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## Indians in Apartheid South Africa: class, compromise and controversy in the era of the Group Areas Act, 1952–1962

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### ABSTRACT

This paper looks at the implementation of the notorious Group Areas Act between 1952 and 1962, and the struggle of the Transvaal Indian community in responding to the Act. Since the Group Areas Act threatened the very existence of the Indian community in South Africa, two major Indian bodies – Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) – played a pivotal role in promoting regional awareness of the Act by organizing important conferences protesting against the Act. The Indian community came together as a unified group to narrate historical atrocities, something that was never discussed among the Indian circles before. There were incidents during the Group Areas Act protest when the Indian community leadership was divided over ideological differences in the Transvaal region. Incidents like these suggest that the unity within the Indian leadership, which is often discussed in the South African race history, was subject to public scrutiny. Drawing upon the archival materials of Transvaal Indian Congress Mass Conference in 1962 and the private papers of prominent Indian figures such as Amina Cachalia and the collections of Hassim Seedat along with in-depth interviews with activists, merchants and residents of Fordsburg, this paper aims to provide exclusive insights into the tactics employed by the Indian organizations in mobilizing against the Act.

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## Introduction

This paper deals with three important events of Indian activism in the first decade of apartheid. The first was the activist role of Indian organizations, namely, Transvaal Indian Congress in the Transvaal region. Second, the recurring impact of Indian exclusion in South Africa since the nineteenth century. And finally, the divided opinions of Indian leadership that emerged out of diverse and conflicting views over forcible relocations to Lenasia, a township located 35 km away from Johannesburg. Lenasia manifested classic examples of class conscious leadership among the Transvaal Indian Organisation. Anti-Indian sentiments were prevalent in South Africa since the invasion of colonial governments. By looking at the Law 3 of 1885 I argue how anti-Group Areas Act activists

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used historical policies of exclusion to merit their course of action. Segregation of Indians in Transvaal had bitter routes in this legislation as we will see later in the paper. The paper contextualizes how Indian activists maintained the memories of exclusion and suffering to claim equality over time. From historical atrocities to present day grievances, Indian activists have voiced their suffering to make their case.

The post-World War II era witnessed two very important events in the history of twentieth-century politics. In 1947 India gained independence, and in 1948, the nationalist government in South Africa came into power. Apartheid policies in South Africa led to the breakdown of relations between India and South Africa. Nehru announced to the Indians in South Africa that they should consider South Africa as their motherland and fight their battle without relying on Indian government support. This statement created a level of self-reliance and political maturity in Indian activism in South Africa. Indian activism officially assumed the character of a national struggle, a shift from mere diaspora nationalism.

In order to understand the impact of the apartheid government, one has to first study the important decade of the 1950s. This paper will focus on the scenario of the notorious Group Areas Act, its implementation and the role of the Indian community in Transvaal in responding to the Act. Two major Indian bodies – Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) – played a pivotal role in promoting regional awareness of the Act by organizing important conferences protesting against the Act. They saw the Group Areas Act as threatening the very existence of the Indian community in South Africa.

It is here the infamous laws of the nineteenth century were brought into focus, one of them being Law 3 of 1885. It was the official injunction of the state to declare Indians an unwanted racial group into designated white society. The NIC and TIC framed their protest around Gandhi's ideals of passive resistance. During the 1950s struggle, the argument was raised to reclaim a lost 'Indian' identity; an argument that had not been raised before. Stating the past atrocities and humiliations against Indian communities, TIC argued for a better present and desirable future for the Indian and non-white communities.

In this paper, I study the activism of Indian organizations focusing on the activities of the TIC. A case study of Transvaal Indian Congress activism is important because it was one of the leading organizations that protested against every anti-Indian activity imposed by the apartheid government in South Africa. Additionally, the leadership of Transvaal Indian Congress in the post-1947 era managed to continue their struggle without official support from the newly independent Indian government. Engaging with the archival materials of Transvaal Indian Congress Mass conference in 1962 and the private papers of prominent Indian figures such as Amina Cachalia and the collection of Hassim Seedat, this paper examines the impact of the Group areas Act on the Indian community in the Transvaal and their response to it by looking at those facets that make this struggle one of its kind. The Act's impact on the people affected by the law, on education, and on the poor Indian community who was willing to compromise for whatever little they were going to get out of it. In addition, the class differences and weak political solidarities that did not prove lasting. Yet, how did the Transvaal Indian community manage to wield so much influence? The paper will look into the tactics employed by the Indian organizations in refuting the Act.

To further the arguments on the politically differential ideology, I also rely on the 'South African History Online: towards people's history' project along with South African Communist party's online archives in gathering important information about events. This paper will also shed light on the internal political conflicts within the leadership of TIC along with NIC and South African Indian Congress (SAIC). This paper argues that apartheid was contested from its very inception by the Indian community in South Africa. The generalized notion of 'Indian' activism as a unified struggle was actually a dialectical struggle of class: where poor working-class Indians denounced the call by the Indian leadership against the Group Areas Act and accepted the government's proposal by moving to the Indian township, Lenasia. In the case studies of Mr. Modi, Bila Singh, and Indian leader Dadoo, I present the competing visions of Group Areas activism stemming from the working-class stories of Indians who lived and survived during the years of the Group Areas Act. Their stories present a different version of Indian activism which was documented during forced removals in Johannesburg. This article argues that the effects of the nineteenth-century laws passed on to the twentieth century continue to have present-day impact. The Group Areas Act relooks at the making of urban Indian activism in South Africa and the role of educated Indian leadership in guiding the community's actions. The historiography of the South African Indian movement has somehow not paid desired attention to the role of Group Areas Act activism in shaping modern South African identity politics. And how this politics complicated the racial apprehensions of European anxieties in its colonies.

### ***Group Areas Act, 1952–1962***

The Group Areas Act is a consolidation of several amendments. Of all the Apartheid government policies of the time, this Act received the most critical attention from the Indian community in South Africa. The act was officially passed in 1950 and was implemented slowly over several years. It underwent 12 amendments and two repeals but was immediately re-enacted in the same year. In 1957 it was repealed and then re-enacted in the same year to force in a much harsher form known as the Group Areas Act, 1957. In 1966 it was repealed again and then re-enacted as the Group Areas Act, 1966. Amendments include: 1952, 1955 (twice), 1956, 1969, 1972, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1982 and 1984. It was repealed permanently by the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991.

The law was primarily aimed to establish the group areas (sec 3) and synthesize the restrictions against native – Africans, and 'coloured' groups which according to sec 2 (c) was anyone who was not African and white. The restrictions from sec 8 onwards limited non-whites from holding any agreements, occupations, and registrations of the immovable properties in designated areas. The law had prescribed disqualifiers for individuals and companies from owning or conducting businesses in specified areas. To give effect to the property related matters Land Tenure Advisory Board was established under sec 24 to administer the Group Areas Act.<sup>1</sup> The Board advised the Interior Minister on what areas should be considered under the Group Areas Act. The Board was modelled on Asiatic Land Tenure Board from the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1932. Thus, we can see that anti-Asian sentiment prevailed throughout the Group Areas Act formulation before taking its final shape.

It is a landmark legislation that defined the landscape of modern South Africa. It governed the lives and dictated the futures of the generation born in the second half of the

twentieth century. It was an act which constantly underwent several amendments and reconsiderations. This was due to the response from a community which was unwilling to accept the conditions of the Act. The Indian community was the leading opponent of Group Areas Act in Johannesburg and Durban. Historical records concerning the Group Areas Act have overwhelming archival evidence about Indian activism against the Act. Indians from all walks of life, along with African and coloured organizations, promoted a united struggle against the Act. Apart from the opposition to constitutional apartheid policies, Indian communities initiated a unified struggle that was fought on the principles of human rights, equality rights, and dignity. It was a collaborated struggle of non-whites against anti-non-white legislation.

This paper will focus on the first decade of the implementation of the Group Areas Act and the role of Indian community in the Transvaal region in responding to the Act. The first decade of the Group Areas Act (1952–1962) is an important phase in the apartheid government's policies. It exemplifies the nature of response and situation of those early decades of apartheid that received wider attention from the South African and International community as a whole.<sup>2</sup> This is the era which defined the geography of central Johannesburg; it successfully segregated Indian communities to Lenasia, an Indian-only township formed 35 km southwest of Johannesburg. During this time, there were mixed responses among the Indian community. Some segments of the Indian population were in favour of moving to Lenasia, while the majority were against this move. The majority could be identified as the ones who were working under the umbrella organization of South African Indian Congress that was instrumental in leading the struggle against the Group Areas Act nationally. TIC set up important conferences and meetings and submitted memorandums to the government protesting the Act. Prominent figures from Natal and Transvaal contributed their experience to the Indian masses during the tough years of the Group Areas Act. Dr. Yusuf Dadoo from Transvaal Indian Congress, along with some of the senior leaders in the South African Indian political scene (i.e. Dr. Naicker, Nana Sita, T.M. Naicker) participated vigorously.

Alongside these figures, prominent women organizers were incremental in the struggle. Ebrahim Ismail Asvat was a noted organizer and president of the Transvaal chapter of Non-European United Front (NEUF) in the 1938 and chairperson of the Transvaal British Indian Association (Reddy and Hiralal 2017, 290). Asvat's daughters Zainab Asvat and Amina Cachalia were formidable leaders in the Transvaal Indian movement and women's rights activism. Zainab was a leader in the Transvaal Indian community. A fiery speaker with convictions to the anti-apartheid movement, Zainab organized the march to Union buildings to protest the Group Areas Act and the South African Indian National Council in 1963 (Vahed 2012, 40–41). Like her sister, Amina was also an extraordinary organizer. Amina established the Women's Progressive Union and was a patron to the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) (Natrass 2017). Their contribution to the struggle is remembered in the community's memories as well reminisced through their personal life stories.

### ***Role of the Transvaal Indian Congress***

This section explains the role of TIC in protesting against the act. TIC was the first Indian organization that led the protest against the Group Areas Act in Johannesburg. The

Transvaal Indian Congress erstwhile called the Transvaal British Indian Congress (TBIA) was formed by Gandhi in 1903. It functioned under the umbrella group South African Indian Congress. TBIA changed its name to TIC after India was no longer a British colony. TIC identified the advent of Nationalist Government in 1948 as a move directed against Indian interests. Prior to 1948, although there were many anti-Indian laws, these laws were exercised in ways that protected the vested interests of Indian communities within the applied restrictions. The TIC claimed that during those times there was ‘at least security of tenure’. However, under the policies of apartheid, the Group Areas Act came to be used for ‘ulterior motives’ – for excluding the Indian commerce and socio-cultural life of Indians, accused the TIC. Therefore, the initial decade of apartheid saw massive civil society activism and protest in South Africa. Freund observes the situation of Indian resistance during the 1940s in Natal (Freund 1995). According to him, the 1940s were a decade of violent suppression and political mobilization against the racist government laws which eventually culminated in the Apartheid policies in 1948. However, discrimination, particularly the segregation of Indians from the white communities, had been incorporated into everyday lives since the early twentieth century, affecting the Indian working class. Gandhi’s activism narrates struggles against such discrimination. His journal *Indian Opinion* mentioned the issues of separation often (Gandhi 1999, 98–99).<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the 1940s was considered the decade of Indian working-class mobilization which was at the forefront in labour organizations that challenged racist legislation. That is how we see, in the following years, Indian groups gained favourable attention of the Indian working class which formed the core of the struggle. This activism transformed into the making of the Transvaal chapter.

### **Impacts on Johannesburg**

Johannesburg was one of the severely affected areas of the Transvaal region during the Group Areas’ first decade. Indian communities lived in towns and areas such as Turffontein, Fordsburg, Pageview, Dornfontein, Vrededorp-Pageview, Sophiatown, New Clare and other areas around Johannesburg.<sup>4</sup> When the Nationalist party came into power it escalated its agenda of segregation. The Group Areas Act was effective at segregating Indians from these mixed race areas.<sup>5</sup> It later ‘aggravated’ the situation on a larger scale when the residential and commercial spaces were destroyed (Lamont 1980). This in turn affected the familial and financial incentives of Indian households. Chaganlal Modi writes in his personal diary that the forced removals under the act were so severe that Indian families in Pageview lived under constant threat. Modi describes losing his parents due to the imposed threats of the removals (Modi, n.d.).<sup>6</sup> He accuses the insecurity imposed by the act to have ‘killed’ his parents. By 1966 more than 266 families were served notices to leave their housing in Pageview. While some refused to bow down to the government’s pressure and decided to continue staying in the houses of their parents and grandparents (Lamont 1980), others decided to accept the government’s proposal, seeing no other option.

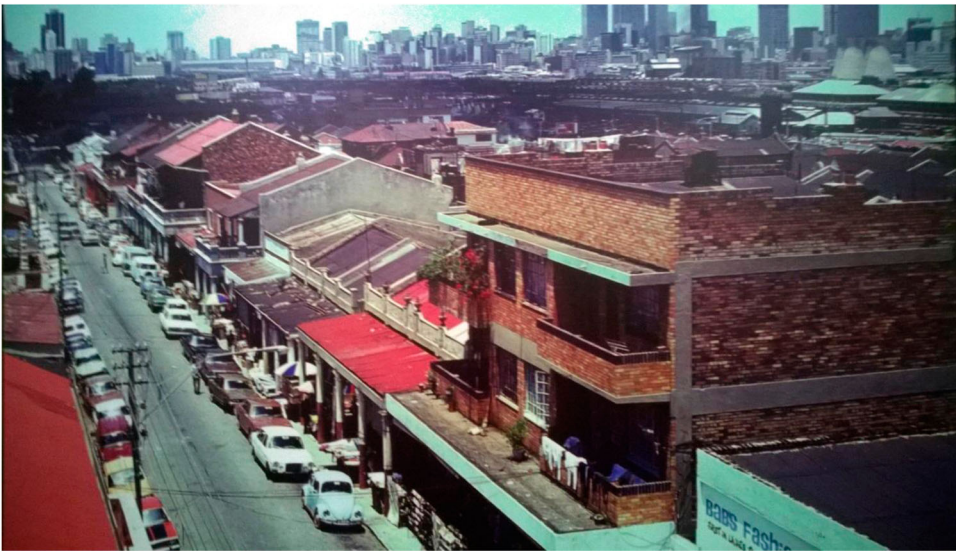
Alternative housing was provided in Lenasia.<sup>7</sup> It was similar to the South Western Township (SOWETO) which was made for blacks only and kept far away from the city. Breadwinners had to travel to Johannesburg’s city centre via a road that was next to the railway line and get on to the R29 motorway. This road linked Johannesburg to

Potchefstroom by the municipal bus service which had two trips in the morning and two in the evening. Even today the public transport situation has not changed. There is a private bus company which operates during the morning and evening hours, transporting employees from Lenasia to central Johannesburg. The ‘physical inconvenience’ of a 35-km distance from workplace to home was unacceptable to Indians, because they managed their trade by cutting the costs of distance between work and home by living in the same area as their place of business (Carrim 1990).<sup>8</sup>

Carrim explains that Indians build their housing and working space on the same plot. The front view of the plot was used as a shopping space whereas the backyard and the first floor and above was used for residential purposes. Having house and work in the same space had benefits of not only cutting the costs of rent but also it assured the security of business. This way of business is known in an Indian setting as ‘*Aage dukaan, peeche makaan*’ (front shop, rear house). There were many examples of this practice in Pageview (Figure 1) (Lamont 1980). Salma, a resident of Pageview, wears a pained smile when she narrates incidents from her childhood. She is happy to remember her happy childhood and sad that the community she was brought up as a child was devastated by the government:

I had the best of my childhood I must say. I love this place because it belongs to me. The housing structures were different. We had houses and shops on the same land. I remember playing on the balcony of my house and my father having business on the ground floor. We had no space to play so our balcony was a place of fun as children. Due to the space limitation the kids of Pageview played cricket in the narrow space. Later some of them became leading cricketers. (Salma interview, 26 Feb 2015)

While it helped traders to run their businesses for long hours without interruption, it created competition for white traders in nearby areas.



**Figure 1.** 14th street Pageview area which is residential and as well as business area. The building structures can be seen where the ground floor is used for business purpose and the upper floors are for residential purposes. It also has big balconies for leisure and family reunion. Source: A.S. Moolla, courtesy Fietas Museum.

### *Opposition to the segregation in Transvaal*

During the 1958 NIC conference in Natal, NIC staged its protests by passing resolutions and introducing measures to counter the government steps of segregation;<sup>9</sup> similar efforts were initiated by the TIC in 1962. A mass conference was organized to debate and introduce the issues concerning the Group Areas Act. It was the first event of its kind organized by the TIC concerning Group Areas Proclamation, and was intended to gain general public involvement by explaining historical injustices. The conference was called ‘Mass All-In Conference Against Group Areas Proclamation’, and was organized in Johannesburg. Transvaal Indian Congress attacked the Nationalist apartheid government for its laws that discriminated against ‘South African citizens’, especially the Group Areas Act which was segregating people on account of their race. The South African Nationalist government was subject to harsh criticism by the TIC. The TIC stated the problems of Indian communities as a broader problem of South African race history.

Using the nineteenth-century data of Law 3 of 1885 as a case study, it presented the experiences of Indian communities in South Africa.<sup>10</sup> Group Areas Act was basically continuance continuation of Law 3 of 1885 that legalized segregation and discrimination on account of race. It was the first discriminatory legislation against Indians in the South African Republic, otherwise called Transvaal. The Act prohibited Coolies, Arabs and other Asiatics, Malays and Mohammedan subjects of the Turkish Empire (S.A. Republic) from residing anywhere except in the segregated areas. It also denied all civic and burgher rights in the South African Republic (Transvaal) (Swan 1985). Indians also could not own a fixed property except in the streets, wards and locations as the government deemed fit. It gave the right to government to assign certain streets, wards and locations for Indians. No political and trading rights were given to Indians. If one wanted to trade, then the trader had to be inscribed in the government register. Law 3 of 1885 and the Group Areas Act inexorably created a disastrous situation for Indians.

### *Historical examples to prove the Indian case*

Indian organizations contested their case using historical discrimination legislations like Law 3 of 1885. The Transvaal region had seen an influx of Indian traders (passenger Indians, who paid their own passage). The Anglo-Boer war and change in regime resulted in uncertain post-war economic situations. The laws that were in operation earlier were made more severe for Asians to travel in the Transvaal and around the South African Republic. The first Boer war also known as the First Transvaal War of Independence lasted from 1880 to 1881. Within a timespan of four years, Law 3 of 1885 was passed.<sup>11</sup> Earlier, Indian trade was distinct with its combined shop and residential spaces.<sup>12</sup>

With the Act however, segregation (which was the main purpose of the Act) started taking place in the streets, wards and locations. Residential wards and trading space-bazaars were set apart causing heavy economic damages.

### *Struggle since Law 3 of 1885*

After the introduction of Law 3 of 1885, all the arrangements of Indian safety and protection were threatened. The TIC argued that the Group Areas Act’s primary aim was intended to drive Indians out of the South African republic. It was in response to the

failures of the South African government to voluntarily deport Indians after their indenture. Following the indenture period, the indentured labourer was a free man commonly known as an ex-indenture. After the expiration of his tenure, he had the right to stay in South Africa as a free Indian who could engage in various activities or re-indenture or if he wanted he could return to India on a free passage after two terms of indenture (10 years). Very few Indians found it attractive to return (Desai and Vahed 2010). The government's efforts to deport Indians legally became a challenge, so Law 3 of 1885 was seen as a way to get rid of Indian labour, and competition. In 1870, within 10 years of the arrival of Indians, the British government passed a law to grant free land to Indians on the expiry of their indenture. Lord Salisbury, British Prime Minister (1885–1892), explicitly mentioned the Indian situation in a letter to the government of Natal. He stated that the Indian labourers 'will be free men in all respects with privileges not white inferior to any other class of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the Colony'.<sup>13</sup> In the year 1886, soon after the discovery of gold in Langlaagte farm in Transvaal (famously known as the 'gold rush' era), all the men of various sections of society were invited to settle and work. However, Indians were excluded from integrating into the society. Transvaal was the first state to pass an anti-Indian law followed by Natal in 1896 and Orange Free State in 1891.<sup>14</sup> In spite of the Indian contribution, which was lauded and appreciated by the government, Indians were still treated unfairly.<sup>15</sup>

Prior to Law 3 of 1885 several other methods were adopted against Indians in South Africa. Indians were denied free entry and rights in the British colony. After the Anglo-Boer war, Britain established its territory in the Transvaal which became a British colony under the crown. The neglected rights of Indians were brought to the attention of London bureaucrats. Following complaints from Indians, the London Convention 1884 was organized. It allowed rights of movement and trade to all the British subjects. Indians were working under the British crown; thus, they were accorded equal rights to freedom of movement. Post-war, it was expected that the situation of Indians in Transvaal would be better as it was a British-controlled territory, but nothing changed (Bhana and Pachai 1984). The white administration in Transvaal found a way to exclude Indians from participating in the South African economy. Law 3 of 1885 (also known as Act no. 3 of 1885) denied basic rights to Indians as well as 'Arabs' and other Asiatic groups (Lamont 1980). This was due to the events following the London Convention held in 1884; Indians quickly grabbed the opportunities and established their trade all over Transvaal region, by setting up their businesses in distant rural areas where 'white businessmen never thought of trading' (Mohamed interview, 12 Dec 2012).<sup>16</sup> The expansion and economic success of Indians posed a direct challenge to the whites' economic and political interests. Law 3 of 1885 was a strategy that intended to overthrow Indian establishment in the Transvaal.

The established British governance in the Transvaal was expected to take effective measures to protect Indians interests as British subjects. Instead the people were additionally burdened with severe laws. This was the time when the British secretary was still approving the recruitment of passenger Indians. Indians who already suffered enormous pain and undignified treatment as indentures had to undergo traumatic humiliation in the post-indenture period. Whereas, according to their contract, they would be termed 'free-Indians' in the post-indentured era. This dual apprehension of pain passed from one generation to another without reducing the impact of the harsh treatment received. As Law 3

of 1885 segregated Indian communities and declined equal opportunities of residence and trade, similarly, the Group Areas Act in the twentieth century echoed the horrors of Law 3 of 1885.

### *Uprooting the third and fourth generation Indians*

The Group Areas Act was a continuance of nineteenth-century discrimination. A person who lived his life suffering through the indenture period was still not free and living in fear.<sup>17</sup> This suffering was handed on to his children and the next generation. The story of Chaganlal Modi helps to contextualize the oppression surrounding family relations better. This explains that the project of Group Areas Act not only damaged the economic and socio-political well-being of non-whites but it was also seen as a project that aimed to distance and brutalize disadvantaged communities. In Modi's words it generated hate amongst the community due to the destructive policies of the government. Modi had pleaded to the government that he could not move anywhere else due to his attachment and memories of the place. His family started living in the area in 1902. His father started a small business of spices and Indian delicacies with his mother's help. Likewise, most of the businesses in Pageview started with small shops or hawkers (Lamont 1980). After several years of hard work his parents' dream of owning a 'little property' was possible in the year 1928. His upbringing and attachment to his childhood made the place more than a house; it was a sacred connection he had with his property. After his parents' death, he decided to continue their legacy by starting a business in the same place. It was for his parents' sake that he did not accept the alternative options offered in Lenasia by the government. This is how important it was for people like Modi to stay in the inherited property of their parents.

At the Mass Conference of 1962 participants in the Transvaal Indian Congress reminisced about their memories. Accepting past failures, they called upon the community to be brave and glorify the historical selfless sacrifices which united the community in the times of crisis. The past was a crucial period for looking back and referencing the struggle that was premised on honour and self-respect. It was a test of time for the leadership and as well as the members of TIC to protest against discrimination as was done by their predecessors. Its seriousness was evident with the efforts of the TIC to explain every provision of the Act in detail to the public. They detailed each clause that deterred their freedom and equality, carrying a uniformed support to their agitation. Members were asked to mobilize all the required resources to resist at any given time and register their protest against this 'onslaught' on the rights and liberties of Indians imposed through the Group Areas Act. They saw this Act as a shrewd strategy of the Nationalist government to degrade the position of Indians forcing them to accept the superiority of whites. They argued as did the NIC that the Act was a disastrous effort to uproot the settled communities, deprive them of their livelihood, and destroy their homes and wealth.

### *Impact on education*

With the segregation of residential and businesses areas, education became severely affected. Education in Johannesburg was not easily accessible to Indian communities during the Group Areas era. Hence, alternative schooling facilities were provided in Lenasia. This was one of the strategies imposed by the government which was aware that Indian communities regarded education as a very important asset. Modi remembers

some parents of the children had to move to Lenasia for the sake of their children's schooling (Modi, n.d., 2).<sup>18</sup> Since schools were moved from the Indian areas in Natal and in Transvaal, education became an important issue for the evicted Indian communities.<sup>19</sup> By 1955, the first school in Lenasia was in operation. It attracted students from as far as Fordsburg. Students had to travel almost 70 km every day to Lenasia and back, by train or bus.<sup>20</sup> The Indian communities<sup>21</sup> strongly objected and presented their grievance to the Witwatersrand West School Board.<sup>22</sup> The school's infrastructure raised several doubts about the safety and security of the building. The community argued that the school was constructed using asbestos and for nearly 40 years four generation of students attended the school under a vulnerable roof.<sup>23</sup> Directing the attention to the schooling conditions an informal Indian parents' association presented their plea to the authorities. They apprised the authorities of the deprivation of educational rights for Indian children. Various conferences and protests were arranged to gather views on the impact on education.

The issue of education in Natal and Transvaal attracted significant attention among other organizations in South Africa. So much so, that it became one of the agendas of many conferences organized against the Group Areas Act.<sup>24</sup> This not only affected the schooling culture among Indians who had the option of attending schools of their choice but also the religious and linguistic schools that were part of their upbringing. For example, Islamic schools had religious teachings along with Arabic and Urdu language taught as a regular course in the schools. Similarly, Hindu schools had languages such Gujarati, Hindi, and Tamil as part of the courses in respective regional language schools.<sup>25</sup> In the Pageview, Fordsburg and Burghersdorp areas there were five primary schools, one training college and a nursery school in operation. There were five mosques and one temple catering to the education and religious needs of the Indians in the area.<sup>26</sup> Mr. B in Lamont's report (Lamont 1980, case study 2, 6) who studied in the Indian High School in Burghersdorp, mentions that the schooling and religious instruction for the children in the vernacular was very important for an Indian to hold on to his or her own customs. Therefore, the wider implications of schooling that had to do with cultural and religious upbringing was threatened by the Group Areas implementation.

Lamont, a professor of sociology at the University of South Africa, was commissioned by the Pageview Ratepayers' Association to prepare a report about the condition of the Indians in Pageview in anticipation that the report could serve as a negotiation to return to Pageview.<sup>27</sup> Lamont's team conducted 30 in-depth interviews with the residents of Pageview, both Indians and whites. These interviews formed the base of his report. His report, divided into three chapters, explains the historical importance of the Pageview area for the Indian community – business and residence-wise. His last chapter aimed to understand the loss of forced removals upon Indians and on the government for the resettlement of the Indian community. This report suggested that resettling Indians to another area – Lenasia – was disastrous, and would impact the businesses of Indian community, thereby adding extra burden on the government's treasury. Additionally, this report challenged the regular argument put out by the government that the neighbouring area – Vrededorp – was against Indian settlement in Pageview. Lamont's report suggested that there was not as strong a feeling of belonging to the area by the residents of Vrededorp as Indians of Pageview. Vrededorp was primarily a residential area and the residents of

the area were looking for a better life by migrating intra city towards the eastern and western peripheries of Johannesburg suburbs. It was also found that resettlement of Indian communities from Pageview would have a negative impact on the lives of whites living in Vrededorp because the Pageview–Vrededorp residential complex accommodated the market needs of all races.

Among the interviews conducted with Indians resettled in Lenasia, all the interviewees hoped to return to Pageview in spite of the small space, narrow roads and congestion. Of the case studies presented, everyone in the case study was unhappy with the condition of Lenasia. Some mentioned that it was community life, some mentioned the cost of travel, some were concerned about their children's future, some about cultural and religious upbringing, whereas some about the monetary losses. In all the testimonies, one thing appeared common, and that was the loss of community life and family bonding which was part of the upbringing for their children in Pageview.

### *Poor Indian communities tilt in favour of Group Areas*

The report on the other hand also discovered that some of the Pageview residents who were forced to settle in Lenasia were happy in their newly adopted location (Lamont 1980, footnote, 19). They refused to return to Pageview. It was due to the heavy investment incurred in Lenasia that they were uninterested in discontinuing their life there. In addition, to lure more Indians, the government offered subsidies (Patel 2014).<sup>28</sup> Apart from the resistance by the group of Indians living in Pageview, there were some Indians from Sophiatown and nearby areas who were satisfied with their new location. They found the place appealing due to the protection of religious rights. Bila Singh's story is one that speaks about the experience in length.<sup>29</sup> Bila Singh was the eldest of 10 siblings. When he was forcibly removed from his house in Sophiatown he was paid enough that enabled him to qualify for a mortgage to buy a new house in Extension 1 in Lenasia.<sup>30</sup> He welcomed this new offer which was far better than his life in Sophiatown. In Sophiatown he was forced to live in two rooms with limited privacy and no toilet facilities of their own. There were only two common toilets in the backyard for the whole community.

This living condition for Bila Singh was 'horrendous'. Hence, when he discovered that alternative facilities had been offered to Indians 35 km away, Bila Singh readily accepted this offer. The creation of Lenasia placed Indians into a separate area where Indians could 'maintain their identity' and build an environment according to the religious and cultural practices without any outside interference. Religion carried a special significance in the area. Lenasia started to become populated when Indian communities were forcibly removed from Fordsburg in 1962.<sup>31</sup> However, this development did not eliminate the anti-social practices among Indians. Caste and religious conflicts often developed. This division deepened class and religious lines among Hindus and Muslims. Apart from religious tensions, Hindus regarded their caste identity as superior to other Indians. Gujarati Hindus who mostly belonged to the passenger Indians lot maintained their superiority over the Tamil Indians who mostly originated from the indentured labourers. Passenger Indian Hindus were the ones who mostly came from the dominant caste groups of the Hindu social order whereas the indentures mostly came from the working-class backgrounds – the lower castes, and untouchables. The discrimination premised on caste continued in South Africa.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Indian Muslims stratified their superiority according to the

place of origin (the village) known as the ‘*gaam system*’.<sup>33</sup> Gujarati Muslims and Hindus continued to dominate the social hierarchy of Lenasia’s social identity. This is apparent with the testimonies of young Indians in Johannesburg who endorse the existence of hierarchical system among Indians in South Africa when it comes to marriage and social unification.<sup>34</sup>

Although Indian Congress leaders rejected the Group Areas Act’s validity,<sup>35</sup> poor Indian workers still found the offer attractive. Many of the new arrivals to Lenasia were waiters at hotels and restaurants who were struggling to pay for a house with moderate rental costs. Therefore, Lenasia presented an opportunity for these people to start over. They could not resist the temptation to move into a new house. Albeit its minimal benefits, this was a better option (Lamont 1980). Apart from them, few Indian families who were unwilling to leave their original residence (Pageview) were forcibly moved too. Residents of Sophiatown and Newlands were evicted by the authorities, with no alternative accommodation facilities. The residents’ belongings were dumped on to the pavement. Families had no other recourse but to bow down to the government’s arbitrary move. Seeing no other option but to accept the government’s proposal, many residents rushed to Lenasia in desperation. The Transvaal Indian Organisation had to arrange accommodation for all these people in Lenasia (SAHO 2014a; SAHO 2014b).<sup>36</sup>

### ***Opposition from all stakeholders, a multi-racial struggle?***

The idea of organizing a mass conference was intrinsic to gathering the support of South Africans, irrespective of race. This can be seen in the regular mentions of African and ‘Coloured’s’ problem along with Indians. Indian political activism was premised on inequality. Hence, African leaders along with the coloured communities were part of the Indian struggle. Various conferences of Natal Indian Congress, Transvaal Indian Congress, South African Indian Congress and other Indian organizations had African National Congress and African People’s Organisation leaders marking their presence as chief guests. For example, the 20th SAIC conference was presided over by the President of SAIC Dr. Yusuf Dadoo; the chief guest was Dr. S.M. Molema, the Treasurer General of the ANC. Similarly, the Natal Indian Congress Conference, in 1958, had endorsements from and affiliations with other non-Indian groups who were opposed to apartheid policies. This was in response to the call for united non-white cooperation to fight against a common enemy.

The famous ‘Doctors Pact’ was signed by Dr. Xuma, President General of the ANC, Dr. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress, and Dr. Dadoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress on 9 March 1947. This pact is considered a landmark event in the history of the South African non-racial liberation struggle. It led the way forward for the freedom charter which was inspired from the ‘Doctors Pact’. A united non-white cooperation was core to the struggle of the leadership of the TIC and NIC. After signing the Doctors Pact on 9 March, Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker undertook a trip to India on 10 March 1947 to attend the Asian Relation Conference to discuss the Indian issues with Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah. Prior to their departure they issued a joint statement reiterating the historic moment of the signing of pact. They also urged the coloured community of South Africa to be part of the struggle hoping the ‘Coloured community too will come in, into this great movement’.<sup>37</sup> The possibility of co-operating with the African National Congress and African organizations was tabled early during the 1943 South

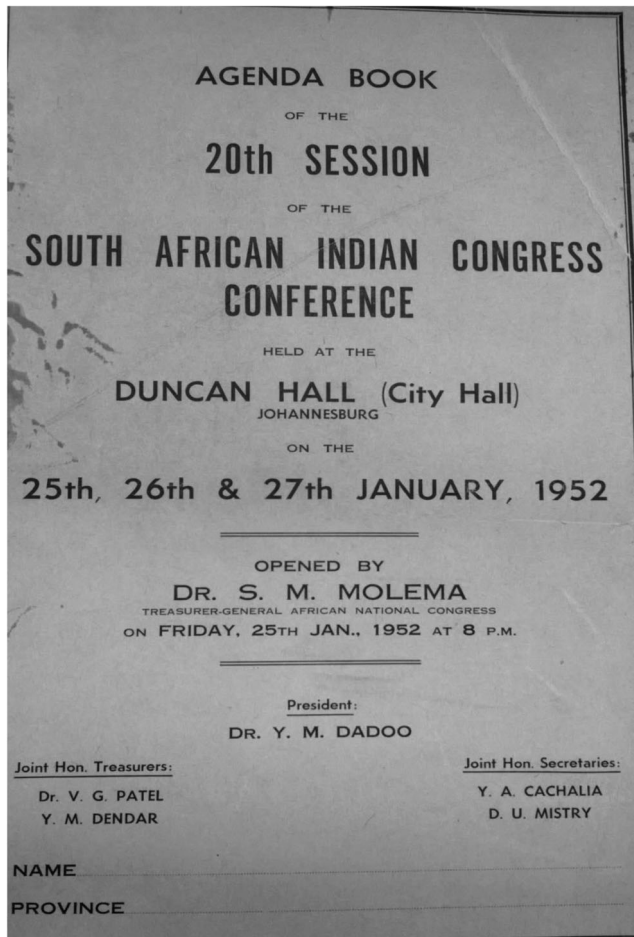
African Indian Congress but it couldn't be implemented until the leadership of Transvaal and Natal put it into action.<sup>38</sup>

The relationship between Indians and Africans was not always in agreement. During the Indian Passive Resistance Campaign against the Ghetto Act in 1946, some quarter of the ANC leadership was not in favour of supporting the passive resistance. Thus, the pact, although monumental was not built on action-oriented guidelines. Leaders of both sides had stated their disagreements. The Natal ANC protested the pact because of the growing tensions between the Indian and Africans in the province. The pact was haphazard in some way as it was signed in Johannesburg which would not reflect the true sentiments of the Natal situation. The pact's objective of 'co-operation' did not work at local level. Durban riots of 1949 were a proof that killed 123 Indians, 87 Africans with thousands homeless and destruction of properties and businesses.

However, politically the pact was success of/for two individuals – Dadoo and Xuma. Dadoo was pursuing this solidarity between Indian Congress and ANC since the 1930s. In addition, this pact gave Dadoo more reasons to communicate with Nehru as Nehru had instructed the South African Indians to work in close association with the Africans in South Africa. As for Xuma the objective was somewhat similar as Dadoo, Xuma wanted to retain the relationship with the leadership of the Indian government. ANC was counting on Indian government's support against the apartheid regime at the UN (Soske 2017) (Figure 2).

During the 20th SAIC conference, the situation of the Indian as well as the other non-white groups' was discussed and condemned widely. Black Africans and coloured people were forced to accept the policies of the nationalist government due to their powerful economic position that maneuvered their ideals.<sup>39</sup> Nationalist government was compared with fascism and Nazism by various international organizations around the world.<sup>40</sup> The TIC furthermore accused all the South African whites of 'helplessly surrendering to the liberties' of the 'dictatorial' nationalist government.<sup>41</sup> The conference furthermore explained in a detailed format the seriousness of the implications of Group Areas Act including its amendments. It stated that the Group Areas Amendment Bill, 1962 was undergoing its eleventh amendment since its implementation in the last decade. The State government was always looking at the Indian community for its 'co-operation' in administering the Act. By 1961 the government acknowledged the Indian presence and officially recognized Indians as permanent citizens of the South African population. It even established a department called the Asiatic Affairs Department with a white minister to engage with the issues of Indians. A year later the department was rechristened the Department of Indian Affairs. The department dealt with the issues affecting Indians such as immigration, registration and free movement of Indians within the provinces. Its formation was not welcomed by the Indian organizations in general. However, there were some groups who acknowledged the existence of the Department of Indian Affairs which I will detail in the next section (SAHO 2014c).<sup>42</sup>

Indian political, social and cultural organization of all spheres rejected the principles of the Group Areas Act. For example, the Federation of South African Women (FEDAW) of which Amina Cachalia was the treasurer, and the Johannesburg Tamil Benefit Society, a cultural group based in Johannesburg rightly rejected the government's act of housing segregation.<sup>43</sup> In the annual conferences various committees submitted memorandums to the Chairman and members of the Group Areas Board registering their protest.<sup>44</sup> Apart from



**Figure 2.** SAIC 20th Session Agenda Book. Source: A2761 TIC Group Areas Act Removals Microfiche, Historical Papers Archives, UWL.

cultural groups, religious groups actively supported the endeavours of the South African Indian Congress' efforts. Talimul-Islam Mosque and Madressa Trust presented a petition against the Act showcasing their objection.<sup>45</sup>

### ***Political differences among the leadership***

As much as the leadership of Indian Congresses united to confirm their support for the rights of Indians in South Africa, there are episodes in the Group Areas scenario where internal politics was a matter of widespread discussion among the Indian community. In this section, we will briefly look at the leaders which emerged from the Group Areas struggle.

Many prominent figures from Transvaal led the struggle during the harsh years of the Group Areas Act. Dr. Yusuf Dadoo from Transvaal Indian Congress, Suliman Nana from Transvaal Indian Organization and Dr. G.M. Naicker from Natal Indian Congress, along several high-profile leaders in the Indian South African political circles were active

participants in the movement. Following the election of Dr. Yusuf Dadoo to the leadership of TIC in 1948, a radical shift took place within the organization. It was called by many the 'confrontationists' group or militant arm of the Indian congress. Dr. Dadoo, was a trained doctor who learned about the oppression of Black, Indian and White people during his years of education in South Africa, India, England and Scotland. Dr. Dadoo was a radical leftist who premised his political ideology on the confrontational aspect rather than being 'apologetic' to the government.

TIC, from the time of Gandhi's involvement until Dr. Dadoo's takeover was accused of having compromised and 'selling out' the Transvaal Indians to the government. It was also held that, the old TIC was only concerned with the 'Indian' situation in South Africa, ignoring other affected communities. The confrontationists on the other hand argued that the plight of Indians is no different than other oppressed groups of South Africa. Hence, in order to boost the struggle, a multi-racial unity of exploited and oppressed South Africans was key to the liberation of Indians. Dadoo realized the root of oppression was imperialism and capitalism. Hence, he joined labour party movements and became actively involved in the activities during his stay in Scotland and England. Unhappy with the leadership of the TIC led by Suliman Nana and Mohammed Jajbhai, Dadoo held that the TIC was a conservative organization that was failing to address the issues of all Indians. The TIC was accused of advancing the interests of middle-class businessmen Indians. Therefore, Dadoo, along with his old friend Ebrahim Ismail Asvat, formed a nationalist bloc (Soobrayan 1993, 13). The TIC from 1948 onwards underwent serious changes within the organization.

Although it was not an easy task to change the leadership and ideology of the TIC, Dadoo along with his supporters, braved this task. The TIC was divided over Nana's and Dadoo's supporters. The old ideology of the TIC, which was known as the 'accommodationist', was still in the minds of another faction of the TIC's leadership. This group eventually formed the Transvaal Indian Organisation (TIO) led by the sympathizers of Nana. The ideological dissimilarities that led to the political differences of the TIC and TIO, happened in the Natal chapter too. Dr. Naicker, an old friend of Dadoo from the days in Scotland, was involved in changing the conservative leadership of the NIC led by Kajee-Pather. The TIC, led by Dadoo, and the NIC, led by Dr. Naicker, were known as the 'nationalist-bloc' that aimed at a united multi-racial struggle. The TIO on the other hand became known as the 'accommodationist' that was well known for collaborating with the governments to advance its interests. Historically, it actively collaborated and compromised with the colonial government, so it continued to work with the apartheid government as well. Their conservative attitude was to work from 'within the system', It was inspired by Gandhi's political ideology of opportunism which was to serve the interest of Indian businesses (Roy 2014, 68).

The TIO continued to advance Indian interests by sending the memorandums and deputations to the governments regarding their trading and residential rights. In the year 1939, the Transvaal Asiatics Bill also known as Transvaal Land and Trading Bill was passed. This bill made it more difficult for Indian traders to apply and get the trading licenses. It was during this year when the conflicting position of TIC reached new heights. Dadoo's supporters demanded a resistance to the bill, whereas Nana's group was not yet ready to pose a serious opposition to the government. Dadoo's supporters finally decided to go ahead and organize a Passive Resistance Campaign in May 1939.

The decision led to heated arguments between the two groups, which culminated in a violent clash. It was reported that nine people were injured and one died later (Soobrayan 1993, 14–15). This clash brought the TIC's leadership, by Suliman Nana, into question. After this incident, Dadoo gained significant support due to his determined leadership that stood the test of time. His supporters from Natal Indian Association even published a pamphlet explaining the reasons for their support of Dadoo. This pamphlet consisted of various topics that aimed at providing answers to the queries raised in the Indian community. It carried a photograph of Dadoo with a headline, 'A Call To The Indians Of Transvaal, Why We Support Dr. Dadoo And His Group' (Figure 3).<sup>46</sup> It was a statement released by the nationalist bloc of the Natal who supported Dadoo when he was accused of being a militant leader. His supporters also challenged the notion of militant Dadoo by questioning the leadership of Nana instead and calling him a 'Defeatist'.<sup>47</sup>

TIO on the other continued to fight using its traditional ways. It appeared that TIO's struggle was more concerned with the interests of the well-to-do Indians and that it did not bother about other stakeholders. The supporter base for the TIO was rich, business-class Indians. Nana and Dadoo both belonged to rich families of landlords. The only difference was Dadoo preferred to fight the struggle for oppressed masses as he was oriented towards making a national level impact by strengthening the multi-racial nationalist project, while Nana continued his sympathy with the 'Smuts and Hofmeyr governments'.<sup>48</sup> The TIO later supported the formation of the South African India Organisation (SAIO) along with the Natal Indian Organisation (NIO) that was formed by former disenchanted members of both the congresses who disagreed with the 'all or nothing policy' of the new radical leadership of NIC and TIC. The SAIO group was known as a 'moderate' group opposed to the confrontationist ideology of the Congresses in Transvaal and Natal.<sup>49</sup> In its later years, SAIO became an active supporter of the Nationalist government. For example, when the Nationalist government formed a separate Department of Indian Affairs to incorporate the Indian community into its discriminatory government, SAIO endorsed the formation. The SAIC bloc on the other hand rejected the formation of the Indian Affairs department which they saw as an 'apartheid structure, reinforcing policies of segregation and control'.<sup>50</sup>

Dadoo finally replaced the 'defunct Transvaal British Indian Association' (later, TIC) founded by Gandhi (Carrim 1990, 81). His TIC gained prominence and wide support amongst the Indian and as well other non-white communities. The rich Indian business people who supported Nana-Jajbhaj were now in favour of Dadoo. He attacked the Indians who were distant from the struggle and urged Indian businesses not to exploit Africans by charging higher prices (Soobrayan 1993, 40). He announced that it was the duty of every Indian shopkeeper to join the struggle with Africans (Soobrayan 1993, 37–38). Rich Indians even contributed to the campaigns of Dadoo. Dr. Dadoo was used by many organizations to raise funds; he was a star figure among the Indian community, so much so that his photographs would adorn the walls of Indian houses in South Africa (Ibid, 37–38). It was Dadoo who propounded 'Indian/African' unity. He was also a speaker and Transvaal leader of the NEUF (Non-European United Front).

Under Dadoo's leadership the TIC became an active Congress ally in the South African resistance from the 1950s and 1960s (Carrim 1990, 79). Although Nana was referred to as an idealist figure, his contribution towards the Fietas is widely appreciated and he is considered a father figure for the residents of Pageview. Suliman Nana's memories are



**Figure 3.** Pamphlet supporting Dr. Dadoo.

captured in the Fietas Museum in Pageview. It describes his contribution and journey. His entitlements and activism are displayed in the museum. The Silver Medal given to Nana by Her Majesty's government in England stands attractively at the entrance of the museum.

The loyalty towards Nana's unfinished achievement is cherished by the people who lived through the pains of the Group Areas Act. One of them is Adam Asvat from Pageview, who was recently honoured with a plaque by the Johannesburg Heritage Council on 27 April 2014. Adam Asvat and the Pageview Residents Association raised a petition highlighting the uncleanliness of the area and neglect by the government and city council. It

expressed the grievances, and the mismanagement by the city council concerning this area. It was almost in the same organizational fashion as could be seen during Suliman Nana's leadership. One of the residents expressed rage towards the government for neglecting their concerns about restoring the area. Claimants of the land in Pageview have filed their requests to the government, but in the two decades since the formation of democratic government, their pleas remain unheard (P interview, 25 February 2015). The existence of contemporary socio-political issues among the Indians in Pageview in post-apartheid South Africa hints at the early grievances of the TIC. The residents of Pageview view their position as an extension of the colonial problem towards Indians – an ignorance and fear of competition (Figure 4).

## Conclusion

Of the presented case studies in Transvaal, it becomes clear that the Group Areas Act defined the margins and mapped the lives of Indians in particular in this region. As Indians acquired economic stability and established their families on the land inherited by their ancestors, the Group Areas Act created many townships and areas which are present even today. The lived reality of the past is still visible in present-day South Africa and the horrors of the forced removals continue to haunt the former residents of Fietas. Many would like to return and settle in their former homes which they believe have cultural and familial importance. They are the same sentiments that were recorded in Lamont's work 25 years ago. Dadoo provided an anticipated leadership to the Indian organization and made Indian participation in the South African liberation a noteworthy contribution. It was his efforts that garnered non-European, Indian–African unity. The



**Figure 4.** Plaque honoured by the Johannesburg Heritage Council at Adam Asvat's residence. Author's photo, 2014.

result of such initiatives has provided the Indian community in South Africa the democratic representation in present day South Africa. Suliman Nana continues to be a revered figure among his sympathizers and Dadoo is remembered to be among the top ten South Africans who contributed to the struggle for freedom.

## Notes

1. 'Group Areas Act, Act No. 41 of 1950', *JSTOR Primary Sources, 07-07-1950*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.leg19500707.028.020.041>.
2. The African National Congress, South African Communist Party, United Front alliances in various countries along with the United Nations supported the liberation of South Africa.
3. For more on this see, Gandhi, 'The Johannesburg Town Council' and the October edition of *Indian Opinion*, in Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*.
4. University of the Witwatersrand Library Historical Papers Research Archives (hereafter UWL HPRA), A2761 – *TIC Group Areas Act Removals Microfiche*, 'General Plan S.G. No. 626/94'; 'Johannesburg file no. 233, 6/26, dated 9.10.1958'.
5. UWL HPRA, A2761 – *TIC Group Areas Act Removals Microfiche*, 'City of Johannesburg, Non-European Affairs Department Group Areas – Coloureds and Malays', states the record of coloured and Malay population which was also considered for removal from the areas of New Clare.
6. Chaganlal Modi, an activist against the removals of Pageview residents, undated Personal Diary, Unpublished MS, p. 3 diary with Chaganlal Modi, or Fietas Museum.
7. 'Group Areas move will uproot 22,000 Indians', *Star*, 22 August 1956; Modi, 'Life under "Apartheid" regime', 2.
8. Carrim has reported the nature of Indian businesses in Pageview in Johannesburg where he observed the shops in the Pageview housed trader's families behind it. This way of trading setting provided Indian traders easy access to the house as well as working space.
9. UWL HPRA, AD 1710 *Hassim Deedat Collection*, 'Agenda Book of Natal Congress 1958'.
10. UWL HPRA, AD 1710 *Hassim Deedat Collection*, H 4 *Genesis of Apartheid Submitted by TIC*, 'Genesis of Apartheid'.
11. UWL HPRA, A2761 – *TIC Group Areas Act Proclamations Microfilm*, 'Transvaal Indian Congress Mass All-In Conference, Against the Group Areas Proclamations, at the Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg, 17 June 1962 "Introduction"'.  
 12. SAHO, 'Indian Community in Lenasia', 'First moves', <http://www.sahistory.org.za/indian-community-lenasia?page=2>, accessed 25 September 2014.
13. UWL HPRA, A3278, *Cachalia Papers*, G1.8, 'Coming of the Indians'.
14. UWL HPRA, A2761 *TIC June 17, 1962 Group Areas Conference*, 'Transvaal Indian congress, Mass All-In Conference against Group Areas Proclamations, at the Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg, 17 June 1962'.
15. For more on this see the statement of the ex-Prime Minister of Natal Sir Loige Hulotto in 1903. In his speech he admitted that, 'Durban was absolutely built up by the Indian population' and that the area 'had been turned into one of the most prosperous part of South Africa', *Ibid*.
16. Mohamed, a child of ex-indentures narrates the story of his great grandfather. His great grandfather moved to a village in the North West region where they started trading in retail. He explains how the trading relations were developed by Indian community in South Africa. Mohammed was born and brought up until his adolescence in the village where most of the traders were either Indians or Africans.
17. The suffering of Indian indentures on the field is recorded in the work of Desai and Vahed, *Inside Indian Indenture*. In this work they present case wise situation of Indian indentures, and the physical and emotional pains they were subjected to by the plantation owners. On one account an indenture who wants to go back to India cannot do so due to the forced contract. Additionally, the pay was unscrupulously distributed with a very minimum wage.

Therefore, an indenture would not make enough money even after his five years of work. Hence, he had to opt to stay a bit longer in South Africa to make enough for him to return India that would help him get married, buy house and settle. But the plans of being a Free-Indian having liberty to choose the job he wants could not be fulfilled due to the late-nineteenth-century laws – one of them being Law 3 of 1885 which is discussed in this section.

18. Modi, 'Life under "Apartheid" regime', 2.
19. UWL HPRA, A2762 – *Microfiche*, 'Conference on Group Areas Act Convened by Natal Indian Congress, 5–6 May 1956, Durban, "The Implications of the Group Areas Act for Indian Education, a paper by Dr. S. Cooppan, Ph.D."'.
20. SAHO, 'Indian Community in Lenasia', 'First moves'.
21. UWL HPRA, A3278 – *Cachalia Papers*, G2.2.2, 'Pamphlet – Congress Opposes removal of Booyens High School to LENASIA'.
22. UWL HPRA, A2762 – *Microfiche*,  

Memorandum Presented to the Witwatersrand West School Board on the Transfer of the Indian Pupils from STD. II to V to a New School in Lenasia and the transfer of Indian Pupils from Grade One to STD. I to the Sophiatown Coloured School.
23. Ibid.
24. UWL HRPRA, A2761 – *Group Areas Conference, Microfiche*, 'Transvaal Indian Congress, Mass All-In Conference against Group Areas Proclamations, at the Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg, 17 June 1962 "Agenda 3, Paper on Housing – Paul Joseph. Discussion"'.
25. Mr. Jignesh interview the author, Johannesburg, 11 November 2012.
26. S. Mandy, 'Pageview and the Oriental Plaza', Chapter seven, Revised copy, 27 December 1982 under possession of Chaganlal Modi, courtesy Modi, MS, p. 4. Private collection Chaganlal Modi.
27. Mandy, 'Pageview and the Oriental Plaza', 7–8.
28. Patel, 'Living Together/Living Apart'.
29. SAHO, 'Indian Community in Lenasia', 'First moves'.
30. This extension was part of the further development project undertaken by the government. It started accommodating people even without proper facilities were put in place: SAHO, 'Indian Community in Lenasia', 'Leisure and Infrastructure Development'.
31. SAHO, 'Indian Community in Lenasia', 'The Centre Takes Shape: Extension 2'.
32. For more on this, see Desai and Vahed, *Inside Indian Indenture*.
33. I was told by a senior South African journalist of Indian origin that recently her family was involved in a celebration of heritage of the people who had come from the same village in Gujarat. They organised a separate celebration amongst themselves glorifying their 'gaam' identity: Mr. KP, interview by the author, Johannesburg, 15 October 2014.
34. Participant, group interview by the author, Johannesburg, 2 December 2012.
35. UWL HPRA, A2761 – *TIC Group Areas Act Removals Microfiche*, 'Memorandum submitted by I. Y. Gardee to the Management Committee of the City of Johannesburg on Monday the 14 October 1963'.
36. SAHO, 'Indian Community in Lenasia', 'Community Histories of Johannesburg', <http://www.sahistory.org.za/indian-community-lenasia?page=1>, accessed April 3, 2014.
37. 'Joint statement of Dr Yusuf M. Dadoo and Dr G.M. Naicker, March 11, 1947', cited in the *Passive Resister*, Johannesburg, 14 March 1947, [http://www.sacp.org.za/docs/history/dadoo-46.html#N\\_1\\_](http://www.sacp.org.za/docs/history/dadoo-46.html#N_1_), accessed February 26, 2015.
38. 'The Dadoo–Xuma–Naicker Pact, 9 March 1947 (Doctors Pact)', <http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/HIST/dadoodxuma/pact.htm>, accessed February 26, 2015.
39. The Transvaal Indian Congress impressed upon the problems of the coloured community in its Mass All-In Conference Against Group Areas Proclamation. The introductory statement stated,

The Coloured People have been deprived of their democratic rights and disposed of their homes under the Group Areas Act. They are being subjected to no less terror

than any other section of the South African population. The Nationalists have taken advantage of their economic position in manoeuvring them into a situation of subservience,

- UWL HPRA, A2761 – *TIC Group Areas Act Proclamations Microfilm*, ‘Transvaal Indian Congress Mass All-In Conference, Against the Group Areas Proclamations, at the Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg, 17 June 1962 “Introduction”’. UWL HPRA, A2762 – *Microfiche*, ‘Agenda Book of the 20th Session of the South African Indian Congress Conference, Duncan Hall (City Hall), 25–27 January 1952’.
40. International Young Association, Belgium (mentioned in the Agenda Book of the 20th Session of the South African Indian Congress Conference, Duncan Hall (City Hall), 25–27 January 1952, *Ibid.*)
  41. UWL HPRA, A2761 – *Group Areas Proclamation, Microfiche*, ‘Transvaal Indian Congress, June 17, 1962’.
  42. SAHO, ‘Anti-South African Indian Council (SAIC) Campaign’, <http://www.sahistory.org.za/20th-century-south-africa/anti-south-african-indian-council-saic-campaign>, accessed February 26, 2015.
  43. UWL HPRA, A3278 – *Cachalia Papers*, G 2.3.6, ‘Johannesburg Tamil Benefit Society’, Memorandum submitted to the Chairman and members of the Group Areas Board on the Question of Indian Housing in Johannesburg, dated 18.09.1958.
  44. UWL HPRA, A3278 – *Cachalia Papers*, G 2.3.
  45. UWL HPRA, A3278 – *Cachalia Papers*, G2.4.1, ‘Representation by the Talimul-Islam Mosque and Madressa Trust’.
  46. UWL HPRA, AD 1710 – *Hassim Seedat Collection, H15 A Call to Indians in Transvaal*, ‘Why We Support Dr. Dadoo and His Group’.
  47. *Ibid.*, 2.
  48. Interview with Mr Makan, taken from Carrim, *Fietas*.
  49. SAHO, ‘Moderate Indians’ from Natal Indian Organisation’, <http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/69-moderate-indians-form-natal-indian-organisation>, accessed February 20, 2015.
  50. Anti-South African Indian Council (SAIC) Campaign, fn. 49.

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## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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