use and future of the Settlement. I hereby formalise my offer that if finance is the only consideration in allowing the motivating principles that created the Settlement to be compromised then I am now renouncing the R100 per month re-imburement given to me by the Trust for my work as the Organiser. I am renouncing this amount in my deep opposition/objection to the proposed leasing of Trust farm lands to Natal Estates for the purposes of planting sugar cane on the exploitative and profit basis. You will recall that my objections to the proposed leasing has spurred us on, further to collect app. R300 per month on the stop order basis.

You will be doing me a great service if you were to place on record, on my behalf that this renunciation is not based or related to any objections by some or many members of the Indian community that the Organiser received R100 per month as reimbursement. According to Mr Poovalingam, some members, a group I believe, closely associated to the Settlement for a `number of years` (it is alleged) had some misgivings about my receiving this R100. Personally I cannot stop anybody or group having any or all misgivings. My renunciation of the R100 is related and motivated only by my concern to protect the principles that the Settlement has already espoused and must continue to espouse.

Wishing you well.

Mewa Ramgobin

You will forgive me my formal address

Document 63**Ann Oosthuizen – MR, 4th July 1972**

Dear Mewa,

Packing up the house and reading through old letters I found one from you which solved one of my problems in answering your telegram – now I have an address for you. The other problem is still there as I was embarrassed because I did not deserve it – I was not fasting for the whole week in the Cathedral, mainly because I was working and looking after my family although I did fast over the week-end. It was a grand thing to do, lovely for you to send the telegram. Dave de Beer is now himself banned.

These are dramatic times and I wish I could find a place for myself to stay here. As you know I have for some time felt very much out of place at Rhodes, mainly because I feel so out of touch with what is going on and so very much part of the white establishment. It has seemed better for me to educate my children in England where my family are, but I will be back in four years, if not sooner. I usually don't know if I can stay away so long. But then I will be able to look for a job which will give me greater happiness.

I know we will meet again.

With much love,

Peace,

Ann

Document 64**Anthony [Barker] – MR, 27th September 1972**

Dear Mewa,

It was good to get your message *via* Gwen. She gave it to me in the middle of a rather superior sort of party, and it made even that happy occasion brighter. It also made me realize that I had neglected you. Yet I had not forgotten you. You and so many others are often in our prayers and our thoughts, so neglect of writing does not mean we are entirely lost to friendship and true sympathy.

We go on in faith and with small rays of hope showing through. Not least of our encouragement is the soundness of Chief Buthelezi who gives us all hope in the future, that we may one day be liberated from all this sour oppression that is everywhere around us. But can the men who have power understand? Or, understanding, will they have enough courage to follow their understandings? One may only doubt this. Everywhere we see frantic twisting and turning from the paths of truth, so that THEY (we come to call the powerful ones this, as if they were a group apart from mankind) no longer know truth, nor, alas, care for it. It is all infinitely sad. You, my friend, bear a heavy burden. May God sustain you in it.

Ever yours sincerely, and irrepressibly,

Anthony

Document 65**Dilly M. Naidoo – MR, 29th September 1972**
[Letter with three attachments]

Dear Mewa,

How do you like my new typewriter? Anyway, I am just showing off. Now I have my own office and the works; quite unlike my days as secretary of Congress. Practice is picking up slowly and I am settling down quite nicely. In addition I am the secretary of the Blind Society here.

I also have a good set of boys who have formed the Old Boys Club. I have attached a copy of their new Newsletter. All their meetings are held in my rooms. Kindly ask Ela to write an article for their next edition which will be in a months' time.

They intend opening up a branch of Kupugani down here. They are very keen and have discussions every Tuesdays on various topics.

So long for now, I have a patient. Love to the family.

PS. I always remember the lesson of honesty and frankness. I shall come back into the fold as soon as the people realize how much I was trying to do while a full time worker in the hospital. They will soon stop finding faults with all and sundry.

Love

Dilly

Part Two: Aims and Objects, October 1972

Vol No I

Aims and Objects

The aims and objects of the Club are as follows:-

- a) To make available a platform where ex-scholars of the Port Shepstone Indian High School may meet.
- b) To make available various loans and bursaries to deserving students.
- c) To assist various charitable organizations.
- d) To foster a better relationship between today's youth and the older generation.
- e) To assist the High School and other schools of the Black Community.
- f) To promote cultural, sporting and recreational activities among its members and other interested persons.

Appeal to all Ex-Scholars of the PS Indian High School

The Ex-Scholars Club can only function through your support. An urgent appeal is made to all ex-High School students to join the Club. No discrimination is made on the grounds of sex. In fact, we shall welcome women who wish to join the Club. At present there are too few women members. However, we are proud to say that they are a tremendous asset to the Club.

Applications for membership may be made verbally or in writing to any member of the Executive or to the Secretary, PO Box 94, and Port Shepstone.

General Meetings are held on the first Saturday of every month at 2:30pm at Dr D.M. Naidoo's surgery. Membership fees are R0.50 per month.

A brief note about the Club

The idea of forming an ex-scholar's club of ex-High School students was the brainchild of Mr Leo Naidoo, Mr Terence Naidoo, Mr K. Appalraju and other enthusiastic persons who used to meet at a local café in town during their lunch breaks. Soon the idea grew as more ex-students of the High School became aware of what was afoot.

Early in March this year, a meeting of all ex-High School was called up. The meeting, held at the Arya Samaj Hall, was attended by about forty interested persons. A draft constitution was presented and the aims and objects of the organization were discussed. Several amendments were made to much of the constitution in order to make it flexible.

At the following meeting, the office bearers were, elected for the 1972/3 year. They are:

Chairman: Mr P.R. Dullay
 Vice-Chairman: Mr Leo Naidoo
 Secretary: Mr Michael Naidoo
 Assistant/Sec: Mr George Naicker
 Treasurer: Mr Mahendra Bridglal
 Auditor: Mr Dawood Mayet

During successive meetings, fund raising campaigns discussed the possibility of having cultural evenings. One such evening was held in mid-August and Dr D.M. Naidoo spoke on "The Role of Youth in Modern Society". This was followed by a very enlightening question period and discussion.

The first fund raising scheme which got under way was a dance that was held in September. Other fund raisings are afoot.

Thank you

We say very big thank you to the many generous-spirit persons who have supported our recent dance. We look forward to your continued moral and financial support.

A New Direction

by Dr D.M. Naidoo

It is very Heartening to see the formation of the PORT SHEPSTONE INDIAN HIGH EX-SCHOLARS CLUB. This is definitely a new milestone that has been reached by our community. The club fills a long felt void amongst us and it is very encouraging to see the enthusiasm with which these young men are trying to keep intact the umbilical cord between them and their *alma mater*.

For the first time now is this permanent link to be established with the aims and good intentions of the club, and with the dedication being shown by its members, there is no doubt that the club is going places.

The ex-scholars seem very keen on working in the field of education. All of us are aware of the plight of the Blacks in this field; and as education and training are essential if poverty amongst the rising generation is to be wiped out, their cause is no doubt honourable and deserves every support from the community.

It is sad however that it is always the same individuals who do the work in our community. I am certain that these young men will try to infuse a new spirit into us so that more people will join them in their work.

Of vital interest to the Indian Community is that these young men intend working amongst all sections of the Black Community. Our sectionalism, though it may be justified by many well-meaning people, nevertheless remained an indictment on us in the past. It is most significant now that these young men have a new direction. I do however foresee a generation gap as far as aspirations and methods of work go, but knowing also the big-heartedness of our community, I hope I am proved wrong.

This newsletter that is being launched by the ex-scholars is a definite boon to the community and there is no doubt that it will stimulate much thought and action amongst us, besides keeping us informed of the various activities in the community.

Let us wish them and give them every support, for are their aims not noble?

Towards a new humanism...
Understanding among men...
Our black brothers...
Mankind I believe in you...
To understand and to love.

Future Policy

The dance held in September has given us a small start to our fund raising policy. Much of our future policy depends, as with every social organization, on the funds we are able to raise through the generosity of the public.

As our main interest is in the field education, most our energy shall be directed to this area. However, large sums of money are required to provide bursaries and to carry out other educational projects; hence no money shall be allocated to persons or institutions at present. In the near future, we hope to launch our schemes when funds permit.

Document 66

Dilly M. Naidoo – MR, 23rd October 1972

Dear Mewa,

I am just as disappointed as you. Disappointed in myself. It all started on Saturday night while I was adding the final touches to my speech. My family just refused to let me go.

I had to make a choice – stay in Shepstone and continue to try to reform my father or get out of the house. This is one time that Poonie sided with my family. I suppose it is because we have been seeing so very little of each other lately.

Anyway, I am still upset about everything and it seems I just have to toe the family line till I become more financially independent.

I have always regarded you as an elder brother, so please try to understand my predicament. However, I shall never forget the cause we all hold so dearly. I know I am a disappointment at present but I promise, I pledge, I will return soon with no strings attached.

Please explain my position to all in Durban – especially Sew. Please do this for me.

Love

Dilly

Document 67**R.T. Mazibuko – MR, 29th December 1972**

My dear friend,

I am now definite that I am to leave the Valley Trust during 1973. I am as yet undecided as to where I will be. I am thinking of starting a school for illiterates to teach them practical art and craft of valuable growing. My course will run from 1 week to 1 year depending on what the trainees want to learn and what to grow.

They will all be taught soil sense. How to raise soil fertility with what you have to grow fruit trees. How to have a home garden. How to keep your own tools and animals. All this will be knowledgeable and education.

Please meet your friends and give me Ideas. I have 75 acres freehold title deed. I have 75 % illiterate peoples in South Africa who need such a know how school.

Yours Africanly sincere,

R.T. Mazibuko

Document 68**MR – R.T. Mazibuko, 22nd January 1973**

My dear Mr Mazibuko,

Your letter of the 29th December 1972, is hereby very gratefully acknowledged.

I must confess at the outset that I was extremely inspired by your attitude and sense of commitment. Yes, I am with you to the fullest that there can be no liberation for as long as I, you and our people are and remain plagued with poverty, illiteracy, hunger, loneliness, broken homes and a host of other ills that so well characterises this beautiful land that we call South Africa.

Your wanting to commit your 75 acres of freehold land for the advancement of our people is more than commendable... it is worthy of emulation by all those who have the resources and who so 'proudly call themselves Christians'. What a laugh!

My dear friend help I certainly will. I must learn from you. But please, in the name of our people let us share our ideas. Could you call on me at any time convenient to you. Being incarcerated I cannot fulfil my duty in calling on my elder. Please understand and forgive me, your humble child.

With lots of love,

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 69**MR – Mr Mack, 22nd January 1973**

Dear Mr Mack,

Thank you for the four press outings on SA as presented by yourself. I tried to phone you late last week, got your daughter on the line. Couldn't raise your office number.

At the moment I am getting the articles translated for my benefit. But from whatever little I could gather I discover no mention or reference to the revival of the Congress Movement in the country. May I ask, why? Perhaps to some observers the Natal Indian Congress is purely an Indian movement. This is wrong. The NIC being the only NON-BANNED political organization related very closely to the general Congress Alliance in the country was revived predominantly to revive our faith, all South Africans, in the means and the ideals as set out by the Alliance and as demonstrated in the Freedom Charter. However, we out here cannot impose our wills on our guests but I do hope I did not fail in impressing this upon your minds.

I will be looking forward at all times for anything that you can send out from W. Germany. How are your two other friends? Please give them my regards and hoping to hear soon from all of you.

Sincerely,

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 70

MR, To Whom It May Concern, 6th February 1973

We hereby state that bearer, Dr Alan Paton, is the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the above Trust.

It was under the Chairmanship of Dr Paton that the Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Memorials were successfully completed. And these were accomplished without any assistance, materials or otherwise, from the South African government.

Dr Paton's identification with the above Trust and with the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi is in keeping with his long fight for human dignity and justice for all men in our race-ridden society. We sincerely hope that the Chairman of the Phoenix Settlement Trust, which was founded by Bapuji, will be accorded the opportunity to visit the land that gave birth to a MAHATMA GANDHI.

Yours faithfully,

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 71

Acting Postmaster - Ela Ramgobin", 26th February 1973

Dear Mr Ramgobin,

Delivery of Telegram sent to Ela Ramgobin, Principe Prefecto Port Louis Mauritius on 3-1-1973

Your telephonically enquiry of 16 January 1973 refers.

The relative Overseas Administration confirmed that the telegram was duly delivered to and accepted by the Shipping Agents at 11.40 on 3 January 1973.

Good delivery receipt is being held.

A refund of the telegraph charge cannot, unfortunately, be considered.

Yours faithfully,

Acting Postmaster

Document 72

Magistrate - Ela Ramgobin", 7th March 1973

Madam,

Restriction Order

Permission is hereby granted to you to proceed to the consulting rooms of Dr B.T. Naidoo, 1st Floor Good Hope Centre, Queen Street, Durban for an urgent consultation at 11am today in regard to your child Arti aged 3½ years who is suffering from a serious chest condition and is to be examined and if necessary x-rayed.

This permission is subject to the condition that you do not leave the Inanda district before 10.15am on the 7th March 1974. The route to be taken must be the normal direct route along the North Coast road to Dr Naidoo's consulting rooms and if an x-ray is necessary the direct route to the rooms of Kardwa & Vawda in Lorne Street and direct route home from there.

Yours faithfully,

Magistrate

Document 73

Ela Ramgobin – Magistrate, 21st March 1973

Dear Sir,

Re: Book Bomb-Analysis

Would you kindly let me have the "book" entitled "Virgin Soldiers etc." which was dug out to position a bomb mechanism, the remaining battery, wires etc. that remained with the explosion remnants and all other items collected from my husband's (Mewa Ramgobin) office by the Police after the bomb explosions that occurred on the 9th March 1973.

I wish to have these, after all investigations are over, for the purpose of having analysis done by an independent laboratory abroad.

Would you kindly notify me as to when I can collect these items from your office?

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

Mrs Ela Ramgobin

Document 74 Ela Ramgobin – District Commandant, 21st March 1973

Dear Sir,

Re: Book Bomb Test Results

You are respectfully requested to notify me about the results of the tests done on the Book Bomb which exploded in my husband's (Mewa Ramgobin) office at 52 CNR House, Durban on the 9th March 1973.

I am sure you are mindful of the fact that Brig T.M. Bisschoff indicated, through the press on the 13th instant, that the results would be known on the 14th March 1973.

In view of the seriousness of the explosion in relationship to my children and my husband I seek to know the results of all the tests done.

Moreover, I hereby indicate to you, the Department and the Police concerned that on the completion of all your investigations in the above matter I will need all the "exhibits" (book, battery etc. imbedded in the book) for the purpose of having analysis done by an independent laboratory abroad.

Do kindly inform me when your investigations will be complete and when I can fetch the said items.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

Mrs Ela Ramgobin

Document 75 J.M.H. van der Merwe - Ela Ramgobin, 18th April 1973

Dear Madam,

Re: Book Bomb Analysis

Further to my evenly numbered letter date 11.4.73, I wish to advise you that I am prepared to disclose to you personally, certain information, should you be prepared to come to my office.

My office is in Corsen House, corner of Robin Lane and Fisher Street – Room No 13, 2nd Floor.

Kindly telephone 27360 for an appointment.

Yours faithfully,

J.M.H. Van der Merwe
District Officer

Document 76**MR - Minister of Justice, 24th April 1973**

Dear Sir,

Variation of Banning Orders: Mawalal Ramgobin

On the 20th September 1971, I was served with banning and house arrest orders in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, which, *inter alia*, restricted me to the Magisterial Districts of Durban, Pinetown and Inanda.

On the 7th April 1973 a fresh order was served on me, leaving all the Original terms unchanged but prohibiting me from entering the Magisterial districts of Durban and Pinetown.

In terms of the aforesaid Act I am full well aware of the fact that I cannot in anyway question the circumstances of the imposition of the orders or the orders themselves. The Act prohibits this.

But, I wish to place the following details and information at your disposal for a re-consideration of your decision to restrict me from entering the Magisterial districts of Durban and Pinetown:

1. I have always worked and conducted my insurance business from Durban, where I have established clientele.
2. There are several agents/representatives in the Inanda area but who in fact sell in the Durban complex for a living.
3. I have established office in Durban.
4. My lawful livelihood has now been very seriously affected with the imposition of the new orders.
5. I have lived almost all my forty years in the Inanda area.
6. I have a very ailing sister, Mrs Rajdai Goberdhun who lives in the District of Inanda. She depends very largely on me for all the necessary attention. She is diabetic, suffers from high blood pressure and she is a widow, who lives alone.
7. My mother-in-law, Mrs S Gandhi, who lives with me, is almost totally dependent on me. She is also a widow aged 65 years. She was recently hospitalized with a chronic bladder infection and uncontrollable diabetes. Her blood sugar levels could only be controlled after hospitalization for weeks.
8. Both my sister and mother-in-law's doctors and hospitals are in the Durban/Pinetown Magisterial districts.
9. There are no specialist medical/hospital facilities in the Magisterial districts of Inanda.
10. My wife, Ela Ramgobin, is a chronic asthmatic, who requires urgent medical attention from her doctors in Durban. Very often emergency attention is needed.
11. One of my twin daughters, Arti Ramgobin who was premature at birth (presently weighing only 19 lbs. at 3 years of age) has a lung condition which needs specialist attention. An X-Ray done in February 1973 revealed a bronco pneumonic shadow, which could have led to TB. Her doctor too, is in Durban.
12. I live at Phoenix, in Inanda with my family. We have been settled here, in this home, for more than 8 consecutive years.

From the forgoing you will, Sir, note that I have to live in Inanda, whilst I have to work and be in Durban/Pinetown areas. The present, new orders imposed on me will have many adverse effects on my family's well-being.

I wish to declare to you, and also to the world, that I have never contemplated or indulged in sabotage, violence or subversion. My firm belief in non-violent means for political conduct has been firmly established in the country.

I have reasons to believe that house arrests as a measure were introduced to counter violence and sabotage. Therefore, I cannot understand the validity of the imposition of house arrest on me.

In conclusion I unapologetically declare, as I have done in the past, that I am not a communist and that I have at no time either consciously or unconsciously espoused or furthered the aims of communism. My love for our common country South Africa has and will always guide me in my attempts to seek justice and common human dignity for all men. It is because of this deep love and concern for my countrymen's well-being that I will never allow myself or those whom I can influence to "peg" their terms of references to any other country – may it be Red China or the United States of America, England or the Soviet Union.

Having placed the forgoing on record it is my belief that you will no doubt give my application to re-enter Durban/Pinetown a favourable consideration.

Yours faithfully,

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 77**MR – Fatima [Meer], 30th June 1973**

Dear Fatima,

Further, to your telephone call on Thursday the 28th June 1973 I wish to place on record my dismay at the barrage of insults that you hurled at me. Having made it impossible for me to have continued listening, you left me with no choice besides the graceless manner of replacing the telephone receiver on my side.

From the letter I gathered of what you said on the telephone it would appear the sole cause of your anxiety was a certain document that was handed to me by your brother, Farook, sometime in March 1973. To this day I have no idea as to who the author of the document is.

I want to place on record, with you, that I have committed myself, and I believe rightfully so, to not only oppose but in fact restrict any internecine fighting among all these who stand up against oppression.

That maligning people (fellow travellers) is a form of internecine political fighting there is no doubt, I cannot reconcile your accusation with the fact that whilst I oppose, and vehemently too, internecine fighting. I can't deliberately malign you – even though I disagree with many of the things that you do and pronounce – in regard to the affairs of the community.

However, if at any time you are so inclined to discuss this matter or any other that may further the cause of people who want to break the chains of bondage, you are ever welcome to do so. Having ended the attempted telephonic discussions as abruptly as I did, I feel, without any disrespect to you, it my duty to tell you that, if you wish, I am prepared to discuss this issue freely with you at any time on a rational basis.

For some time now the writings of our saint, artists and consultations; however familiar their metaphor and the general establishments of their thought, has ceased to hold my attention. My dear friend, you have succeeded, very much so in me, to remind and re-confirm that we must not forsake our humanity, least of all our South Africa where the cry of the flesh and the cry of the soul do not only seem one but is one. And, you know what: that cry from John on the Cross. And, because I love this life I know I shall have death as well. They add, particularly when that death happens to be the logical success of a life that was surrendered for the creation of a better and worthy life for all. And there is no doubt in my mind that you will assist many a waverer by what some call violent rhetoric but what I call a documentation of bleeding hearts and souls.

I only hope that I and the likes, many you know, had the opportunity or the courage to defy, openly, what I and others consider unjust and wrong. But, my friend please do not for a single moment doubt or believe that my inability to be courageous is in anyway related to cowardice which has in many ways become the hallmark of our society. I am writing this because I believe, very passionately, that knowledge without courage is knowledge for nothingness.

With lots of love and greetings, to your family.

Sincerely,

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 78

Rob Robertsen – MR, 4th August 1973

Dear Mewa,

Our family were distressed to read in the press last week of the ban now placed on your wife. This is the reward that courage gets at the moment, but it will earn its true reward in due time.

We seem to be able to do pathetically little to help directly, except by keeping up the pressure for change. But please convey to her our sympathy and concern. We remember well our visit to your home and the great kindness and grace with which we were received at a time which I think was not really convenient to her.

Yours sincerely,

Rob Robertsen

Document 79

N. Babenia - Ela Ramgobin, 7th August 1973

Robben Island

Dear Ela,

I received a letter from Veena and had a good laugh. Well! I am getting old and posting wrong letters in wrong envelopes – it is a thing that sometimes happens. But I think it gave you two a good chance to laugh.

I received the two records of Beethoven and I am glad about it and also grateful. Veesi may receive a letter also – see what you can do.

The record club here has a record of Paul Robeson, so do not worry about it. But if you could send some Indian Film records it will be appreciated. Single records, not long playing. Films like 'Ratani', 'Anmol Ghadi', 'Trisnet' and such. Very light music. Consult Veroo my niece so that no duplicate records are sent.

I did receive the money from the Scholarship Trust. It will now enable me to buy the necessary books. If you do write to Ben pass my best regards to her and the family there.

Ela, by now you may have received my previous letter.

My best regards to friends, love to the children and Mewa.

When are the photos coming?

Yours sincerely,

N. Babenia

Document 80 Minister of Justice – MR, 15th August 1973

Variation of notice issued in terms of Section 10(1)(a) of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950 (Act No 44 of 1950)

I, Petrus Cornelius Pelser, Minister of Justice, hereby, in terms of section 10(1)(b) of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950 (Act No 44 of 1950), vary the notice issued in terms of section 10(1) 9(a) of the said Act on the 6th day of September 1971, and delivered to you on the 20th day of September 1971, by the insertion after the word "force" at the end of paragraph (3) of the following words:

"except your wife, Mrs Ela Ramgobin".

This variation shall take effect from the date on which this notice is delivered or tendered to you.

Given under my hand at Pretoria, this 15th day of August 1973.

Minister of Justice

Document 81 R.K. Khan Provincial Hospital, Medical Certificate, 22nd August 1973

Goberdhan, Rajdai 57 Female

The above patient has been admitted to R.K. Khan Hospital, Ward D, with Bronchial Pneumonia and Diabetes and Hypertension.

This patient may not be subjected to strains of any degree, as it may be detrimental to her progress.

Document 82 Ela Ramgobin - Minister of Justice, 24th August 1973

Sir,

Re: M. Ramgobin: Banned and House Arrested Person: Mrs R. Goberdhan – Hospitalized sister to above

I wish to draw your urgent attention to the following:-

1. On Thursday 16th August 1973 my sister-in-law Mrs R. Goberdhan being unwell and having an appointment to see the doctor at R.K. Khan Hospital, Chatsworth at 4pm on Thursday was taken to the said hospital by me. Because of severely heightened hypertension and sugar diabetes she was immediately hospitalized.

On Friday my husband Mr Ramgobin applied for permission to visit her and a formal application was submitted to the Chief Magistrate, Verulam on that day. At 4pm on Friday permission was granted to my husband to visit

my sister-in-law on Saturday 18th and then from 20th on Monday to Friday 24th inclusive between 1.30 – 5pm on condition that he reports to the police in Verulam on departure, in Chatsworth on arrival and again in Chatsworth on departure, and in Verulam on arrival.

In Chatsworth he has been asked to sign a book titled “on parole” and in spite of the humiliation has conformed to these conditions to date.

On Friday my sister-in-law Mrs Goberdhan was visited by a Security Branch man. Having duly introduced himself as such he questioned her about her relationship to my husband, her state of health and how long she expected to stay in hospital. No inquiries were made by the police from the doctors in charge. She was perturbed about this visit by the Security Branch and when we visited her she informed us of this. We did not take any action at this stage.

On Monday when we visited her we were informed by her that just before we arrived two men from the Security Branch had visited her and asked about her health and whether my husband had visited her. Prior to this visit, one man also introducing himself as a man from the Special Branch had visited her. She appeared upset and worried. This perturbed us and we contacted the doctor in charge, who was unaware of these visits and assured us that he would take steps to stop such visits in future

2. On Tuesday morning 21st August 1973, we reported this to the Superintendent in charge of the hospital. However, on Wednesday during the general visiting hours I saw Mr Moodley, an officer of the Special Branch at my sister-in-law bedside, accompanied by another gentleman unknown to me.

At this stage I was angered and having drawn the doctor’s attention to these visits which were adversely affecting my sister-in-law, my husband confronted Mr Moodley in the presence of two nurses asking him to desist from harassing my sister-in-law. Mr Moodley was very rude and arrogant and said that he would do exactly as he pleased. This matter was then reported to Lieutenant Chetty of the Chatsworth Police and Mr Moodley who had followed us to the Police Station was pointed out to him. Lieut. Chetty informed us that he had no authority over Mr Moodley.

We were then forced to seek legal opinion. Our lawyer Mr Motala contacted Col. Steenkamp of the Special Branch and informed him of our complaint. Col. Steenkamp was not prepared to investigate into this matter and refused to discuss it further. Having had no co-operation from this Dept. we now seek the assistance of the Honourable Minister of Justice. My sister-in-law is still in hospital. We have been informed that she may have to remain there for some days yet.

3. Having failed to obtain co-operation in the above matter from Col. Steenkamp (Head of Security Branch, Durban). I have been forced to seek your intervention. You will both as parent and husband, in spite of being a Minister of Justice, agree that any kind of harassment, especially by members of the Security Police must lead to a hospitalized person’s deterioration in health. This is further aggravated when people like Col. Steenkamp refuse to even investigate the matter, let alone intervening, in the interests of my sister-in-law’s health.

As a legally trained person and the Minister of Justice you, Sir, must be aware that for an un-convicted person, like my husband, to sign a “parole book” which is intended for people who have offended against the laws of the land, tried and convicted and then let out on parole, is a kind of humiliation which does not become the dignity of any state dept. that boasts or can boast of any fair play and civilization.

You have, by imposing banning and house arrest orders on my husband, considered him to be a “threat to the security of the state”. Could you kindly explain on behalf of your dept. as to why it is necessary for my husband to report four times to the police station in his attempts to attend to the needs of his widowed and sick sister?

One, perhaps, has to tolerate and acquiesce, in the name of “state security” to these harassments and humiliations, but what threat does Mrs Goberdhan pose to the security of the state? Why is she being so harassed by the police?

4. I wish to strongly emphasize that in the present climate in South Africa, a visit by the Security Branch no matter how courteous and charming their behaviour, has a tendency to have an adverse effect on a perfectly fit and healthy person. I therefore ask you to consider what effect visits by the Security Police to a person suffering from severe blood pressure and heart diseases may have on the general health of that person? I dare say you will appreciate the seriousness and the gravity of the situation and I can only entreat that appropriate steps to be taken to curb any such activities in future. I would like to stress that if such activities are not curbed now then many an individual may continue to suffer under the harassment and unbridled behaviour of the security police.

Yours faithfully,

Ela Ramgobin

Document 83 Head: Ministerial Services - Ela Ramgobin, 31st August 1973

Madam,

Restriction Notices in Force against Mewa Ramgobin

By direction of the Honourable the Minister of Justice I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 24th August 1973, and to inform you that the Minister does not exercise control over members of the South African Police Department and has, therefore, taken the liberty of forwarding your letter to the Honourable the Minister of Police for his attention.

Yours faithfully,

Head: Ministerial Services

Document 84 MR - Magistrate, Verulam, 5th September 1973

Sir,

Restrictions: Mewa Ramgobin

I wish to place on record with you that at about 8.10pm on the 4th September 1973, I was compelled to leave the magisterial district of Inanda in order to proceed to Durban North, in the magisterial district of Durban. I returned to my residence at Phoenix Settlement at 9.25pm, on the same date.

In view of the fact that in terms of the restrictions imposed on me I can neither leave the magisterial district nor can I leave my residences after 7pm, I feel duty bound to notify you about the evident breach of the 'law'. This breach was necessitated by the sudden deterioration of my family dog's (Rajah) condition and I was forced in all morality to have it urgently attended to by the veterinary surgeon, Dr A.F. Cross. (Letter appended).

Perhaps it would be pertinent for you to note that a Dr Downes, of Dore and Downes, Currie Road, Durban attended to my dog in the last two weeks. He was taken there by my wife, Ela Ramgobin, for attention but as you do know she, too, was served with banning and house arrest orders on the 31st August 1973. Telephonic arrangements were made with Dr Downes to have my family dog transferred to Dr Cross who practices full-time in Durban North and part-time in Umhlanga Rocks.

Unfortunately for all parties concerned my family dog's condition deteriorated last night and simple decency and compassion would not allow me to see it suffer any longer as a result of which I was left with no choice but to give it proper and professional attention.

Trusting that the above will suffice as a notification.

Yours faithfully,

Mewa Ramgobin
[Attached letter not included]

Document 85 Magistrate, Verulam – MR, 7th September 1973

Dear Sir,

Re: Restriction Order

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 5th September 1973, in connection with your having left the district of Inanda between approximately 8.10pm and 9.25pm on the 4th September 1973.

Yours faithfully,

Magistrate

Document 86 Ela Ramgobin - Minister of Justice, 11th September 1973

Sir,

Variation of Banning and House Arrest Orders

I wish to draw your attention to the following:-

1. That I have been banned together with five others all of whom belong either to SASO or BPC and;
2. That according to the orders imposed on me I have been specifically instructed not to take part in the activities or affairs of the above mentioned two organizations. This surprises me. I am not and never was a member of both the mentioned organizations. Since I never took any active part in the affairs of the said two organizations I therefore seek clarification on the 'facts' that necessitated the restrictions imposed on me. Or, alternatively that further investigations to verify your information-whatever it may be ordered, as without implying that either of the above mentioned organizations are in any way furthering the aims of communism or are acting illegally, I wish to state categorically:
 1. That I am, or at least was, a member of the Natal Indian Congress;
 2. That I have at no stage promoted objects of communism;
 3. That whilst resenting my own and my fellow brethren's bondage I strongly believe in non-violence.

It is therefore surprising to me to note your assumption that you are satisfied that I engage in activities which are furthering or are calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of communism. I therefore request, again, without casting any aspersions on the ability etc. of your staff, who have, I am sure, furnished you with information calculated to have restrictions imposed on me, that you order further investigations or allow me to challenge the information supplied to you in a court of law.

Secondly, I would like to apply for certain variations in the orders imposed on me.

1. That my sister and brother-in-law (Mr & Mrs S.H. Dhupelia of 41 Kismet Arcade, Prince Edward Street, Durban) are my only immediate relatives, besides my mother in South Africa. Both my sister and brother-in-law are not permitted to visit me. I seek your urgent intervention to allow them to visit me at any time.
2. That I have been appointed to commence work at the Durban Indian Child Welfare Society – which agency I have served for many years in my capacity as a qualified Social Worker, I would appreciate a variation in the said orders to include the District of Durban as an area to which I can have access. (Enclosed is letter of confirmation).
3. That apart from the fact that I am no saboteur and have never contemplated violence and therefore cannot understand house arrest orders I would like to draw your attention to the following:
 - a) That I am a mother of five young children;
 - b) That as much it is necessary for me to take my children out over week-ends or public holidays to the beach or other places of entertainment such as museums, art galleries etc.

I therefore apply to have the house arrest orders removed completely or alternatively to allow for certain relaxations over week-ends and public holidays.

Yours faithfully,

Ela Ramgobin
[Attached letter not included]

Document 87 Magistrate, Durban – MR, 12th September 1973

Sir/Madam,

Exhibits

The State versus *S. Cooper* refers.

Will you please call for the under-mentioned exhibits at your earliest convenience and bring this letter with you. If not timeously called for the exhibits may become the property of the State in terms of Section 360(1) of Act 56 of 1955. The exhibits store is situated below "O" Court, Magistrate's Office, Durban.

Yours Faithfully

Document 88 **MR – Magistrate, Durban, 13th September 1973**

Sir,

Permission to Leave Inanda

I was informed by Mr T. Reed of the Attorney General's Durban office and by Mr Grobbelaar of the Exhibits Office in Durban that a certain typewriter belonging to me and which was used as an exhibit in the case of 'the State versus Cooper and others' is now, in terms of a court order made, returnable to me. This information was communicated to me by Mr Grobbelaar on Wednesday the 12th September 1973, at about 4.00pm.

Since I am instructed to collect the said typewriter personally I hereby seek permission from you to leave the magisterial district of Durban in order to proceed to the magistrate's office in the Magisterial District of Durban. I seek this permission for Friday the 14th September 1973, preferably between 10am and 1pm.

Trusting that you will give this application your urgent attention.

Yours faithfully,

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 89 **Magistrate, Durban – MR, 13th September 1973**

Dear Sir,

Restriction Order

1. Permission is hereby granted to you to proceed from the Magisterial district of Inanda to the Magistrate's office, Durban for the purpose of collecting your typewriter, which formed exhibit in a criminal case.
2. This permission is subject to the following conditions:
 - a) You may absent yourself from the Inanda only between the hours of 10am and 1pm on Friday the 14th September 1973;
 - b) You must travel direct from the Inanda district to the Magistrate's office Durban and return after collecting your typewriter direct to the Inanda district. There must be no unnecessary deviations;
 - c) The sole purpose of your visit must be to collect your typewriter from the exhibit's clerk at the said Magistrate's office.
 - d) All other conditions of the restriction order in force against you remain unchanged and in force.

Yours faithfully,

Magistrate

Document 90 **Ela Ramgobin – Chief Magistrate, Durban, 18th September 1973**

Dear Sir,

Variation of Banning Orders

In terms of the Suppression of Communism Act I am restricted to the magisterial district of Inanda and am required to report to the police at the Inanda Police station every Saturday between 7am and 5pm.

In view of the fact that my husband, Mewa Ramgobin, who is also restricted and reports at the Verulam police station every Saturdays between 7am and 5pm and, furthermore, whose work takes him to the Verulam area regularly, I hereby seek permission from you to vary the orders imposed on me thus making it possible for me, too, to report at the Verulam Police station. You will appreciate the duplication in travel and time, particularly since my husband has to be in Verulam and already reports in Verulam. Added to this is the fact that I am a mother of five very young children who need my attention.

Trusting that my request does not in any way alter the fundamentals of the restrictions imposed on me you will not hesitate to vary the said orders thus making it possible for me to report to the Verulam Police Station.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully,
Ela Ramgobin

Document 91

Private Secretary, Ministry of Police – Ela Ramgobin, 18th September 1973

Dear Mrs Ramgobin,

Restriction Notices in Force Against Mewa Ramgobin

By direction of the Honourable the Minister of Police, I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 24th August 1973, which was forwarded to this office by the Honourable the Minister of Justice and wish to inform you that the matter is receiving attention.

A further communication will be addressed to you in due course.

Yours faithfully,
Private Secretary

Document 92

Magistrate – MR, 1st October 1973

Dear Sir,

Restriction Order

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of today's date in connection with your having left the district of Inanda between approximately 6pm and 7.15pm Sunday the 30th September 1973.

Yours faithfully,
Magistrate

Document 93

MR – Magistrate, 1st October 1973

Dear Sir,

In terms of restrictions orders imposed on me per the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 I am prohibited from leaving the Magisterial District of Inanda and also from absenting myself from Phoenix Settlement between the hours of 7pm and 7am on weekdays and between the hours of 5pm on Saturdays and 7am on Mondays.

I want to place on record with you that on Sunday at about 6pm (30.9.73) a man with severe head injuries and stabbings and bleeding profusely called on me for assistance so that he could be taken to hospital. On the grounds of compassion I was compelled to contravene the restrictions imposed on me.

The person taken to hospital by me was Mr Alson Khumalo of New Farm. His outpatient number at King Edward VIII Hospital is 72488. He was admitted at about 6.40pm, driven there by me in my car ND 176009. I returned to my residence at about 7.15pm.

Yours faithfully,
Mewa Ramgobin

Document 94 Bheki Langa – Phoenix Settlement Trust, 4th October 1973

Dear Sir/Madam,

Re: Invitation to Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Lecture

This is to acknowledge receipt of your invitation to the 1973 Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Lecture to be presented by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, at the Phoenix Settlement on Sunday, 7th October 1973.

However I wish to inform you that the Natal Youth Organization totally rejects all system-created platforms and system-appointed "leaders". NYO feels that Bantustans are a further entrenchment of tribalism and black fragmentation, and that the whole of this country, South Africa, must be freed from white domination, and not merely 13% of it.

However I wish to express our gratitude to the Settlement for having thought of inviting us to this occasion; were it not for our policy of non-alignment with Bantustans, the response to this invitation would be more favourable.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Bheki Langa
(Secretary)

Document 95

M. Timol – MR, 11th October 1973

Dear Mr Ramgobin,

On October 28th, it will be two years since Ahmed Timol died whilst in police detention – the most recent of 21 known such deaths. We feel that this occasion must be commemorated not only in memory of Ahmed Timol, but to emphasize the wider significance of his and other deaths in detention. Further, we wish to respond to the United Nation call for an International Day of Remembrance for all South African political prisoners.

We have chosen the 21st October and on that day in Vrededorp we will be holding a prayer meeting at which we will be thinking of you and your family. We want you know this even though you are unable to be present.

With warmest regards,

M. Timol
Chairman

Document 96

MR – Magistrate, 14th October 1973

Dear Sir,

Re: Relaxation of Restriction Order: Mewa Ramgobin & Ela Ramgobin

Firstly, thank for you for granting me permission to visit my ailing and aged mother at 46 Peter Road, Sea Cow Lake of the 13th instance between 7pm and 10pm, I returned to my home at 9.40pm last night.

I now seek permission on behalf of my wife, Mrs Ela Ramgobin and myself to visit my mother, again, today between 5pm and 8pm.

My mother is in her seventies and is, in terms of the restrictions imposed on me, allowed to visit me at any time. Because of her illness she is immobile. At the moment she is resident at 46 Peter Road, Sea Cow Lake. Attached is a Medical Certificate on my mother, Mrs Maharajia Ramgobin.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully

Mewa Ramgobin
[Attachment not included]

Document 97 Deputy Minister of Police – Ela Ramgobin, 26th October 1973

Dear Mrs Ramgobin,

Restriction Notices in Force Against Mewa Ramgobin

Further to my letter of the 18th September 1973, I wish to inform you that the matter has been investigated and it has been ascertained that the members of the Security Branch concerned acted within the scope of their duties.

Yours faithfully,

Deputy Minister of Police

**Document 98 Bheki Langa, Secretary-General, Natal Youth Organization – Secretary,
Phoenix Settlement, 4th November 1973**

Dear Sir

I wish to apply for a venue for the Regional Executive Council meeting of the Natal Youth Organization, which is a regional affiliate of the National Youth Organization (NAYO), to be held as from the 24th to the 25th November 1973.

As to the aims of this organization I wish to refer you to our previous application letter dated the 4th November 1972.

The number of delegates who will be present at this meeting is 20.

We hope to hear from you as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely

Mphakama Mbete
For Bheki Langa

Document 99 Minister of Justice - Ela Ramgobin, 10th December 1973

Variation of Notices Issued in Terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950 (Act 44 of 1950)

I, Petrus Cornelius Pelsler, Minister of Justice, hereby:

(a) in terms of section 10(1)(b) of the Suppression of Communism Act 1950, vary the notice issued in terms of section 10(1)(a) of the said Act on 15th August 1973, and delivered to you on 31st August 1973, by the insertion after paragraph 5(g) of the following subparagraph:

“(h) Mr and Mrs SH Dhupelia”; and

(b) in terms of section 10(2) of the Suppression of Communism Act 1950, vary the notice issued in terms of section 10(1) of the said Act on 15th August 1973, and delivered to you on 31st August 1973, by the words “Verulam Police Station”.

These variations shall take effect from the date on which this notice is delivered or tendered to you.

Given under my hand at Pretoria this 10th day of December 1973.

Minister of Justice

**Document 100 Bheki Langa, Natal Youth Organization – Organising-Secretary,
Phoenix Settlement, 4th February 1974**

[Photocopied document with bottom lines of page one blurred]

Kwa Mashu

Dear Sir,

On behalf of the Executive of the abovementioned organization, I wish to explain what befell the organization during our stay at the Settlement, for our Executive Council meeting. The meeting was to begin from the 24th – 25th November 1973. Eight delegates, including the NYO Executive Committee attended the meeting.

Before we started the meeting an agent provocateur joined us and befriended us. We soon became suspicious of this character and we decided to approach him and ask him to explain himself as to who he was, where he came from, what he came there for and who had sent him.

In response to these questions the man claimed to be a member of SASO from Groutville and that he had ben delegated by Ben Langa, Secretary-General of SASO and Pat Ndelela, a member of the Groutville Youth Organization, to this meeting.

We realized that this man was lying and this was pointed out to him. When the man stubbornly maintained his story, threats of violence were made to him, but he still continued lying. He was stubborn and arrogant throughout the questioning, so much so that we were provoked to beat him.

Sometime during the questioning the agent provocateur escaped from the room we had left him in. We searched all over the farm for him but he was nowhere to be found and so we decided to go back to our meeting. We then realized that the police might turn up anytime then, since we were convinced that the agent provocateur had been sent by the Security Branch.

While we were still discussing [*Writing indistinct*] Mr Mewa Ramgobin came [*Writing indistinct*] is going to be trouble, we had better keep him away from it. Thereafter we began our meeting which ended the following evening.

The following Tuesday three of us were detained by the Security Branch and two more were detained later that week. Of the five, two were charged with attempted murder and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. The remaining three were forced to become state witnesses (of course very much to their frustration). The two who were charged were released on bail on the 14th December 1973 but the three state witnesses were released only on the last day of the case, that is the 17th January 1974. The two accused were fined R150 between them.

It has come to our knowledge that after our detention, the Settlement received visits from the Security Branch, which also disturbed the children in the nursery. I wish to express on behalf of the organization our deepest apologies for having dragged the name of the Settlement into this. We also apologize for having to use violence within the premises of the farm founded by Mahatma Gandhi, who was against violence. I must say that we were provoked by the stubbornness of the agent provocateur to assaulting him: had he spoke the truth initially we would surely have asked him to leave the premises.

Lastly, I wish to thank the Settlement, on behalf of the Executive, for having helped us with the venue and facilities for our Executive Council. That is greatly appreciated. We hope to keep regular contact or communication with the Settlement.

Thank you
Yours faithfully

Bheki Langa

Document 101

M.H. Mlute – MR, 3rd April 1974

Dear Mr Ramgobin,

I am writing to complain strongly about the treatment my assistant and I are getting from the Settlement as regards payment.

After several trips to the bank last month, which left me feeling humiliated, it was most shocking to have it repeated so soon when yesterday I was again told to take the cheque back to you.

Mr Ramgobin it is very unfair to send us to the bank, when it is clearly known that the situation is such. At my age, it is not an easy task to go into town, only to be treated like this. It is a pity that this is happening on a day when I should be rendering my services to the sick, a thing that I love so much, but I am feeling too deeply disappointed to come to work until all this has been sorted out to our convenience. What should I do?

Yours,

M.H. Mlute

Document 102 **Anthony [Barker] – MR, 2nd October 1974**

Charles Johnson Memorial Hospital

Dear Mewa!

Thank you for your warm letter: we are touched by the kindness of the Community in its thinking about us. But, dear Man, disaster has struck!

We had not known the precise date on which the Gandhi lecture was to be delivered, and, in our very tight schedule, we find ourselves already promised away in Johannesburg on that very day. I am giving a lecture up there and we have other prior commitments over that weekend.

We are devastated. We simply don't know what to do. I have sent you a wire to say this, but this is the longer way of saying it.

I, personally, shall be in Durban on 20th, and should wish to come to see you to make amends, but I know you wanted both Maggie and I to be present, and I weep for this terrible predicament.

Can you possibly forgive us, confused as we are? We leave KwaZulu on 1st November, but are still not absolutely without hope that we may yet be able to come back into Natal to continue to serve KwaZulu.

Peace

Anthony

Document 103 **Per Axelsson – Ela Ramgobin, 27th March, 1975**

Dear Mrs Ramgobin,

We are a group of Amnesty International, the Swedish Section. You are one of our adopted prisoners. We have written to you before twice.

Our last letter was handed over to you by Chief Buthelezi whom we met during his visit to Sweden. He told us in a letter that your husband had been allowed to visit India. But we haven't heard anything from you in person yet. We do hope you will take your time and just send us a few lines. We would like you to tell us whether you want any contact with us or Amnesty International. Can we help you in any way? Are you allowed to send letters abroad? If not, maybe Chief Buthelezi could help to pass your letters on.

We are very anxious to hear from you as soon as possible. Please tell us if we can be of any help for you and your family.

Yours sincerely,

Per Axelsson

Document 104 **MR – André Brink, 24th April 1975**

My dear André

Thank you for your book. Your note therein was not only inspiring but it was reinforces us both, Ela and myself.

We returned from India on the 23rd March 1975. After all the homecoming I will attend to my mail some day later and when we discovered your gift, we were thrilled. For one thing, I really wanted to know what all this fuss about your book was. You do know what a "semi-baked" South African I am. You understand what I mean. I now read, write and speak only one official language – dammit, until the other day it was the language of the "imperialists". So whilst on principle I'll be against, remain against, any form of censorship I did yearn to know what this guy Brink's stand, that granted such comments from chaps like GDV, now that I have read your translation and I had decided that I'll only acknowledge your gift after reading it – you know, first to say thank you and then either to crap on you or praise to you.

1. Yeah! I agree that for far too long theatre like so many other exercises have been just that theatre. Nothing more, theatre and just theatre through and through of them; addressed to those related to those of them who had the temerity to say, "We must support those torch bearers of culture". That shit. Whereas, as you say and

so sincerely, if only to show it should be, and since it was meant, it must now be the surgical clinic of our other society. Not only to diagnose was but to help confront the ills that are engulfing us.

Mrs F. Meer

I want to make it very clear that I not only take serious exception to the attitude, tone and manner displayed by you on the phone but also that I am not prepared to discuss anything, least of all the affairs of the community, on the level as already displayed by you.

Sincerely

Mewa

Document 105 MR – Ismail [Meer], 29th April 1975

Dear Ismail

In future I do hope, for the sake of the Phoenix Settlement Trust, you will be more circumspect when discussing, with me or anybody else, the affairs of and issues relevant to the Settlement.

Your statement to me, yesterday, that you don't allow idols to come between you and your God is in my opinion not only in bad taste but also smacks of religious intolerance and arrogance, which does not become the dignity of the Chair of an institution that bears the name of Mahatma Gandhi.

I write this to you in the full knowledge of the `legal` implications to me but the compulsion to write to you and place on record, for the purposes of correcting you, is greater than the fears for my personal safety.

Trusting that this will not be repeated by you.

Sincerely

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 106 Regional Representative – Ela Ramgobin, 3rd March 1976

Madam

With reference to your application for the renewal of your South African passport, I have to advise that the Secretary for the Interior after careful consideration has decided that he is not prepared to grant you the aforementioned facilities.

Yours faithfully,

Regional Magistrate

Document 107 Magistrate, Verulam – MR, 11th January 1978

Dear Sir

Relaxation of Restriction Orders

With reference to your letter dated 11.1.78 I have to inform you that permission is refused for you and your wife to attend the funeral of the late Dr Richard Turner.

Yours faithfully,

Magistrate

Document 108 Magistrate, Verulam – MR, 13th January 1978

Dear Sir

Restriction Orders

With reference to your application, I have to inform you that permission is refused for you and your wife to attend the funeral of Dr G.M. Naicker.

Yours faithfully,

Magistrate

Document 109

Christy – MR, 20th August 1978

Department of International Law
University of Ife

Dear Mewa,

It was for me, too, a pleasure hearing from you. So glad that you remain in Lenina Drive unshaken, despite the ruthless increases in the rent (3 times in your case), and heartily wish that Ela's order will expire at the end of this month. I admire both of you for your courage and dedication to the noble ideals of our struggle.

Let me tell you in this connection that the friend who first introduced me to you is now in North America and is doing a very useful job. While a few years ago he was a useless liberal, full of pessimism and lack of purpose – I am sure our friend agrees with me here – he is now a new man whose talents have been put in the service of the people. The other friend, whom you met, is in a neighbouring country. You will hear more about him when the time has come.

I have been in Nigeria for five months now. Before I came here, however, I was sent by the UN Institute for Namibia to Namibia to study the legal system there and write a report on it analysing historical, current and future perspectives. I found my experience there the most rewarding as it reinforced my beliefs on the nature and role of law as a class instrument. *E.g.* while examining the situation before the German colonization, I found that, contrary to the forms of appropriation of surplus by the Herero, Ovambo and other chief tribes and hence the existence of laws and customs to justify and strengthen the social divisions of these societies, the Bushmen had no law at all, being a classless society. With the intrusion of capitalist relations, the role of law (German or Roman Dutch) *vis-a-vis* the Africans became inseparable from the role of capital in exploiting black labour. In my proposals for the future organization of a judiciary *etc.*, I was of course guided by another classless society, qualitatively different and pointed out the need for transitory measures (*e.g.* people's courts) in the post-independence period with a view of gradually substituting legal measures with administrative practices. In conclusion, law is matter, too.

A few weeks ago the University of Natal rejected my thesis "as unsuitable". I would like here to mention that the UN sent me into Namibia after having read an article based exclusively on my thesis and that the Varsity here approved my application for employment chiefly on the basis of my thesis. It seems to me that some liberal professors at that University have become unregistered prostitutes of apartheid. I wish I would be wrong. Anyway, I am now planning to submit my thesis to Warsaw, Poland. I teach here international law and, for the coming session, constitutional law. This University is a relatively new one. It has 8,000-9,000 students and occupies an area of 1,500 acres – which makes it one of the biggest (in area) in the world. Of course, there is potential for development. In this respect, I am enclosing a relevant article of a good friend (he is one of members of the Constitutional Assembly and produced, together with Osman, the so-called minority constitution), which, I think, will answer many of your questions and, perhaps, give food for more thought. I am sure Segun will welcome your comments on the paper.

I'll send you the forthcoming issue of a new magazine called 'Positive Review' that some comrades are publishing here. If you think it interesting, the editors will be very happy to have some contribution (even a short comment) from you on the situation in Southern Africa in general or your organization in particular.

Please, give my regards to Ela and Mrs Gandhi. I look forward to hearing from you.

With good wishes,

Comradely,

Christy

Document 110

MR - Anthony & Maggie [Barker], 12th October 1978

Dear Anthony & Maggie,

How are you folk? Sorry I was not able, though very willing, to write earlier. But, as they say "Here I am".

Let me spill it out immediately. You were so much in my mind during the "Crossroads debacle". How I wanted you to be around. We miss you and your work. If thoughts and memories, only, were enough to sustain the souls of fellows like me, then your life and work at Nqutu should be enough. Being the kind of man I am people sustain me most. Perhaps this is a result of attempts over the last 13 years to de-socialize, de-humanize me. I am not complaining. Only, must it be so, that we recognize man's humanity against the back-ground of another's inhumanity? Perhaps, this is what urges us on in the pursuit of goodness and justice. Funny, Anthony, that today the likes of me have to remind the rulers of South Africa that a pre-requisite to peace is justice. I am impelled to pronounce on and on that I want justice more than I need peace. For, peace will automatically follow in a politically, economically and socially just society. No perfections, dear friend, but the on-going process of finding more and sharing more.

By Jove haven't I gone so much away? We are well and are anxiously awaiting the 30/9/81. That's when the damn thing expires. Phoenix Settlement is looking fine and we are going ahead with the nominal services that we can offer. Last week-end the Annual Gandhi Lecture was presented to a fair crowd of some 100. You were remembered by me. Remember your own lecture. Of course, now that we live Verulam, I was not able to be present there.

However, so much for now. Will you write and help keep me sustained with your love and thoughts.

Yours,

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 111

R.D. [Naidoo]- MR, 7th March 1979

[The writer is not the R.D. Naidoo who features in much of this material and being in the Leading Personae listing]

My dear Mewa,

How are you? How are the family and Mrs Gandhi? My respects and good wishes to all of you. I have been trying to see you since December but I have not been well. Just resting at home, after school. In fact I am in bed today. I finally located your new business but believe that you do not have a phone at the office.

As I reported to you over the phone my son Swienbra is in Udaipur. As you probably know already this institution, like many others in India, is in the throes of a serious strike since January. Several lecturers and students are in jail. (A press cutting is attached) I understand that there are 26 foreign students there.

Through the intervention of the Vice Chancellor of the Rajasthan University to which this college is affiliated the foreign students are receiving tuition and arrangements are being made for them to write the finals in late April or early May.

I shall be grateful if you will please give me another letter on behalf of my son to New Delhi as you so kindly did last year. There is someone travelling to India by next week-end. He can hand this letter to my son in Bombay by arrangement. Their studies are going well now and arrangements have been made for special tuition, after hours.

Full Name: Naidoo Surendra Simin
 College: Vidya Bhawan Rural Institute Udaipur Rajasthan

He was advised by New Delhi to move out of Poona last year and the students have been nominated to Universities from there to elsewhere.

From reports I received he is getting on well and expects to do well in the final exams.

I shall be grateful for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

RD

PS I seem to be suffering from the side effects of the heart tablets. An orthopaedic surgeon is treating me for calcification in the area of the right hip joint which is causing much pain and is making walking difficult. However there has been some improvement over the last week.

RD

[Attached article]

Udaipur teachers stir creates a crisis

Udaipur. February 20: The agitation launched by the Rural Institute Teachers Association of Udaipur demanding merger of the institute with the Udaipur University has created a crisis.

All the institutions of Vidya Bhavan have been closed for an indefinite period by the management. The international famed Vidya Bhawan is managed by Dr M.S. M. Mehta, father of the foreign secretary, Mr Jagat Mehta.

The lecturers of the institute are on strike since January 15 and no settlement is in sight. The state government has stopped the grant to the institution for not obeying orders. More than 1,500 students of different institutions run by the Vidya Bhavan are suffering. Recently whether agitating people coerced Dr Mehta for the second time, the local administration had to intervene to maintain law and order and arrested 35 people. This action angered all teachers and students of the city and most of them went on strike. The association has decided not to go for any compromise with the present management.

Mr Bhanukumar Shastri, MP, has supported the demand for merging the institute with the Udaipur University, Mr Shastri, has requested the Chief Minister to appoint an administrator in the institute to resume normal work.

Document 112 MR – Percy Qoboza, 21st June 1979

Dear Sir

I hereby confirm our invitation to you to present the 1979 Mahatma Gandhi Lecture.

As mutually agreed by us, the lecture will be held at the Phoenix Settlement on 30 September 1979. The proceedings will begin at 3.00p.m.

I think, with you, that the topic "Gandhi and Journalism" will be an appropriate one. In the present political juncture of us all – South Africans – this is not only pertinent but will also augur well for the lovers of, inter alia, press freedom.

Kindly confirm acceptance of this invitation per return mail and we will forward to you a return air-ticket sometime during the month of September.

Looking forward to seeing you soon.

Yours fraternally

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 113 Magistrate – MR, 17th July 1979

Dear Sir,

Restriction Orders

1. Permission is hereby granted to you and your wife Ela to proceed to Louis Botha Airport, Durban on Sunday the 22nd July 1979 to bid farewell to Mrs S. Gandhi and Mr A. Gandhi.
2. The conditions of this permission are as follows:
 - (a) That you leave the magisterial district of Inanda not earlier than 7am 22nd July 1979 and that you will be back in the magisterial district of Inanda by 11am on 22nd July 1979.
 - (b) That you travel to and from the Airport by the shortest route.
 - (c) That you confine your activities solely to the purpose for which this permission is granted.
 - (d) That you and Ela report to the South African Police, Verulam, on your return to this district, and
 - (e) That all other conditions of the restrictions applicable to you and Ela shall remain in force.

Magistrate

Document 114 MR – A.K. Docrat, 1st August 1979

Dear Doc

I have delayed writing to you, not because I did not want to, but because I was wondering about the advisability of doing so, particularly in view of the fact that the issue in question will cast aspersions on the integrity of some people, and this I

do not wish to do in any circumstances. But on the other hand, fundamental requirements in our struggle for emancipation must always be honesty, integrity and trust. In deference to these qualities, I have no hesitation in recording and stating to you and all those interested that in regards to participating in the 'forthcoming SAIC elections' the following has been my stand since 1975:

I emphatically reiterated since early this year that we should put up candidates, even nominate banned and house arrested people like Mrs Amina Desai, who will have to sign a pledge to the party that puts them up for elections. The pledge will be:

1. to reject the SAIC as an institution
2. to hand over all monies received as wages to the community/party
3. to have a concerted voice and a single representation based on the Freedom Charter
4. to be answerable to the community/party by demanding:
 - (a) the immediate release of all political prisoners (our leaders)
 - (b) the demanding of a National Convention
 - (c) refusing to take the oath and swearing to be loyal to the present regime
 - (d) refusing to salute or stand under the present SA Flag and demanding the recognition of a new flag (that will symbolize SA Unity)
 - (e) refusing to sing the *Die Stem* and instead sing *Nkosi si'Kelela i-Afrika* and to reject the three tier system completely.

All these should take a maximum of 90 days. NEVER TO BE ELECTED AND MAKE THE EVIL SYSTEM OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT WORK. In essence, my view and this view still stands unaltered, is based on my assessment of the situation in the country. Whilst it will allow us, in co-operation with the community, to reject the system and have a nation-wide mobilization, it will also facilitate us to restrain the collaborationist element in the community from being elected. To do all this and more, the overwhelming emphasis should always be in taking our people in complete confidence and no double dealings will or must be tolerated. And to achieve this, discipline was going to be a pre-requisite.

It has been my view that if the majority of our leaders are for boycott of the elections, then I am prepared to abide the majority decision even though I remain unconvinced.

If there are people who have gone about telling the community that I am for participation, without the foregoing conditions, then putting it squarely, they are not only misleading the community, but they are liars. And putting it humbly I don't think that there is a place in our struggle for people who lie their way to achieve their short-term objectives.

With good wishes

Yours sincerely

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 115 MR - Chief Magistrate, Verulam, 13TH November 1979

Dear Sir,

Relaxation of Restrictions

I hereby make application to relax the restriction imposed on me in order to attend a concert on Thursday the 22nd November 1979 at 7.30pm at the Oakford Priory, Verulam.

My 10 year old daughter will be making her first appearance on stage as a piano player and I think it is very important for a parent to be present.

We expect the concert to be over by 10.30pm at the latest.

Hoping that you will consider this application favourably.

Yours faithfully

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 116 MR – Indira Gandhi, 13th December 1979

[Letter with one attachment]

Dear Mrs Gandhi

On the 25th October 1979 our president of the Natal Indian Congress, in concurrence with me, wrote to your good self in regard to certain affairs in South Africa. Attached is a photocopy of the letter posted out to you. In view of the fact that we at the NIC nor I have received any response from you, I have taken it upon myself, in the name of our struggle in South Africa, to re-communicate with you, only this time by personal courier.

I wish to recall my visit to your office in 1975 at which meeting we discussed the abhorrent apartheid system in South Africa in unequivocal terms. Your kindness in receiving me and the expression of your solidarity with our struggle against apartheid in South Africa, consistently, have been placed on the record.

In the present juncture in our history, the South African government is using every guile and ruse to keep the South African people divided on racial and ethnic lines.

In response to the attached letter we seek further solidarity by denouncing, if I may use the word, certain attempts made by the pro-Apartheid group in South Africa amongst Indians.

If it is not a tremendous imposition, madam, we wish to have an urgent expression of solidarity from you.

Yours faithfully

Mewa Ramgobin

[Attachment]

George Sewpersadh – Indira Gandhi, (nd)

Dear Mrs Gandhi

In 1975, our, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, had the opportunity, on behalf of the Natal Indian Congress and the oppressed people of South Africa in general, to seek solidarity from the people and Government of India through your good office in our struggle against Apartheid.

The spontaneity of your successive governments since 1947 in their condemnation of Apartheid must remain a beacon for other nations to follow. For this the oppressed masses of SA salute the successive governments and people of India.

In our present situation the South African Govt. (representing only the Whites of the land) has deemed fit to impose a three-tier system of government comprised of White, Indians and Coloureds. This system excludes the indigenous African. With the fragmentation of parts of SA into separate 'homelands' (interspersed throughout the country) for the so called ethnic groups of our African population, the government is on the path of re-tribalizing our already de-tribalized people. Should the government succeed in its imposition of the three-tier-system; the whites will remain in a perpetual majority ruling over more than 80% of the total land area.

The three-tier-system of government will be comprised of three separate 'parliaments'. The Indians will have their own South African Indian Council (SAIC); the Coloureds their Coloured People's Representative Council (CPRC); and the Whites their own, the existing parliament. Over and above these will be a 'President' nominated/elected by the representatives of the three councils put together. The sum total of the electors in the (two) Indian and Coloured councils will always remain in the minority, thereby guaranteeing white control.

We in the Natal Indian Congress and our co-signatories to the Freedom Charter – the African National Congress, SACTU, and Congress of Democrats *etc.* reject Apartheid *in toto*. We reject the three-tier-system and Homelands in particular and view them as techniques to guarantee white domination and a neo-colonial/imperialist situation.

Today there are 'Indians' in South Africa who are trying to cajole the people to go to the polls to make the SAIC a reality and thereby make the three-tier-system work. The NIC resistance to such elections is good. There is good support for us. Whilst the support is there, the supporters of the three-tier-system and the Indian apologists in SA of Apartheid have now resorted to using the names of leaders like *Mahatma* Gandhi, your late father Mr Nehru and others from India in their attempts to get mass support by suggesting that even these great leaders of India agreed to work with the 'Government of India Act of 1935' which visualized some sort of provincial autonomy and a federal situation for India. We in the Congress movement are aware of this political exercise. But, what the proponents of participation in South Africa refuse to or fail to present, is the fact that the historical circumstances prevailing in 1935-1939 were different and the powers, limited as they were, were much more than visualized here. We attach a photo-copy of the propaganda used by the South Africa Indian apologists for Apartheid.

We are presently counter-acting the propaganda by using direct quotes from:

1. The Discovery of India and
2. Gandhi's Political and National Life and Affairs.

In our judgment we believe that a comment from you, madam, will assist us in our struggle against the forces of Apartheid in SA. We will appreciate it if you were to post your comment to us at the above address as a matter of grave urgency.

With many fraternal greetings and good wishes in your forthcoming elections.

Yours sincerely

G. Sewpersadh
President

Document 117 Peter Gumbel – MR, 1st January 1980

Dear Mr Ramgobin

I am writing to you as a member of the Amnesty group 177 in Knivsta, Sweden. Ela is familiar with the group since she has been corresponding with a couple of our members for some years.

The Amnesty Secretariat in London has approved of our group adopting you since the group by which you were formally adopted has closed down.

In September last year I wrote to Ela but haven't got any answer so far. We sincerely hope that nothing serious has happened to her.

Please let us know how you and your family are and if we can do something for you. Should we write to any particular authority, institution or person on behalf of your case. Can we be of any other help to you?

Please let us know if you need financial support!

Hoping the new decade to be a happier one.

Yours sincerely

Peter Gumbel

Document 118 MR - Fanyana Mazibuko, 29th January 1980

Dear Mr Fanyana Mazibuko

I saw your article and picture in the *Sunday Post* this morning and became satisfied that you are the one I once knew and have longed to meet over the least 15 to 18 years.

How are you? Do write to confirm receiving this note.

Yours sincerely

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 119 MR – Magistrate, 22nd September 1980

Dear Sir,

Relaxation of Restrictions

I hereby place on record my gratitude to you for having allowed me to leave the district of Inanda to proceed to Durban to be attended to by Dr Tootla of Victoria Heights Victoria Street Durban.

The attached letter is self-explanatory. As undertaken by me, I reported to the Verulam police station before departure and on return to Verulam.

As indicated in the doctor's letter, may I have permission to proceed to his rooms on Tuesday, 30th September 1980 between 7.00 and 10.00am? The appointment is for 8.00am.

With many thanks

Yours faithfully

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 120

MR – Magistrate, 11th December 1980

Dear Sir,

Relaxation of Restriction

Permission is being solicited for my wife and me to absent ourselves from the Magisterial District of Inanda on Saturday 20th December 1980 from 10.00am to 6.30pm in order to attend the wedding of my niece.

It must be noted that my brother is deceased and it is customary for me to perform the rites at the ceremony which will be held at 535 Umgeni Road, Durban. However, we will have to be present at 18 Nizam Road, Merebank, this being the residence of my late brother, at 11.00am to perform the pre-ceremony rites and thereafter at 4.00pm for the post-ceremony rites.

Attached is the invitation for your convenience.

Yours faithfully

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 121

Magistrate, Verulam – MR, 15th May 1981

Dear Sir,

Relaxation of Restriction: Mewa Ramgobin and Ela Ramgobin

With reference to your letter of the 15th instant concerning Mrs Ramgobin and yourself, I cannot see my way clear to grant leave to you and Mrs Ramgobin absent yourselves from this district to proceed to King Edward Hospital Durban this evening.

Yours faithfully

Magistrate
Verulam

Document 122

Magistrate, Verulam – MR, 27th July 1981

Dear Sir,

Application of Relaxation of Order

Permission is granted to you to proceed on the 28th instant to accompany Mrs Gandhi, your mother-in-law, to the New Johannesburg Hospital, Johannesburg on flight SA 502 leaving Durban at 8.45am subject to the following conditions:

1. That you leave the magisterial district of Inanda not earlier than 7.00am on the 28th July 1981, after reporting your departure to the South African Police, Verulam;
2. That you travel by flight SA 502 and upon your arrival in Johannesburg report to the South African Police, John Vorster Square, Johannesburg and inform them exactly where you are to be accommodated in an hotel;
3. That you report your departure to the South African Police, John Vorster Square, Johannesburg;
4. That you depart from Johannesburg on the 30th July 1981 from Jan Smuts Airport at 18.05pm on flight SAA 521 and directly return to the Inanda Magisterial District and report to police Verulam upon arrival;
5. That during your stay in Johannesburg you confine your activities solely for the purpose for which this permission is granted, namely to accompany and assist Mrs Gandhi during her brief visit to the New Johannesburg hospital;
6. That all other conditions of your restriction order remain in force.

Magistrate
Verulam

Document 123 Bhai & Lumba - Bhai & Bain, 1st October 1981

Dear Bhai & Bain,

Shocking, but in these days, not wholly unexpected, though disappointing.

Your ban is also a contribution to the struggle, though we would like to have seen you freed.

Take courage from the fact that others suffer similarly & even, perhaps, more.

To be banned is an honour!

Sincerely

Bhai & Lumba

Document 124 NIC, UD-W SRC & BSS (UND) – [Unspecified], 30th March 1982

Sir,

We are in receipt of your invitation to a meeting dated 29th instant.

We note that you have not asked DIAKONIA and UND-SRC, two of our fellow sponsors of the commemoration service held on the 21st instant, to attend this meeting.

We will consider a meeting, and all the formalities connected therewith, with you when all the organizations which sponsored the commemoration of the 21st instant are approach to attend the meeting.

We wait your reply.

NIC
UDW-SRC
BSS(UND)

RMC

Document 125 MR – Magistrate, 3rd December 1982

Sir,

Your letter dated 1/12/82 refusing me permission to attend the marriage ceremonies of my nephew Virendra Ramgobin on the 12th instant is hereby acknowledged. I am sorry that you could not see yourself clear in granting me this request.

However, I wish to re-apply for the said permission with the following facts for your perusal.

1. In 1979 I was allowed to attend the marriage ceremonies of Mr Narendra Ramgobin (the elder brother of Virendra);
2. The residential address of both brothers remain 18 Nizam Road, Merebank;
3. I am needed by my widowed sister-in-law for the rituals during the ceremonies;
4. That you did allow me to attend the marriage ceremonies of Mr Satish Dhupelia in 1979. Mr Dhupelia is the nephew of my wife.
5. I have checked with my sister-in-law, Mrs Rajmathi Ramgobin and other members of her family at 18 Nizam Road and they have assured me that members of the Security Police have not visited them to check the details as they have done in the past.

I do hope that you see yourself clear in granting me the requested relaxation.

Yours faithfully

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 126 Magistrate, Verulam – MR, 9th December 1982

Relaxation of Restrictions on Saturday 11th December 1982 and
 12th December 1982

1. After reconsidering your application, permission is hereby granted to you to proceed to 18 Nizam Road, Merebank on the 11th December 1982 and to the APS Hall, Carlisle Street, Durban on Sunday the 12th December 1982 to attend the wedding of your nephew, Virendra Ramgobin.
2. The conditions of the permission are as follows:-
 - (a) That you do not leave the Magisterial district of Inanda on 11/12/1982 before 17.30pm and that you do not return to the Magisterial District of Inanda later than 20.30pm.
 - (b) That you do not leave the Magisterial district of Inanda on 12/12/82 before 13.30pm and that you do not return to the Magisterial District of Inanda later than 20.00pm.
 - (c) That you use the shortest route to and from the above address
 - (d) That while you are outside the Magisterial District of Inanda you strictly adhere to all conditions of your restriction orders;
 - (e) That you report your departure from Verulam and your arrival at each occasion to the South African Police, Verulam;
 - (f) That you confirm your activities solely for the purpose for which this permit is granted.

Magistrate
 Verulam

Document 127 MR – Magistrate, 1st June 1983

Sir,

Relaxation of Restrictions

I hereby seek permission to leave the Magisterial area of Inanda to proceed to Durban on the 22/6/83 to be present at Regional Court at 9.00am to give evidence; in terms of the Subpoena served on me.

I do not know for how long I'll be required there.

Yours faithfully,

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 128 Pieter Moro – MR, 3rd July 1983

Dear Mewa,

We read yesterday's news of the ending of the ban with absolute delight, the best news for ages. Long may it last.

I wonder how the bastards who told you about your last renewal in much a cruel manner are feeling about this. Bad, I hope.

I seem to come to the coast hardly ever these days. Most of the things I'm involved in are in PMB, abroad or inland from here, but I will come and see you before we're both too old to move!

Our love to all of you,

Pieter Moro

Document 129

Fatima [Meer] – Mewa, MJ [Naidoo], Jerry [Coovadia], Zak [Jacob] and Thumba [Pillay], 22nd July 1983

Dear Mewa, MJ, Gerry, Zac and Thumba,

I want you to know how greatly honoured I was by your visit yesterday. To serve on any executive comprised of the intellect and dedication which characterizes that of all the Natal Indian Congress is a signal honour, and I am very sensitive of this. There is no single group in the province today with which I could serve the cause which we commonly share more effectively than with you.

I do however have inhibitions, and they are due primarily to the fact that owing to my banning order I miss out on the vital and delicate process of formulation of policy which has crystallized into the present Natal Indian Congress. This as we saw was quite evident in our discussion relating to the Freedom Charter. Frankly I was surprised that commitment to the Charter now constitutes a pre-requisite to membership of the Natal Indian Congress. Without having the benefit of the considerable discussion that must have preceded your arrival at this position, my reaction is to question its wisdom and wonder whether it would not result in restricting membership and thereby affecting Congress adversely.

My own view of the Freedom Charter is to see it as serving a symbolic active engagement. I would thus appreciate close contact with you to gain a more intimate understanding of your organization and strategies. I would also like to share with you my own work in the research and publication field, and in the community projects with which I am presently involved. In the meantime I will consider it a privilege to assist you wherever and in whatever capacity you may deem fit to approach me, providing of course that we agree on the strategy. I am hoping very much to learn to work closer with you.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of the Freedom Charter extracted from *The Politics of Inequality* by G.M. Carter published in 1958.

Yours affectionately

Fatima

Document 130

MR – Nelson Mandela, 24th September 1983

Dear Nelson

Our greetings to you! This privilege to write to you was made possible by Winnie.

How is your health? Our entire family has grown to a size that you, too, may wonder as to how it is done. Our eldest (two) boys are at UDW, and the girls are still at school. The last are twins. Some eight weeks ago I was in Soweto and when Zinzi came up to greet us on the platform, I must confess a kind of guilt, a kind of nostalgia, a kind of so many, many feelings ran through me. I suddenly forgot that Archie, Oscar and Albertina were also present. I am not going to apologize – but I leave to you to imagine what followed.

However, as with our family our business has also grown to large proportions. With small beginnings, being limited in initial capital and adequately trained staff, we could not enlarge for quite some time. After a few years of hard work and diligent savings, for re-investment, we managed to create a branch office in Johannesburg. This office, too, is growing steadily. The managing director, Essop, is doing a fine job. Actually, he and a local director flew over to London on Friday the 23rd instant and they coupled their trip – how is it said, business with pleasure. But, only this time they attended Mota's funeral on the 24th.

A couple of days earlier we had got the "older" directors together – Jaydev, Ismail, George & Co. and resolved as to what was going to be done! It was quite nice, after all these years, to see so many of us together. Thanks to Mota. Earlier in the week I had contacted Adelaide and the others to ascertain their plans. Mota passed away on the 19th at 8.30pm and he was buried on the 24th at 6.00pm. I do not know how to express our loss to you.

Archie as Managing Director of the second enterprise is also doing well. We have a fine set of specialized and adequately qualified personnel to manage this. With approximately 400 well organized Capital structures we are set to a good start.

By the way, before I forget. On the 2nd July 1983 within hours George, MJ and I drove up to Brandfort. By God, wasn't this exhilarating experience? Phoo! The drive from Durban was rough – what with "your" Free State roads and with all the dry grass. No trees, no shade – just miles and miles of "flat" land. What an extent of unused land – especially when one sees all that after some 12 years and more. But, with so much of unhampered land, I do believe work- ploughing them should yield good crops for us all.

What else do I say Nelson? I do not have to say that we are with you – you know that. But, this we can say that all our lives are incomplete without you. Hey! One more thing. The other day, on your birthday, I was wrapped on the knuckles by some die-hard believers for “indulging” in Blasphemy. But, by Jove, there must be more powerful arguments to dissuade me. Wasn't it the admirable life of Jesus Christ and his going up to the Cross that gave birth of Christianity?

So, Nelson keep well.

Sincerely

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 131

Annika Borg – MR, 19th January 1986

Dear Mewa,

Thank you very much for your letter, I became so happy because I didn't think that I would get someone. I hope you are well and remember that many people around the world are standing on your side and admire you and your friends who are struggling for peace and justice.

In our school have we read and learnt about South Africa and the Apartheid System for a week. I think it's very important that we, although we live a long way from South Africa, know and have enough of knowledge to understand the situation there. Nowadays, they are writing very much about South Africa in our newspapers so I think that almost everyone here knows what's going on in South Africa.

But unfortunately, many people here are scared for losing their own privileges even though they know that their richness depends on the way the black people (“is it wrong to say “black people?”) are treated. For the rich, white man in Sweden, who takes advantage of the cheap, black labour in South Africa, is it easier to close his eyes and hope that the reports from South Africa and they say that the only thing who happen is that the black people lose their work.

I answer that I think the black people don't live a life they want to live and that can't proceed any longer. We outside South Africa must show in all ways that we don't like the regime of South Africa. It would be nice for me to hear what you would have answered, and I would be very glad for hearing more about you and your struggle for justice and peace.

(I hope you excuse my bad English)

Your nineteen year-old friend in Sweden.

Annika Borg

PS

It's right to call me Annika, can I call you Mewa?

Document 132 Ken Hill - MR, 28th January, 1986

Dear Mr Ramgobin

Your letter of the 22.1.86 arrived about two hours after I had completed the final report of which a copy is enclosed. *[Report not enclosed]* I decided not to change the report so as to include it because then it would also have to include my reply following and I do not think in these circumstances I have treated you in a manner unfair to you.

I was employed to teach mathematics at a university for 34 years. Mathematicians have to able to think logically, and arrive at their positions logically. They find that this is beyond most mankind.

Since political assassinations, detention and banning do now occur in our land, and since I have severely attacked not only the UDF and NIC but also Inkatha and the National Party Government, I naturally take precautions. But I had also another reason for leaving my approach to the Meers, yourself and your wife to the end. This is that Mrs Dhupelia approach to me was to ask me to investigate charges she wished to bring against you four that you had deliberately led the world astray as to who burnt the Phoenix Settlement.

Detectives investigating charges of falsifying evidence do not first ask the accused because of the danger, if they are guilty, that they will tamper with evidence. They look at the other evidence first. That is what I did. I also told Mrs Dhupelia that if I found that indeed it was Indians who did the burning I would publish that fact. As it is I believe that a few of the Indian tenants might have fired their own houses but that is all.

I have sent copies of your letter and of this reply and also my intermediate and final reports to an overseas source to be kept for the historical record. I do this with much of my own and other's political writings. I do not believe that future

historians will be very interested in either of us per se, but they will be interested in what really happened on the Settlement.

Yours faithfully

Ken Hill

[Stapled to the letter is the following letter]

Richard Steele
C/o Diaconal

Dear Richard

Enclosed please find a copy of my final report. The main differences from the intermediate one are:

Admissions that the Habanathi refugees did tell me that there had been an attempt to burn them in the Printing Press on Friday 9th from the beginning. Sheila told me that their women told her the same at our first meeting, and she told me then, but at that stage I had not mastered her accent.

Opinion that Fatima's final version to Mrs Dhupelia of this event was partially correct more or less.

Results of further research into other Indian refugee families on the Settlement on Thursday night and Friday morning.

The adjourned date of this coming Sunday (adjourned from 22nd Jan) as the earliest date for press publication.

Mewa Ramgobin's reply to my intermediate report came too late for inclusion in my final report. That was to his advantage for his reply was simply rude. I had hoped to show it to you and a copy of my rather stern reply. To the allegation that I was being melodramatic in supposing some hit squad might get me I pointed out that political murders do take place in our land and that my reports hit out at not only the UDF and NIC but also at Inkatha and the National Party Government. The last can silence by detaining and banning. But I told him bluntly that I had another reason for postponing my approach to the Meers and Ela and himself to the end. By laying a charge with me against those four that they deliberately misinformed the world about who burnt the Settlement Mrs Dhupelia placed me in the position of a private investigator or police detective. In such a case such detectives question the accused last because if they are guilty, they are liable to start tampering with the other evidence. So I looked at the other evidence first.

I did not also point out that as my reports show, I can find plenty of evidence of tampering with the truth by one or other of those four long before I came on the scene. Since you warned them of my investigation there has been more. And the way Ramgobin has used his mother-in-law will not go untold.

He wanted to be a film actor. He has enough acting ability to be able to take in Alan Paton for a number of years but seven years ago Alan saw through him. I suggest you talk to Alan Paton.

Yours sincerely

Ken Hill

Document 133

MR - Minister of Justice, 10th April 1986

Dear Sir

Re: Passport: Mawalal Ramgobin

File No: 67681

I am writing to you directly for your personal intervention in respect to my application for a passport.

As attached letter indicates I am invited to the launch of my novel in New York – between the 15th May – to the end of June 1986.

In view of the several pronouncements made and that are being made by the government, in regard to reforms *etc.* the refusal of a passport to me in the circumstances is anomalous.

Records for bail applications (in the way of affidavit) indicate my political position and clarify my ideals. Random House Publishers, the sponsors of my trip to the United States, are indeed keen to know whether I have travel facilities or not. They are desirous of planning the launch with consideration to my availability and to do that they need to have advance notice.

I would appreciate an early communication from you.

Yours faithfully

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 134 Carina Gustavsson & Ulrika Carlsson – MR, 14^h March 1986

Hello Mewa

We are two girls and we are from a Swedish School. Our's name is Urika 13 years old and Carina 16 years old.

Today in our school we have theme day. It's about Apartheid. We have saw two movies about Apartheid. And what we think about this is *Terrible*. All we here in Overum, Sweden support you. And here you have a prove.

Many Greetings

Carina Gustavsson & Ulrika Carlsson

Document 135 Regional Representative – MR, 24th March 1986

Sir

Passport Facilities: Yourself

With reference to the above-mentioned matter, I regret to inform you that this office has been advised by the Department of Home Affairs, Pretoria, that your application for passport facilities has been unsuccessful.

Yours faithfully

Regional Representative

Document 136 MR – US Ambassador, 10^h April 1986

Dear Mr Ambassador

Re: Passport – Mawalal Ramgobin

File No: 67681

Further to discussion between Ms Nadine Gordimer and your good self, I am enclosing a copy of letter to Minister Stoffel Botha and an abridged CV on myself.

I do trust your urgent intervention in this matter will be fruitful.

With many thanks.

Yours faithfully

Mewa Ramgobin

Document 137 Camilla Ronnback – MR, 28th April 1986

Hello!

I'm a Swedish girl. I'm 13 years old. I'm white, a shame. We have peace-week in our school. We have group-work. I chose Apartheid, because it's so terrible. I support you with hole my heart. Are you member of ANC? You are very strong. Don't give up. I have read that you have accused for what? For you have been with a liberation movement?

I hope the government give up. I hope that South Africa will be a country in peace with black and white people. I think it should be white people who should be treated as immigrants. Sooner or later I think that the whites give up, because you are the majority and you are so strong together.

We have done name collection to your help. Don't ever, ever give up. As long as there are life there are hope.

Your sincerely,

Camilla Ronnback

Document 138

Yunus Mahomed & Associates – Mr Pillay, 11th July 1986

Dear Sir

Re: Treason Trial: Pietermaritzburg: Your client Isaac Ngcobo and Sam Kikine

We refer to our numerous requests that the bail bonds be cashed in the above matter, and that the cash and your final account are forwarded to us.

As at the 10th instant you advised that you had not written the letter which you had undertaken to write two weeks ago to the Executor/The Registrar of the Supreme Court to enquire whether about the most convenient procedures for cashing the Bonds.

We confirm your advice this morning that you will write to the Registrar of the Supreme Court enquiring whether you could cash the Bonds without the co-operation of the Executor. You also undertook to contact the Executor.

Please advise as a matter of urgency whether you have now made firm arrangements to cash the Bonds as the sponsors are enquiring.

Yours faithfully

Yunus Mahomed & Associates

Document 139 Yunus Mahomed & Associates – Mr Pillay, 6th August 1986

Dear Sir,

Re: Treason Trial: Pietermaritzburg: Your client Isaac Ngcobo and Sam Kikine

Our letter of the 11th ultimo refers. In terms of our last discussion with you, you undertook to let us have the bail Bonds so that we may cash same. You have not done so to date. We point out that this matter and the accounting cannot be finalized for as long as the bail bonds remain unpaid.

Please let us have your response hereto as a matter of urgency. We point out that we may not be able to hold the sponsors at bay much long.

Yours faithfully

Yunus Mahomed & Associates

Document 140 Yunus Mahomed & Associates – MR, 28th August 1986

Dear Sir

We thank you for your letter dated 21st August 1986.

We are surprised that Paddy Kearney has written this letter to you, knowing full well that we are awaiting Mr Bheka Shezi to refund the sum of R30,000.00 received from the bail monies of Messrs Sam Kikini and Isaac Ngcobo.

We enclose copies of letters sent to Messrs Mxenge, Ngxingweni and Shezi and *Diakonia* for your kind attention.

We shall be pleased if you will follow this up with Mr Bheka Shezi as we are anxious to finalize this matter and to advise all relevant parties that this matter has been amicably settled.

Your assistance in this matter will be appreciated.

Yours faithfully
Yunus Mahomed & Associates

Document 141 Yunus Mahomed - Paddy Kearney, 21st August 1986

Dear Paddy

Thank you for your letter of the 12th August 1986. We apologize for the omission. We enclose copies of bail receipts in the matter of Thulani Mpanza and Dudu Buthelezi.

The bail receipts in the matter of Simon Ntombela are with client and we will let you have copies of same as soon as we have contacted client.

With regard to the bail bonds for Sam Kikine and Isaac Ngcobo, we have written and telephoned Mr Shezi on several occasions. However, to date we have not received a progress report from him.

We have pleasure in reporting that the two charges against Madhumzana Cele have been withdrawn. We enclose herewith our cheque for R120.00.

Dhanpal Naidoo

This accused is charged with harbouring terrorists and information about terrorists. At the initial bail application the State secured a remand on the basis that the Attorney General may wish to issue a Section 30 certificate. However, on the remand date the State agreed bail in the sum of R500.00.

This accused was detained in terms of section 29 on the 23rd December 1985 along with the ten trialists in the terrorism case. He is a student and his parents are unable to raise the bail money.

It would be appreciated if you would let us have your cheque for R7,020.00 per return. We have debited our trust account for the said sum and unless this money is replaced as a matter of urgency we foresee some difficulties in reconciling our accounts.

With regard to the Bail for Sam Kikine and Isaac Ngcobo, accused in the Treason Trial, we are advised by Mr Shezi that as the depositor was the late Mrs Mxenge the Bonds will have to be signed by the Executor who is in the Eastern Cape. We are pursuing the matter with Mr Shezi and will report to you as soon as the Bonds are cashed.

Your urgent attention hereto would be appreciated.

Yours faithfully

Yunus Mahomed & Associates

Document 142 Yunus Mahomed & Associates – MR, 1st October 1986

Dear Sir

We refer to our telephonic discussion with your son Kidar and subsequently with you when we advised that we had made two payments of R84.44 each, once in January to Ramjathans and subsequently in April to Kidar. Both of you undertook to investigate the matter and revert.

Two weeks have passed and we are still not in a position to reconcile our accounts. The matter is becoming urgent and we shall be pleased if you will telephone the writer on receipt hereof.

We may add that we telephoned your office several times subsequently and left messages for both you and Kidar to contact the writer.

A copy of our evenly dated letter to Mxenge, Ngxingweni and Shezi is enclosed. Kindly approach Mr Shezi direct for a Progress Report on the cashing of the bail bonds and keep us informed of developments.

Yours faithfully

Yunus Mahomed & Associates

Document 143 Yunus Mahomed & Associates - Mxenge Ngxingweni & Shezi, 1st October 1986

Dear Sir

Thozamile Gweta & Others vs. The State

We refer to our letter of the 6th September 1986 and our subsequent telephonic discussion with Mr Shezi when you advised that you had received a letter from the Executor.

We suggested to you that you furnish us with a written report so that we can advise the Sponsors. You declined to do so and said that you would write to us once the money is at hand.

We must confess that to date we still do not know precisely the reason for the delay and are suggesting to Mr Ramgobin and Mr Kearney to contact you direct.

Yours faithfully

Yunus Mahomed & Associates

Document 144 J.C.G. Botha – [Unspecified], 18th May 1987

Gentlemen

Mawalal Ramgobin: Appeal in terms of Section 5(2) of the Departure from the Union Regulation Act, 1955

In reply to your letter NM/R1/86 dated 12th March 1987, I have to inform you that I have in terms of section 5(3) of the Departure from the Union of the Union Regulation Act 1955, (Act 34 of 1955), confirmed the refusal of the Director-General not to issue a permit to Mr Mawalal Ramgobin.

A discussion of the matter as requested by you would therefore serve no purpose.

Yours faithfully

J.C.G. Botha (MP)

Document 145 Hilary – MR, 29th July 1987

Dear Mewa,

We are now back in English *terra firma* after the most memorable holiday of our lives and wanted to write at once to express our profound gratitude for making our visit to Durban such an enriching experience. Trying to make sense of the lunacy of South Africa is horribly difficult, but our brief visit to your home city, your home and the Phoenix Settlement were very helpful pieces in the jigsaw. I wish I could say that I feel hopeful about any imminent change for the better, but – wretchedly – “naught for your comfort” still seems the appropriate message.

I very much hope that you will get your passport back again soon and that, when you do, you will find your way to London. You may be sure of a very warm welcome here! In the meantime, if there is any service that we can render you or your family, please let us know.

And thank you once again for all that you did to show us the many faces of Durban.

Warm regards from us both

Hilary

Document 146 MR – Hilary, 7th August 1987

My dear Hilary,

Thanks for your letter. It was nice to hear from you.

Bearer, Khetso Gordhan, is not only a friend of mine but he has been and continues to be a pillar of strength for the non-racial democratic movement. In both the UDF and the Natal Indian Congress he was/is a pillar. His unstinted involvement in our liberatory struggle earned him the wrath of the State and he was detained for sixteen weeks under the current Emergency.

We here have insisted that he proceed to the UK to read for a Master's degree. It is in this regard that we need your intervention and help. Please see he sees the right people and that he gets the adequate assistance (bursaries etc. to facilitate his studies).

With lots of love

Mewa

Document 147

MR, Public Statement `Response to Several Telegrams and Anonymous Calls`, 10th March 1989 *[An undated document is paper clipped to this document]*

I am disturbed that my call for mercy for Rushdie had caused pain to the Muslim Brothers.

I did not intend to offend Islam or the believers in Islam.

My public position is known. I disagree and reject Rushdie's statements on Islam, the Holy Prophet, his family and Associates. Insults to any faith are abhorrent to me.

In keeping with my pursuit for harmony, unity and peace in the Community, I am responding to your several telegrams.

I gather from the several telegrams and anonymous phone calls that my references to Islamic jurisprudence have offended you. No offence was intended. Since I do not claim to be an authority on Islamic jurisprudence, I hereby withdraw all and any reference to it.

Addressed To:

[List of ten names in non-alphabetic order]

[Attachment]

I urge the Ayatollah Khomeini and his supporters not to kill Salman Rushdie as it would be against the teachings of Islam which preaches compassion, forgiveness and understanding.

I understand the sensitivities and anger of the believers or Islam but I do feel that the execution call to be extreme and unnecessary. I think that the Ayatollah's response in many ways would be judged in history as one lacking in compassion. The elimination of Mr Rushdie will not solve anything.

The dignity of the people has understandably been affronted by the Satanic Verses. I make a personal plea to the Iranian leader to extend the kind of magnanimity after the apology of Mr Rushdie that would add to the profundity of the life of the Holy Prophet Mohammed and Islam with whose teachings I have been very much inspired.

It is a plea from one human being to other human beings to space, on the basis of magnanimity, the life of another human being, who undoubtedly is a father, a husband and must be the child of his parents. He has a right to life.

I appeal to all those who have been offended to exercise a degree of tolerance and compassion. I believe that the Holy Prophet Mohammed stood for these fundamental beliefs. Both Allah and the Holy Prophet are beyond the "insults" of mortals like myself. But, I plead that the anger of my fellow Muslims must not be so manifested that our other beliefs are further assailed upon.

As the organizing Secretary of the Phoenix Settlement Trust, I know that daily prayers were conducted in the original house of Mahatma Gandhi in accordance with the three major faiths: Islam, Christianity and Hindus.

The inspiration to continue with this tradition was the knowledge and understanding that the Holy Prophet Mohammed himself was a Courier of Allah, who is described as the most Beneficent and Merciful and the most Forgiving.

This is the truth as I see Islam to be standing for and I am pleading with the Ayatollah and his supporters whether the values of Allah is being most beneficent, merciful and forgiving as not going to be trampled upon by the elimination of Salman Rushdie.

Document 148

Islamic Action Committee, Verulam – MR, 13th March 1989

[Unattributed one page document which may be the first page of a longer document]

We, members of the Muslim community take strong exception to Islamic laws being questioned and advice being given to us on the running of our religious practises from persons/organizations that appear uninformed with the differences that exist between Islamic laws and those of the Western world.

Enough for us is our Allah, thro' the medium of the Holy Quran, Our Prophet especially the final messenger Mohammed (P.B.U.A.) and his companions as guidance in our religion. In keeping with our sensitivity on this issue members of our community have written/sent telegrams to persons whom we believe have been guilty of the above attitude.

Following such action, I am in receipt of your letter dated 10/03/89 whereby you wish to withdraw your references to Islamic jurisprudence having acknowledged the fact that you are no authority on this subject. In consultation with members of the congregation the committee adopted the following decision.

The statement regarding Islamic sharia whose integrity you undermined was directed at the general public via the press. Thus any sincere retraction must be nothing short of public.

Document 149

Denis Worrall – MR, 2nd June 1989

Dear Mewa,

It was a great pleasure meeting you after all these years – years which I know have been very difficult for you. And I might say that I have greatly appreciated the discussion which I had with you and with your colleagues.

Reconciling your very strict view of "participation" with the commitment which the DP already has (as Wynand explained) is not going to be easy, and some sort of compromise may be necessary. However, I was greatly encouraged by your attitude towards the DP and by your willingness to assist us in different ways.

It looks as though I shall be basing myself in Durban and I hope that we can continue our friendship now that we have renewed the association.

Wishing you well and regards to our wife.

Very sincerely

Denis Worrall

Document 150

Ashish – MR, 10th November 1992

[Faxed hand written letter]

My dearest Father

Don't worry, I will be giving you a real card as well, but I just wanted to send you this message as well, since I can't use the phone here.

I wish you a very happy birthday Daddy, and I pray that you will feel in your heart just how special you are to me. I apologize for all the disappointments I have caused you and the embarrassment and the pain at times, but through all that you've never once let me down. Thanks Dad, you're the Greatest.

I wish you every success in all your endeavours and I am confident that you will succeed, but Dad don't forget that you have to do the right thing too. Whatever you decide, whether it's right or wrong, please be assured that you'll always have my complete love and support.

Thanks for everything Daddy, God bless you and have a really Wonderful Birthday.

Till we meet later,
 Lots of Love
 Your Loving Daughter
 Ashish

Document 151

MR – Director, Natal Performing Arts Council, 10th February 1993

[Posted on 15/02/93]

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
 SOUTHERN NATAL REGION: VERULAM BRANCH

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Permission from ANC

Your request to endorse two dancers from England to South Africa refers.

We do feel constrained to "give you this endorsement" in view of the negotiations afoot and in place to democratize the structures of NAPAC.

You are aware of our policies towards PACOFS and especially our efforts with PACT. We are aware of your Kwasa programs etc.. but you'll, I am sure, agree with the ANC that unilateral transformation of NAPAC should not be the order of the day. We are actively involved with projects such as the impending "Conference on Development and Culture", not only to democratize institutions like NAPAC but to be guided by cultural workers about as to how to develop, transform and reconcile towards a new South Africa. We are busy consulting with cultural workers about the role of culture to rehabilitate and heal our Brutalized communities, among a host of other things.

The Regional Cultural Committee of the Dept. of Arts and Culture of the ANC met and considered your application. The spirit of this letter reflects its' unanimous view.

Hoping that we will soon meet to discuss issues of common interest.

Yours faithfully
 Mewa Ramgobin

Document 152

Priscilla Jana – MR, 2nd February 1994

Dear Mewa,

It has indeed taken me some time to write to you. The reason is that I intended to visit you and extend to you personally my heartfelt sympathies and condolences on the shockingly tragic and sad demise of your dear son Kush.

I had only met Kush on a few occasions and did not know him very well. However I do remember him as a well-balanced, charming and impressive young man who was an asset in our community and certainly in our troubled society. We know that Kush had a meaningful role to play in reshaping our country. I am sure that he has left you with a rich legacy of glorious memories.

May these memories assist you in gaining the strength and courage to deal with this great tragedy. We share your grief and pray for you and your family.

Yours faithfully,

Priscilla
