

# INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

No. 34—Vol. LI

FRIDAY,  
21ST AUGUST, 1953

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

Price 6d.

## What Mr. Nehru Said

(From Our Delhi Correspondent)

*Non-violence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man. Destruction is not the law of the humans. Man lives freely by his readiness to die, if need be, at the hands of his brother, never by killing him. Every murder or other injury, no matter for what cause, committed or inflicted on another is a crime against humanity.*

—o—

*It has become the fashion these days to say that society cannot be organised or run on non-violent lines. I join issue on that point. In a family, when a father slaps his delinquent child, the latter does not think of retaliating. He obeys his father not because of the deterrent effect of the slap but because of the offended love which he senses behind it. That, in my opinion, is an epitome of the way in which society is or should be governed. What is true of the family must be true of society which is but a larger family.*

—Mahatma Gandhi.

THE Prime Minister Mr. Nehru declared once again in the clearest possible terms the Government's policy towards Africa and the Indians residing there, during a Press conference. A correspondent referred to the reactions in the United Kingdom to his remarks on the African situation at the Agra session of the All India Congress Committee, wherein he had described as "scandalous" the treatment meted out to Africans.

Mr. Nehru said that his remarks at Agra were generally about the whole of Africa. "What I said there represents roughly five per cent. of what I had in mind."

"At Agra I had deliberately not referred to any particular instance nor any particular part of Africa. What I said was that the entire question of Africa was of supreme importance and people did not seem to realise it. It was important from many points of view and if this fact was not realised, the world may well have to face a major explosion and eruption in Africa and of the worst type—the racial war type.

"I pointed out two matters specially. One was the denial of political freedom and the other was racial discrimination and inequality. Both are exemplified in Africa more than anywhere else today.

"One can understand a certain delay in political changes or political progress provided the objective is there, but I do not see why I should accept any non-recognition of racial equality. That is a matter which may be most evident in Africa, but which concerns everyone of us here.

"At no time are we prepared to put up with that doctrine of racial inequality, whatever the consequences to India or to anyone else. I want to make that perfectly clear."

### "Pernicious Policy"

"Since becoming Prime Minister it has been my desire naturally to refrain from saying things about other countries, but where policies are declared and followed like those for instance in South Africa which, I think, are pernicious in the extreme and which are insulting in the extreme, to expect me to remain silent about them is to expect the impossible."

Continuing Mr. Nehru asked with some vehemence: "Apart from political considerations, I would like to know how far discrimination is exercised in regard to Indians in East Africa? I am not talking about other matters." The dominion of South Africa is an independent country, but others are subject countries and discrimination is still exercised not only against the poor Africans, but against others."

A correspondent drew his attention to an article in 'The New York Times' that Europeans in Africa felt that through its policies, India wanted Africa to absorb her surplus population and that Mr. Nehru wanted to start "a new kind of imperialism."

(Continued on page 521)

# INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 21ST AUGUST, 1953

## A Novel Way

FOR reasons known to the Government themselves the joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament on the South Africa Act Amendment Bill has been postponed from August 19 to September 16. In the meantime the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, together with his other Ministers, has been busying himself getting the Coloured people to support the principle of Separate Representation by meeting some of their leaders. He has met several deputations of the Coloured community whereas hitherto he steadfastly refused to meet any responsible leaders of the non-Europeans to discuss the problems vitally affecting them. And what a novel way he has found to get their acquiescence to his Government's policy of Apartheid! After having met these people the Prime Minister comes out with an official statement that "the general impression which the Government has gained from the series of discussions is, that the extent of the opposition of the Coloured community against the separate representation of voters is not at all so great as is pretended in certain circles." The Coloured Peoples National Union, in its memorandum to the Prime Minister, however, declared its total and unequivocal opposition to any tampering with the Coloured vote as it stands at present and warned that "if the Government obtained

a two-thirds majority at a joint sitting of Parliament and thereby legally changed the franchise rights of the Coloureds, the latter would never accept the change in good spirit and would pledge themselves to regain their citizenship rights." In its memorandum the C.P.N.U. rejected any proposed compromise as far as the coloured man's vote was concerned and considered the proposals made in the South Africa Act Amendment Bill to be a breach of the contract of the Act of Union. It appealed to the Government not to create a situation which would disturb the peace of the land. The memorandum stated that the C.P.N.U. is firmly convinced that the placing of the Coloured people on a separate voters roll will, to all intents and purposes, reduce the Coloured vote in the Cape to a state of valueless insignificance.

There is no doubt about the fact that the various deputations that met the Government had no mandate to do so from the people they claimed to represent. And on vital matters of principle affecting the non-European community it is indeed foolish for individuals to meet the Government. They can at best represent themselves and nobody else. If this lesson has not already gone home to the Coloured people in particular and the non-Europeans in general it should do so now after the experience of the game the

Government are up to.

There are "Bhengus" in all communities and we dare say the Government can well succeed in getting them together and bolster up a case in their own favour. But the same can be done in the opposite direction too. We dare say it is possible to get together a larger number of Afrikaners than Dr. Malan and his Government can imagine, who are individually deadly opposed to the Government's present non-European policy. And that would perhaps be a truer mandate of the people than the Government claim to have at present for their actions.

What we need to beware of is this "divide and rule" policy. It is not loaves and fishes that we are after. It is a question of vital principle on which society is supposed to be based. Are the non-Europeans to be differentiated against on the basis of colour or is every individual to be judged by his or her merit irrespective of class, creed or colour? That is the vital question before us. It is argued that the poor ignorant man does not understand that. What he understands and is concerned about is his bread. That is true. It is also true that a person born and grown up under slavery does not know the evils of slavery. It does not therefore mean that it is good for him to remain a slave and that those who know better should not teach him what is right or wrong and lead him on the right path. If those who do so are termed "agitators" there is nothing to be ashamed of in that. Such agitation is not only legitimate but it is the sacred duty of every man and woman to carry on such agitation. It is disgusting to think that a person like

Chief Luthuli, whom the Government have deemed fit to depose because he spoke and did what was right in the true sense of the term, and a person like Mr. Donald Mtinkulu, the principal of the Ohlange Institute, who has just had the honour of being awarded the Coronation medal, should be treated like a "pariah" should he be travelling on a South African aeroplane and be allotted a segregated seat and that an ordinary hostess would refuse to serve him. This is just to quote a single glaring example of the existing state of affairs. If a White man can tolerate such humiliation imposed on anyone be he of whatever colour or race, there can be no respect for the civilisation he so boastfully claims to represent. If a person subjected to such humiliation can put up with it without feeling hurt he is far from civilised. At the rate things are moving life for any self-respecting person in this country is becoming intolerable. It must result ultimately in a flare up in one way or the other. We do not mind repeating *ad nauseum* that the best way to encounter this is non-violent passive resistance, which means refusing to submit to evil and quietly welcoming the consequences whatever they may be without any form of retaliation. Only in that and no other method lies the salvation of the oppressed people in South Africa and all over the world. That is the only true way to achieve the much longed for world peace. It may not come in our life time. We shall however have the satisfaction of having worked for it—of having made our humble contribution towards it. When we plant a tree we are not always fortunate enough to enjoy the fruits thereof. But others enjoy them and bless those who planted it.

## PROPOSED IMPLEMENTATION OF GROUP AREAS ACT IN DURBAN

### CITY COUNCIL'S ZONING PROPOSALS BEFORE LAND TENURE BOARD

AT the Land Tenure Board which sat last week in Durban to hear proposals in regard to Durban's race zoning, the Natal Indian Congress was represented by its general secretary, Mr. J. N. Singh, the Chairman of its Housing Committee Mr. Cassim Amra and Mr. A. Choudree assisted by Messrs. H. E. Mall and G. S. Naidu.

The Board had before it the main proposal of the Durban City Council and an alternative proposal from the Government Planning and Reference Committee.

The Natal Indian Congress secretary, Mr. J. N. Singh, advised the Board that this Congress had no alternative proposals for Group Areas as it was opposed to the Group Areas Act, and would not assist in setting aside areas. "But," he said, "the Congress would continue to examine critically all proposals for Group Areas made before the Board and would expose their injustice. The Congress would ask the Board not to displace or uproot settled communities and would ask the Board to recommend to the Minister that no Group Areas be demarcated in Durban."

#### Mr Comrie Cross-Examined.

Mr. J. N. Singh cross-examined at length Mr. R. V. A. Comrie, the Senior Town Engineer, who gave evidence on the Council's proposals for Group Areas in Durban. Mr. Comrie spent over four hours answering. Mr. Singh, who indicated that the purpose of his cross examination was to show that the Council's assumptions for the creation of group areas had no basis in fact and that the proposals were not based on equity as they did not deal justly with the non-Europeans of the City.

In answer to Mr. Singh Mr. Comrie agreed that residential grouping was not due only to a desire of persons of the same racial group to live together but had an economic and historical basis—People of the same economic level tended to live in similar areas and that homogenous settlements of people from a country of common origin were broken down by economic factor of industrialisation and development of commerce.

On the question of racial friction Mr. Singh asked Mr. Comrie to quote examples of where mixed living areas had given rise to racial

conflict. Mr. Comrie admitted that there were no instances of actual conflict between Europeans and Indians.

In answer to further questions Mr. Singh established that trade could not be controlled by Group Areas and that separation of races will hit at traders of all races. Mr. Comrie admitted that there was nothing wrong in the races living together in the central and working areas. Mr. Singh then asked "why cannot the races live together in the residential areas?" Mr. Comrie: "There are other considerations."

Mr. Comrie admitted that settled homogeneous communities should not be disturbed but added that Cato Manor, Mayville, Sydenham and Overport blocked European expansion from the Berea into the hinterland of Westville, Malvern and Pinetown and was recommended for white occupation. Mr. Comrie admitted that the central working areas had to be controlled and would eventually be white.

#### Indians To Lose 3,000 Acres In City

In answer to Mr. Singh, Mr. Comrie stated that eventually Indian land ownership in the City would be decreased from 10,700 acres to 7,350 acres—a reduction of Indian holdings by over 3,000 acres whereas European holdings would be increased by over 10,000 acres from 15,300 to 25,500 acres.

Mr. Comrie admitted that the Council's proposals would allow 54,000 Indians, 21,000 Europeans, 44,000 Africans and 6,000 Coloureds to live together in the working areas without segregation and racial group. Mr. Singh deduced: "If one-third of the City's population can live together why disturb the position at all with race zones?"

Mr. Comrie stated that the reason for making the Berea and Central Durban white was that the white group was the predominant group in the working areas. Mr. Singh elicited that this was not so. Between the Umbilo and the Umgeni 47,000 non-Europeans worked compared with 18,000 Europeans and that in the centre of the city 26,000 non-Europeans worked as against 10,800 whites.

#### Berea And Beach

Mr. Singh stated that the white City Council was responsible with its policy favouring the

whites in making the Beach and the Berea white.

Mr. Singh asked Mr. Comrie why Durban had to remain a white holiday resort. "Why should't non-European visitors be welcome?"

Mr. Singh stated that racial zoning was not natural but imposed and that the present distribution was natural. The idea of a separate Indian town was not scientific. Mr. Comrie could not give an example of such a separate Indian town anywhere in the Union. Mr. Comrie said that he had not visited the Indian locations at Germiston, Boksburg, Benoni and Pretoria.

Mr. Comrie admitted that the plans emanated from a Council elected by the White voters—The non-Europeans had no say in the proposals and that the main line suburbs of Sea View, Bellair and Hillary had been changed from Indian to white due to European protests. Mr. Comrie said that he was aware of non-European protests but these did not materially change the Council's proposals.

Mr. Comrie admitted that over 6,000 Indians would be displaced in the Sea View-Bellair area and 10,500 Indians in the Sydenham Coloured area as a result of the Council's changed proposals.

#### Rural Areas For Indians

Mr. Comrie, in answer to Mr. Singh, admitted that the built up areas in Woodlands and Montclair and Sea View-Bellair were being retained for Europeans whereas Indians were being given the rural areas in Umhlatuzana, Stainbank Estate and Duff's Road.

Mr. Singh argued that the Board was not there to perpetuate existing inequalities but had to consider the removal of inequities in regard to the non-Europeans resulting from a policy of discrimination against them in the past. For instance, Mr. Singh said, the whole of the sea front from Margate to Umhlanga Rocks was white and asked why this should remain so and why the non-Europeans should be excluded from 150 miles of the sea point with minor exceptions?

#### Cato Manor

Mr. Comrie admitted that making Mayville and Cato Manor white involved the displacement of 25,800 Indians and 28,300 Africans in favour of 6,300 Europeans, and that 2414 acres of Indian land would be taken away, valued over 6 million pounds. In Sydenham 346 acres of Indian land was affected. On the Berea and central area 127 acres valued at over 2 million 600 thousand pounds were to be lost by Indians.

According to the Council's

proposals over 61,000 Indians would be displaced eventually and over 6,000 acres of land was to be affected in Indian ownership, answered Mr. Comrie.

#### Mr. Barker Questioned

When Mr. Barker, Chairman of the Reference and Planning Committee, appointed by the Minister of the Interior, gave evidence early in the week, Mr. Singh questioned him on the broad effects of his proposals which except for the Sydenham Coloured area, agreed with the City Council's plans.

Mr. Barker admitted that his Committee's proposals were based mainly on the principle of racial segregation and on a regional radial pattern. He agreed that the proposals would eventually have very drastic effects on the Indian population. He admitted, in answer to Mr. Singh, that eventually over two thirds of the Indian and African populations would have to be displaced—numbering over 200,000 compared to about 5,000 Europeans affected.

Mr. Barker accepted that the Coloured area in Sydenham would be a pocket in a thickly settled Indian area and he agreed that it could be Indian without causing hardship to any community as it contained over 12,000 Indians, compared to 2,000 Coloureds and just over 1,200 Europeans.

#### Other Representatives

Dr. Baboolal and Mr. T. M. Naicker appeared for the Combined Indian Ratepayers Association and Mr. Goldberg with Messrs. P. R. Pather and A. M. Moola for the Natal Indian Organisation. The N.I.O. put up alternative proposals for Indian Group areas in Riverside, Prospect Hall, Cato Manor and Mayville, Sydenham and portions of Jacobs area, and the valley of Rossburgh, Sea View, Bellair and Hillary.

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## THE UNITED PARTY AND THE ELECTION

## WHITE DOMINATION AND APARTHEID

By C. W. M. GELL

## III

IN my last two articles I discussed two factors in the intricate racial pattern that dominated the election—Afrikaner nationalism and the Coloured vote. Now we must face the central issue: the non-European question in general and the Native policy in particular.

Whatever parts the "sovereignty of Parliament" and Afrikaner jingoism played in the election—and, at the level of the party worker in the constituencies, the latter especially played a considerable part—the colour question was almost certainly decisive. The leading politicians and the press gave it first emphasis. Nationalist canvassers in my own and other constituencies told parents that their little girls would have to marry kaffirs if the U.P. was returned. The Defiance Campaign and the Mau Mau were gifts from the gods to the Nationalists; and the riots, for which their own share of the responsibility has yet to be determined precisely, gave them a further filip. In all his chief speeches—at Bethal in August, at Somerset West in September, at Odenaalsrus in November, at Stellenbosch in March and in his final pre-election broadcast on April 13—Dr. Malan stressed how Afrikanerdom stood alone before a world bent on equality which was tantamount to "national suicide" for White South Africa. "The colour question," he said more than once, "is by far the greatest and most serious of the country's problem. Therefore it rightly dominates the election." The Government would stand or fall by its apartheid policy on which it asked the country for "a clear and unequivocal mandate." In April the people would be asked whether, in view not only of the internal disturbances but also of interference in domestic matters from abroad, the country should have a weak or a strong government. "In other words you will be asked, whether you are prepared to commit national suicide."

In the following analysis of Nationalist colour policy I rely upon speeches made since last August with a view to the election. One thing the Nats. do not at present intend is total apartheid, despite its continued advocacy by SABRA, the Studentebond, Stellenbosch professors, a section of the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Churches, Mr. Pirow and the Government's own Secretary for Native Affairs. Dr.

Verwoerd, one of the more extreme apartheid theorists, slipped up once more when he was reported to have said at Dordrecht on October 21 that "in fifty years time the Natives will all be back in the Reserves." But he was quickly called to order and in later speeches "all" became "a majority or "a large part."

The cardinal point in the Nationalist conception of apartheid is "the retention of all power in our hands," the perpetual maintenance of exclusive White political domination. Dr. Malan said that the choice for the White races was to die here in honour or dishonour. "We choose the latter." Mr. Strydom is prepared to "fight to the death" to hand on "the heritage of White South Africa, which we received from our fathers, to our children," and he has called on us to stand shoulder to shoulder as White men to protect ourselves and our children. The Professor of Psychology at Stellenbosch University has written of "our intense desire to keep South Africa a White man's country;" and in curious contrast to Dr. Malan's assurances (also given at Stellenbosch) that apartheid so far from being oppressive was "the best guarantee of inter-racial friendship and helpfulness," Professor van Rensburg added that "even though we may be fighting a losing battle, some people do not understand the sacrifices we are prepared to make to achieve our aim—the White people are in real danger of extermination in South Africa and must oppose this danger and fight." Lastly, the challenge of race warfare was invoked in the infamous election pamphlet which contained photos of the Nigerian cabinet and urged us to "Vote for White Domination—Stem Nasionaal."

Since, however, this blatant herrenvolkism might raise some conscientious doubts, it is tempered by the two-stream (White-Black) theory of "development in their own sphere." The growth of Bantu nationalism is recognised to be inevitable and proper; but it will be confined to the Africans' "national home and fatherland" in the Reserves whence, as benevolent theorists like Dr. Eiselen and Mr. de Wet Nel explain, migrant Native workers will emerge to work in the White areas with White consent. As "visitors" they will have no claim to political or social rights and, since they have their own fatherland, no freehold rights will be allowed outside the Reserves.

Now it is a fact that during five years of Nationalist rule much has been done to subordinate and control that large majority of Africans (and other non-Europeans) who live permanently in the "White areas" and will never be able to find homes in the Reserves. And nothing at all has been done towards developing the Reserves so that they will in future "prevent the centre of Bantu interests, and therefore of Bantu numbers, extending into the White areas." It is even admitted by some Nats. and denied by others (depending on whether they are addressing employers of Native labour or employees frightened of Native competition), that the majority of Africans will continue to live in the White areas "for generations." As Dr. Otto du Plessis so charmingly put it: "We must keep some Natives in the European areas for a very long time to do the work."

The electoral appeal of apartheid is, therefore, obvious. As a European you have your cake and eat it. You have all the unskilled Native labour you want, subject to the crudest form of residential and social segregation imposed to suit White convenience and comfort, without having to make any concessions for "visitors" in the direction of what Mr. Swart has called "the detestable doctrine of racial equality." For after all 70 per cent of the population (the destination of Coloureds and Indians being uncertain) will have their own homes in their 12 per cent of the country where, subject to overriding White control, they will have "a considerable measure of self-government" under chiefs who will be Government stooges; and even the "visitors" will have delegated to them "some of the details of administration" in the urban locations.

As Mr. Erasmus succinctly put it at Glencoe on December 6: the White man can either leave South Africa which is impossible; or he can make concessions to non-European demands which are unthinkable "except perhaps to a few liberals;" or he can choose

the conservative way of the Government's apartheid policy which "believed in good treatment of non-Europeans under European guardianship but not to an exaggerated degree." In a later speech at Zeerust, in posing the alternatives of White domination or equality, Mr. Erasmus warned Africans who sought the latter that "the Union is not the Gold Coast or British Central Africa, but the country of Dr. Malan, where the Native would be well treated but would also be put "op sy plek" if he deserved it."

Finally, just to tie up any loose ends in the Nationalist racial ideology which Mr. Schoeman says must be accepted unconditionally by any supporter of the Government's racial policy, the Nats. "acknowledge the authority of the Almighty in the destinies of nations and peoples." South Africa, being "not subject to any other power on earth but under the authority of God alone," is free to solve her own way "according to the pattern of inequality which He Himself has ordained." Thus a Blomfontein professor rightly deprecated the wild talk about mandates and volkswils; for "if man has been created a free being and exercises his freedom and his birthright in its national context through the vote, on what grounds do we not give equal voting rights to Natives and other non-Whites, since they too, being human, are beings with the franchise as their birthright?" But the truth is that the authority of the Government does not derive from the electorate. "The Government stands in a divine capacity and receives its authority from God alone." And the 'Transvaler' wrote: "Dr. Malan asks us to trust the Government. This we do with all our hearts. The Government is the patriot's ark of faith under God's dispensation."

In the next article I will discuss how the U.P. tried to meet the challenge of this racial policy. Those who are interested may care to keep this article for comparison.

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## STRAUSS BECOMING MALANISED

**S**PEAKING in Parliament last week the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, referring to the Government's policy concerning the United Nations, is reported to have said, he wished to deal particularly with the setting up of a United Nations commission and the taking of evidence in public on the internal situation in South Africa on racial discrimination.

"Here we have the extraordinary state of affairs that an international authority appoints a commission to inquire into the internal position of our country and we have no say in what is being done.

"I am raising this question to get the Prime Minister to clarify the position so that South Africa's good name will not be injured by what is happening before the commission at the present time—an unwarranted commission and an unwarranted investigation into our domestic affairs."

The United Party felt that it was quite correct for the Government and in conformity with the will of the people of South Africa to say that the only attitude to take up was the rejection of the existence and activities of this commission.

"But there is an important question. That is that public sittings are now taking place and evidence is being held by the commission. It is a matter for regret that the Prime Minister has not made a statement clarifying the position.

"In these matters timing is of great importance and I think it would have been a wise step, when the commission began its sitting, for the Government to have issued a statement, so that there could be no misunderstanding at all.

"It seems to me that this commission is not getting the support that some of our enemies abroad would like it to get. The witnesses before it have not been very impressive but the danger is that the one-sided evidence that is being given may cause harm to South Africa."

Mr. Strauss said that while it was true that there was only one line for the Government to take, he would like the Prime Minister to say what his view was about getting private organisations like the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (S.A.B.R.A.) and the Institute of Racial Relations placing the facts before this Commission—without prejudices to the Government.

The one thing that he admired about this Government's foreign policy was the extent to which it had followed in the steps

of the previous Government. General Smuts did his utmost to prevent any interference in the domestic affairs of South Africa by the United Nations or by other busy-bodies who used the United Nations to interfere in the domestic affairs of South Africa.

### Prime Minister's Reply

The Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, is reported to have said in reply that he was glad that the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. J. G. N. Strauss) had made it clear that he and his Party also regarded the United Nations Commission on South Africa's so-called racial policy which was now sitting in Geneva as unwarranted interference in South Africa's domestic affairs. The Government's attitude was that it was unwarranted interference in the Union's domestic affairs which would not be tolerated in any circumstances. For this reason the Government had ignored the sitting of the Commission. The Government would not submit any evidence to the Commission because to do so would be indirectly to approve of interference in South Africa's domestic affairs.

The United Nations' action in appointing the Commission was prompted not merely by ignorance. If it was only ignorance then something could be done about it. But to a large extent it was malice.

It had been asked to what extent the Government would encourage others to give evidence before the Commission. This would not help in any way. If the Government were to encourage this, it would simply mean that the Government was encouraging others to do something which it was itself not prepared to do. The government would certainly not give any encouragement in that action. It would rather discourage anything of that kind.

The chief aim of the United Nations was to maintain world peace, but in the war in Korea it had already proved its weakness. Only 16 countries had replied to its appeal for troops to be sent to Korea and 22 had ignored it—some of them strong countries on the border of Korea. South Africa had answered the call, but today South Africa was being abused and slandered by those nations in the United Nations organisation.

It would like to stress that the United Nations was engaged in undermining the foundations of the Commonwealth and was the principal danger to its continued existence.

India had left a Common-

wealth Prime Ministers' conference where she could make no accusations against the Union, and hence to the United Nations—where she could get it to interfere in South Africa's internal affairs. In this way India was able to make use of the United Nations' practice of exceeding its authority to make an attack on a fellow member of the Commonwealth.

That was why he believed the United Nations was undermining the foundations of the Commonwealth and that it was the greatest danger to its continued survival.

There was only one solution to this problem, and that was that the members of the Commonwealth should stand together to drive the United Nations back within the borders of its own Charter.

Referring to the Union's relations with its neighbour States in the north, the Prime Minister said that the good neighbour

policy had been as strongly maintained by the present Government as by any previous Government.

As far as Africa as a whole was concerned, it was very clear that the interests of the Union were very closely related to events higher up in Africa. Certain separate Native States were now beginning to feel that they no longer wanted to remain under the domination of a foreign country but should be completely free and independent.

"There is an influence behind this feeling of nationalism which comes from outside. Part of this influence is the result of Communist activity and it is the object of Communism to apply itself to the more backward peoples who are not yet ripe for self-government."

In the second place there was the very unfortunate experiment carried out by the former British Government on the Gold Coast which had been given complete freedom based on universal franchise without qualification.—Sapa.

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## WHAT MR. NEHRU SAID

(Continued from front page)

Mr. Nehru said that it was difficult for him to talk about India's policy or India's *bona fides*. For the last many years, before they came into power and after they entered the Government, "we have declared our policy in the clearest terms to our people outside India."

"That policy, in relation to Africa, has been that the Indians there will not get any support from the Indian Government in any claims that may be advanced against the Africans. We have told them 'You are there as guests. The interests of the Africans must be dominant. If you can serve them, well and good. Otherwise pack up and go, because we will not protect you there.'"

### "No Special Rights"

"This," Mr. Nehru continued, "was a rather unusual policy for a country to tell its own citizens. We are prepared to fight for the rights of these citizens and against any encroachment of those rights, but when those citizens want special rights against Africans, we are not prepared to take up their cause or give them any protection."

"This policy naturally did not meet with the approval of many of our nationals in Africa because thus far they had been trained up to demand rights for themselves. Seeing the European settlers taking advantage of the situation and gaining special pri-

viliges and land and all that kind of thing, Indians also wanted to share in the spoils of Africa. We said, 'no, we will not permit this.' We have been pursuing that policy so far."

"We do not mind if every Indian leaves Africa and comes away, but we will not permit him, so far as we are concerned, to have a single privilege over Africans. To talk of Indian imperialism there is just nonsense. People seem to imagine that the earth in all its fullness thereof is to be reserved for a few settlers from Europe. Other people in the rest of the world happen to have a different opinion about it and the rest of the world will count ultimately not these few persons from Europe."

There had been some reference to the Indian Commissioner in East Africa. "I should like to say that among the many people in our foreign service, one whose work we have appreciated more than any other's is our Commissioner in East Africa, Mr. Appasahib Pant. From the very first day of his arrival in East Africa, about five years ago, he has worked for what is called the establishment of a multi-racial society there."

"All that I can say, if anyone accuses him or his colleagues there at Nairobi of creating trouble, is that some people who take in this way have lost clarity of vision. They cannot distinguish between things."

## APARTHEID A THREAT TO WORLD PEACE

THE Reverend Michael Scott addressing the United Nations Commission on behalf of the International League for the Rights of man, said: "The ugly menace that has grown up under cover of lofty phrases cannot protect the short-term or long term interests of White or black. It constitutes a threat to the peace and security of Africa and the world, and may lead to a debacle of so-called Western civilisation in that Continent."

"The United Nations should prepare itself to assume the role of mediator and should meanwhile use all resources at its disposal, including economic inducements, technical assistance and educational conferences, to bring about a new approach to the problems which are a heritage of the past."

Mr. Scott said that the present situation in South Africa could only lead to the decline and demoralisation of the ruling White

caste, unless other members of the United Nations became aware in time of the path being followed by the White community in South Africa and elsewhere in Africa.

Mr. Scott said that there were many ways in which the United Nations could help South Africa, once her Government and people realised that they were in need of assistance in solving problems which were not peculiarly their own.

"I suggest that co-operation should be sought from the World Council of Churches," he said, and that questions should be addressed to that body on the theological implications of racial discrimination, the extent to which this is practised in the churches, and the means by which it is sought to overcome it," he said.

"The dangers of a caste system extending from South Africa to Central and East Africa, must be met by a positive programme for

the conservation and use of the great human and natural resources of that area, which are so important for the future peace of the world," Mr. Scott concluded.

### Offends Two-Thirds Of World Population

Mr. E. S. Sachs, former general secretary of the South African Garment Worker's Union, told the U.N. Commission that, "the interests of the people of Africa, including the 3,000,000 Europeans who have permanently settled in Southern Africa, the interests of world peace, the interests of the whole of humanity urgently demand that the people of Africa shall be accorded full rights."

"Pious resolutions and platonic sympathy have proved futile. Positive action must be taken by those who are guiding the destiny of mankind."

"The time has come for the United Nations and the whole of civilised humanity to treat racial oppression and discrimination in the same manner as slave-trading and piracy, and outlaw them wherever and under whatever form they may appear," said Mr. Sachs.

The policy of apartheid was based on the immutable principles that

(a) All peoples who were not White or European were inferior and that all White or European peoples were superior;

(b) The 10,000,000 non-White people of the Union were incapable now and forever of becoming truly civilised and must always remain under the tutelage of Europeans; and

(c) Because the non-Europeans outnumbered the Europeans by four to one, White civilisation was in danger and it was the duty of Europeans, ordained by Providence, to save civilisation by keeping the non-Europeans in subjection.

Mr. Sachs said: "A correct definition of the Union Government's interpretation of apartheid might be obtained from a slogan frequently and widely used by supporters of that policy: that is, 'The Kaffir must be kept in his place and the collic must get out of the country.'"

"Industrial development in South Africa has almost unlimited opportunities, but such development is being crippled by a reactionary and backward political policy," said Mr. Sachs.

"The policy of apartheid and the 'master race' philosophy underlying it will inevitably lead to a decline in the economic development of the country and to the impoverishment of both Europeans and non-Europeans," he said.

"It is a threat to the peace of the world in that it offends and insults more than two-thirds of

the world's population who are not White, and who have shown, justifiably, bitter resentment of that policy."

Mr. John Hatch, a lecturer in International Relations at Glasgow University, giving evidence before the United Nations Commission on racial discrimination in the Union is reported by Sapa-Reuters to have said: "To my mind the danger of racial discrimination in the long-term is more profound to the maintenance of world peace than Communism or anti Communism."

"In the long term I would say that the biggest problem of the second half of the 20th Century would be the solution of the problem of racial discrimination."

"As to the question about a solution to the problem acceptable to the South Africans and within the framework of the United Nations I answer frankly 'No.'"

"There is no solution acceptable to South Africa. In the present circumstances there is no solution acceptable to the two sides."

"They are so interlocked in struggle, mental more than physical though it could in the future become physical, that there is no facile solution. All that can be done is to sow the seeds of a better future."

"The fact is that we are dealing with people who are ingrained with racial prejudice."

Mr. Hatch added: "One cannot change this character by taking immediate steps—certainly the first problem is to find an alternative to the policy of apartheid."

He suggested that a permanent United Nations commission be set up to study the problem.

Mr. Hatch said it was very difficult to help people who did not want to be helped. If there were happier race relations in parts of Africa it was possible that the contrast would persuade South Africa to follow suit.

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# THE RISE OF CONGRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

By JULIUS LEWIN

(Reprinted from 'The Political Quarterly', London)

Concluded from last week

It is this background that renders so ludicrous the sudden quest for "moderate leaders" among non-Europeans that men like Mr. Strauss and others contemplated in 1952, after the defiance campaign had grown to a size where it could no longer be ignored. This quest failed at its outset. It failed because there are no moderate African or Indian leaders—if a leader is to be defined as one who has followers and is ready to "be consulted" or to negotiate with the Government or Opposition on a basis different from that adopted by the two Congresses jointly. Mr. Strauss never even got as far as actually beginning a quest, being satisfied simply to announce that if, returned to office, he would consult (unnamed) moderate non-European leaders. The only effect of this line of thought was to deepen the suspicions of the Congress movement that the official Opposition would, like the Government itself, do all it could to undermine the authority of the elected Congress leaders and to weaken the position they had attained after long and difficult efforts to organise their followers. How blind to such realities white politicians remained was shown in Port Elizabeth at the time of the tragic race riots late in 1952. The search for moderates was pursued in the very city where Dr. J. Z. Njongwe had displayed greater powers of organisation and evoked wider personal loyalty than probably any other Congress leader had done to date. The resistance campaign in the eastern Cape province obtained as much support as it did in all the rest of the country taken together. This is to be explained by two main factors. First, the Bantu people there are more homogeneous in tribal tradition and less divided than elsewhere. They are also better educated and more Christianised after longer contact with western civilization. Resistance in this area was marked by notable religious fervour—it was often preceded by prayer—and it was supported by African clergy and by African trade unions. Secondly, the people in these parts had lost more than others since 1936 through the operation of the land and franchise laws that deprived them, and their children of old-established rights.

Nor to this day do white

politicians realize that the first effect of undermining Congress would be to strengthen those less responsible and less reasonable groups in African life that have begun to preach enmity against all white people as such and to toy with the idea of terrorism as a technique for securing political change. In a real sense Congress is to-day the only alternative to terrorism, the only hand restraining Africans from demanding black supremacy as the alternative to white supremacy, the only influential voice seriously asking for inter-racial co-operation.

In the light of this record, what is surprising is not that Congress has hitherto failed to formulate a detailed blueprint for progress in South Africa, or to declare itself without any ambiguity on certain concrete issues. What is surprising is that Congress has continued to take nothing less than a statesmanlike attitude on all the large questions that present themselves for decision.

Non-white people do not want to rid South Africa of white people. Let it be stressed that at present only a very small minority of members of the African National Congress dream of replacing white domination with black domination. The whole bulk and weight of Congress has hitherto always imagined the future of South Africa in terms of inter-racial co-operation on a basis of equality. The joint declaration adopted in July 1951, when the defiance campaign was planned, is sufficient proof of this fact:

"All people, irrespective of the national groups which they may belong to and regardless of the colour of their skin, who have made South Africa their home and who believe in the principles of democracy, are South Africans. All South Africans are entitled to live a full and free life on the basis of the fullest equality....."

"The struggle which the national organisations of the non-European people are conducting is not directed against any race or national group. It is against the unjust laws which keep in perpetual subjection and misery vast sections of the population. It is for the transformation of conditions which will restore

human dignity, equality, and freedom to every South African."

The significance of this policy, with its prospect of inter-racial peace, has been carefully obscured from recognition by any but a small element among the Europeans. The daily press of both white sections continues to pretend that Congress is essentially an anti-white movement. In fact, however, the force of the law has here reinforced the wisdom of Congress. It has since 1927 been a serious criminal offence for anyone to promote hostility between the white and non-white races, and any racial indictment of white people by black speakers is liable to be punished by the courts. On the other hand, it has never been, and has not yet been, declared a crime to demand equal rights for all races. This fact is hardly understood by ordinary people. Even a Johannesburg magistrate could say in 1952:

"It is common knowledge that one of the aims of communism is to break down race barriers and strive for equal rights for all sections of the people, and to do so without any discrimination of race, colour, or creed. It is well-known that all the democracies of the world consider that communism is menacing peace and order, turning the world upside down and making stable and decent life impossible." (The 'Star', Johannesburg, 15th July 1952.)

In the mind of this magistrate, who is supposed to interpret the law of the land, the militant liberal demand for equal rights, regardless of race, is confused and equated with communism. But even under the immensely wide and vague terms of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, freedom to advocate racial equality is not punishable if unlawful action towards that end is not taken. Although twenty leaders of the resistance campaign were convicted by the Transvaal Supreme Court under the Act in November 1952, their guilt was held to lie in their organisation of the resistance campaign, not in their advocacy of equality.

By any normally acceptable definition of "communism," the leaders of the campaign, with a few avowed exceptions, are not and have never been communists. It is necessary to emphasize this fact because continual attempts are made to smear the non-European resistance movement as nothing but "communism." Since the personalities, records, and outlook of the Con-

gress leaders are known to only a small number of Europeans, these attempts are liable to succeed to some degree. Yet proper inquiry shows that the charge is false.

The Communist party of South Africa was dissolved by its own act in June 1950, anticipating by a month the final passage through parliament of the Act declaring it an unlawful body. Since the Act was passed, the promotion of any type of "communist" thought or activity has been a serious crime punishable by imprisonment. There are therefore no longer any avowed, but only former, communists. Merely to call a man a communist is defamatory, unless he has in fact been officially listed as such by "the liquidator" appointed for the purpose under the Act. It is, however, reasonable to ask whether the resistance leaders are communists in any ordinary meaning of the term. To answer the question, it is relevant to recall certain facts unfamiliar even to the most informed people. While it was active, the Communist Party of South Africa, at least since about 1937, had always insisted on inter-racial equality and co-operation. With the possible exception of a few branches of certain Christian churches, the Party was indeed the only organisation in South Africa which practised as well as preached racial equality to the fullest extent. Moreover, the Party always tried to restrain African nationalism, recognising that its political value was limited in a plural society where Africans formed only two-thirds of the total population. As late as the end of 1949, the leadership and tendencies of the African National Congress gave the Communist Party much cause for sharp criticism. In a considered analysis of the political situation published in the Party's own journal, "Freedom," (December 1949), the Party attacked the Congress and its leaders for their 'bourgeois' desire to think in terms of liberal capitalism instead of communism. The analysis attributed the weakness and failure of Congress to this fundamental fault.

None the less, it must not be suggested that the Communist Party had no influence on non-Europeans. The Communist Party did, contribute to African political education in one important respect. It set the pace for the African National Congress in the decade from 1937 to 1946. Its aggressive demands, its forthright propaganda, and its ably con-

ducted weekly newspaper 'The Guardian' (banned by the Malan Government in 1952), accelerated the rate at which Africans learnt that gradual and piecemeal reforms are unlikely to come or to make substantial changes in African status if and when they did come. The Communist Party influenced Africans—usually indirectly—to distrust liberal effort on their behalf and to demand, in their own right and in a militant temper, nothing less than full racial equality in every sphere of South African life.

There is to-day not the slightest reason to believe that African leaders have changed their 'bourgeois' outlook. The laws they have singled out for attack and resistance are those which hinder freedom of movement and organisation, freedom to live, to trade, and to own property in any area, and freedom to participate in the common political life of the country on equal terms with Europeans. Those aims are indeed shared in theory, and sometimes supported in practice, by a number of impeccable liberals who themselves have absolutely no sympathy with real communism.

From white communists Africans also learnt important lessons in political organization and in the value of personal and disinterested devotion to a cause, lessons which other Europeans have seldom been close enough to teach them. Above all, however, African eyes were opened to current political realities, and this led to the demand for equal rights and opportunities, regardless of race or colour, in every sphere of activity, and to total opposition to apartheid. This was the attitude adopted by the Natives Representative Council after 1946. But neither at that time, nor at any other, did a single Communist sit on the Council. Indeed, communists who sought election to it were

always heavily defeated.

If communists had ever dominated the Congress, the fact would have been obvious enough to sophisticated eyes. But it is not a monopoly of communists to aim at securing in South Africa a society free from colour bars and from all forms of racial prejudice and discrimination. Nor are militant and uncompromising methods of protest and resistance against the present system their monopoly. What precise form such methods should take—whether passive resistance, stoppage of work or boycott—seems to remain to some extent a matter of internal controversy in the ranks of the African National Congress. No doubt the South African Indian Congress, with its longer experience and more mature leaders, set the pace in 1951 in the joint campaign that was undertaken. However that may be, nothing is gained, to home or abroad, by accepting the view, attracting enough to white South Africans, that Congress aims and activities can be dismissed as the work of "communists." Whether these activities are maintained or not, whether the avowed aims of Congress are achieved in the life time of this generation or not, one thing is certain. No laws, however harsh and no Government, however tyrannical, will succeed in putting an end to protest and resistance against flagrant injustice by men and women of all races. Ever since the early nineteenth century, prevailing policies in South Africa have always been challenged by some people in South Africa. That tradition will not die out. It may take a long time but the dominant race is destined to discover that there are some things in life that lie too deep for law. The recognition and acceptance of a common humanity regardless of race is among the certainties of the future.

## NEW BILL GOVERNING AFRICAN EDUCATION

THE Bantu Education Bill, which the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr H F. Verwoerd, has introduced in the Assembly, transfers the administration and control of Native Education from the provincial administrations to the Union Government. The Bill, after enactment, will become operative on a date to be fixed by proclamation in the Government Gazette.

As from that date the Executive

Committees of the Provinces will cease to have any powers, authority or functions, and the Provincial Councils will cease to be competent to make Ordinances in relation to Native education.

The Bill provides for the transfer to the Department of Native Affairs of persons who are at present employed by the Provinces in connection with Native education.

The Minister is given powers

to establish and maintain Government Bantu schools and hostels, teachers' quarters, school clinics or any other accessory to a Government school.

The Bill introduces the term "Bantu," which it says is synonymous with Native. Education is defined as education other than "higher education" within the meaning of the Financial Relations Act of 1945.

In terms of this Act higher education includes the universities, the South African Native College, and technical, music, and arts and other institutions declared by the Minister of Education to be places of higher education.

The Minister of Native Affairs is empowered to subsidise any Bantu school established or maintained by a Bantu authority or any Native council, tribe or community and to assist in the establishment or maintenance of any such school.

Subject to special conditions stipulated by the Minister, grants-in-aid may be made to approved Native schools.

The Bill provides for the registration of all Bantu schools, other than Government Bantu schools. From a date to be fixed by notice in the Government Gazette, no Bantu school may be established

or maintained unless it is registered.

If on the advice and recommendation of the Native Affairs Commission the Minister is of the opinion that the establishment or continued existence of a Bantu school is not in the interests of the Bantu people or is likely to be detrimental to the physical, mental, or moral welfare of the pupils attending or likely to attend it, he may refuse or cancel registration.

The Minister is empowered to expropriate land required for a Bantu Government school. Provision is made for the transfer of the administration of the Natal non-European Teachers' Provident Fund to the Commissioner of Pensions. The transfer may be effected after consultation with the Administrator.—Sapa.

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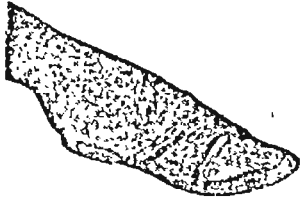
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## INDIA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Bombay, August 4.

MR. NEHRU has returned to Delhi after momentous talks with the Prime Minister of Pakistan in Karachi. No one expected that any of the major problems like Kashmir, evacuee property and canal waters, which has defied solution since the last five years, will be solved within so short a period of three days. Mr. Nehru had made it clear, when he left for Karachi, that the talks were of an exploratory nature and no sensational outcome may be expected.

At the request of the Pakistan Premier, Mr. Nehru decided to extend his stay in Karachi to three days. The most amazing revelation to Mr. Nehru as well as the people of India, was the rousing reception that the people of Pakistan gave to the Indian Prime Minister, suggesting a change of heart towards India. According to Indian Press reporters, they found genuine desire for friendship with India among the masses. It seems that though fed on anti-Indian propaganda by the newspapers the common man in Pakistan wants to forget the bad memories of the past and to make a new start. These are good signs.

Though no dramatic agreements on any major problems have resulted from the talks, it is generally agreed that they have helped the two Prime Ministers to have a clearer understanding of each other's viewpoint.

The Prime Ministers have reached an agreement on principle in regard to three comparatively minor matters—exchange of enclaves in each other's territories, freedom of travel and trade and admission to and protection of religious trusts and shrines. It is expected that procedural details will be worked out on a mutually satisfactory basis.

On the question of canal waters it was decided to await the outcome of the discussions proceeding under the auspices of the World Bank.

Mr. Nehru considered the issue of evacuee property more important than Kashmir as it affects millions of people on both sides of the border continuing the miseries of refugees.

But Mr. Mahomed Ali considers the Kashmir question as the key-question upon which "the whole of Indo-Pakistan relationship hinged." Mr. Mahomed Ali declared that this

dispute has raised so much of passion, prejudice and sentiment all round that even if all the rest of the Indo-Pakistani dispute was settled and no solution for Kashmir was found, cordial relationship with India would not be possible to the extent it was desirable."

The evacuee property question is undergoing a thorough examination at the hands of the Advisers to the Government of India and Pakistan, who have picked up the thread where the two Prime Ministers left. No spectacular progress has been reported on this question, although an agreement has been reported to have been reached over certain items e.g. the movable properties, the method of approach is significant. The entire problem has been broken down in its constituent units. This means that instead of reviving the controversy on principles—whether to tackle this problem on Government level or as between the private parties—both sides will try to reach agreement wherever possible.

Although both the Prime Ministers devoted considerable time to the Kashmir problem, it is not nearer solution. Kashmir will prove to be the toughest problem and unless both sides discard adamant attitude and try some new track, the deadlock will continue. Realistically speaking, if referendum may be taken to decide the future of Kashmir as a whole, the result will create fresh problems for the State to which Kashmir will not accede. If the people of Kashmir decide through referendum to join India, then Pakistan will have to hand over all the Kashmir territory under its control and exodus of pro-Pakistan people from that area may start and create new refugee problem for Pakistan, when even the Punjabi refugees have not yet been rehabilitated. Similarly if Kashmir accedes to Pakistan, Hindus and Buddhists, who are in the majority in Jammu and Ladakh, might migrate to India out of fear, whether real or imaginary. Although the official circles on both the sides of the border frown upon the idea of partition, the only realistic solution of the problem is to divide Kashmir into four parts and take referendum in these parts separately, giving each part freedom to accept either country. Kashmir may be

divided into the following four parts: (1) Hindu majority area of Jammu, (2) Buddhist majority area of Ladakh, (3) Kashmir Valley and (4) pro-Pakistan area now under Pakistan's control.

Pakistan's Premier, Mr. Mahomed Ali, will come to New Delhi in the first week of September to continue talks with Mr. Nehru.

Indian political circles feel that the reactionary elements in Pakistan, which are lying low at present due to economic difficulties, may marshal their force once again and come in the way of settlement of Indo-Pakistan problems, if these problems are not solved within a short time taking advantage of goodwill and cordiality prevailing at present among the peoples of both the countries.

After his return to Delhi, Mr. Nehru declared at a press conference that "his visit to Karachi was remarkable, considering the friendly atmosphere that prevailed there. He thought that it was a much bigger thing than many people had imagined. The problem he dealt with became simpler if it was approached in a friendly and informal way rather than in a rigid and formal way. We have discussed many of our problems in a much better way than we had done before. Some minor problems were solved, some major problems are being tackled, while some other major problems have not been solved. It was very moving for me to receive the popular welcome that I received there. I felt completely at home in Karachi."

Mr. Nehru said that, in regard to every problem they discussed, big or small, they made very good progress. It was true that so far as Kashmir was concerned they did not find any full-blooded solution nor could one be expected in the first talk, however earnest they may be. Even in regard to Kashmir their talks helped them greatly in understanding each other's position and thus helped towards solution. Though they did not bring about a solution of Kashmir problem, a good deal had been accomplished and the way opened out for further progress in many directions.

A fourteen-point formula to give compensation to workers for involuntary unemployment in industry was accepted by the representatives of workers and employers at the meeting of the Standing Labour Committee, which concluded its deliberations at New Delhi.

It will now be considered by the Central Government, and when approved, legislation will be introduced to give effect to it.

The scheme is the first of its kind for the benefit of the Indian worker and the second social security measure, the first being the Employees' Provident Fund Scheme.

Under the agreement, the formula of compensation for involuntary unemployment should apply both to the public and private sectors of industry. Fifty per cent of the basic wages and dearness allowance will be payable to the worker as compensation. The duration of benefit will be restricted to a period of 45 days a year.

The new elementary education scheme of the Madras Government has raised a hornet's nest in that province. Under this scheme the pupils have to attend the school for only three hours a day and devote the rest of the time to learning any profession or handicraft. After the disturbances and Satyagraha by Dravid Kazgam, which took a violent turn eventually, were quelled down, the opposition took up cudgels in the Legislative Assembly. Nearly all the Opposition parties joined hands to defeat this scheme. Communists, Socialists and Dravid Kazgam supporters, who opposed the scheme, initially failed to make the House agree to call on the Government to drop the scheme altogether. Voting on this proposal ended in a 138-138 tie. Mr. J. Sivasubramanian Pillai, the Speaker, exercised his casting vote against the proposal defeating the same.

Then the Socialist amendment to have implementation of the scheme stayed until it was examined by an expert committee was, however, passed, 139 voting for and 137 against.

The Opposition parties demanded resignation of the present Government as it was defeated on an important issue, but Mr. Rajagopalachari refused to oblige them, maintaining that the amendment was of a recommendatory nature and the Government was not bound to accept the same. He further declared that he was not prepared to interfere with the working of the scheme in the middle of the year, as that would be harmful to the students. He however assured the House that an expert committee will be appointed in due course.

The events in Calcutta took a bad turn during the last fortnight. The situation reached a

climax when the police attacked pressmen and photographers who had gone to report a meeting which was being held by the Anti-tramfare Enhancement Committee in spite of the ban on meetings. Even during the worst days of British regime journalists were allowed to do their duty without much hindrance. Against this unprecedented action on the part of Calcutta police, the Indian Press rose as one man and demanded immediate enquiry into this incident and punishment to the police officers concerned. The Acting Home Minister and the Police Commissioner immediately expressed regret and appointed a Commission to inquire into this incident. Even Mr. Nehru and Maulana Azad, Central Education Minister, ex-

pressed sorrow over the wanton attack on journalists and assured that the officers found guilty would be punished.

All the Calcutta newspapers remained closed for one day in protest and imposed a blackout on Government news for a week. The wrath of the newspapers brought good results for the common man of Calcutta. The Government decided to suspend the enhancement of the tramfares and release all those who were arrested in connection with the agitation against the enhancement of tramfares. Section 144 of I.P.C., imposing a ban on meetings, processions and demonstrations, was immediately withdrawn. Thus the newspapers in India proved that pen was mightier than sword.

the raging flames and was burnt to death. Deceased is survived by his sorrowing widow and two children to

whom and to the Khoja family we offer our deepest sympathy in the calamity that has befallen them.

#### ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

### "SMEAR TACTICS AGAIN"—SOME QUERIES

THE EDITOR INDIAN OPINION

SIR,—In the article "Smear Tactics Again" by Mr. Ngubane, in your issue of July 31st, I was interested in looking for the culprits who were using the "smear tactics." The only persons I found in the article doing the "smearing" was none other than Mr. Ngubane himself.

It appears that the main burden of the article is to criticise and warn that "section of the Non-White leaders" who are alleged to be running a "campaign against so-called African moderate leaders, suggesting that some of them are planning a sell-out."

We are not told as to how, when and where the campaign is being conducted and who precisely comprise that section of the Non-White leaders.

The only hint as to who these alleged smearers may be is made towards the end of the article when Mr. Ngubane refers to some people in the African National Congress as "Dadoo-boys" and under the influence of the "Dadoo approach."

Can Mr. Ngubane, in the interests of fair-play and justice, explain what he means by "Dadoo-boys," who specifically are the "Dadoo-boys" and what is the "Dadoo approach?"

Mr. Ngubane goes even further to invent a new -ism which he calls "Dadooism" and explains it is "based on a fundamental distrust of everybody who is not a Dadoo-boy." And then he states: "The Dadoo-boys in the African National Congress in turn appear to distrust every Con-

gressman who does not toe the Dadoo-line."

Will Mr. Ngubane please explain where he found this new -ism unless he sucked it out of his own thumb? What is the "Dadoo-line?" Can we have an explanation.

And then comes the real rub of the article, the smear in plain and simple words. Read what Mr. Ngubane has to say: "It is not all the provinces which think Dadooism is such a wonderful thing. And, if the Transvaal African Congress is dominated by the Dadoo-boys, that is not the position in Natal and we are determined that it should never be... I think the Cape too wants to be free to run its affairs in the light of its own experiences." Obviously, Mr. Ngubane believes in the time-worn method of give a dog a bad name and hang him. Who are the "Dadoo-boys" in the Transvaal African Congress anyway?

I have no doubt that many readers of this article will perceive in it, as I do, an attempt to smear the leadership of the Transvaal African Congress and pitch the other provincial congresses against it.

Why not call a spade a spade, Mr. Ngubane? Yours etc., Y. M. DADOO.

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## Things In General

### United Party Supports Apartheid Measure

The Parliamentary correspondent of the 'Natal Mercury' reported last week that the United Party caucus decided to accept in principle the reservation of Separate Amenities Bill with slight modifications. The caucus decided to appoint a small committee to draft amendments designed to limit the delegation of powers to provide separate amenities to responsible bodies such as Government departments, Provincial Administrations and local authorities. The United Party feels that, while it is not always possible to provide equal facilities for different races, an assurance is required that the powers will not be abused by failure to provide any or adequate facilities for non-Europeans.

### European Theatre For Non-Europeans

Fulfilling a long-cherished ambition, Michael McNeile and his Intimate Theatre Company, will present one of their outstanding comedy-thriller successes of last season to non-Europeans at the Bolton Theatre on the 29th August when they open a ten day season with "Someone at the Door" by Dorothy and Campbell Christie. The play will be produced by Mr. McNeile himself and there is no suggestion of any inferiority either in the cast, set or production which European audiences flocked to. The cast includes Gerald Sim (brother of

star and brother-in-law to Richard Attenborough), Joyce Gregg (who has played in repertory in India as well as in England), Norman Coombes (who is Durban's major contribution to the company), Rigby Foster (who understudied Ralph Lynn in England) and Lawrence Ayris from Brian Brooke Company. If non-European audiences are large enough to enable the company to "break even" financially on this venture, Mr. McNeile intends to provide regular live theatre for non-European audiences. Due consideration has been given to the fact that not all non-Europeans can afford the 6/- per seat normally charged by Intimate Theatre when playing to European audiences and there will, accordingly, also be seats available at 4/6 and 3/2. It will be surprising indeed, if this company does not play to record houses.

### A New Attorney

Mr. Abdul Kader Ismail Vahed, of Durban, was admitted as an attorney before the Judge-President, Mr. Justice F. N. Broome, and Mr. Justice F. R. Shaw in the Supreme Court, Maritzburg, last week.

### Tragedy In Louistrichardt

The many friends of Mr. Jadavjee Khoja, well-known resident of Louistrichardt (Northern Transvaal), have learnt with profound grief that his store got burnt last week and his twenty-four-year-old son who jumped in the store to save the

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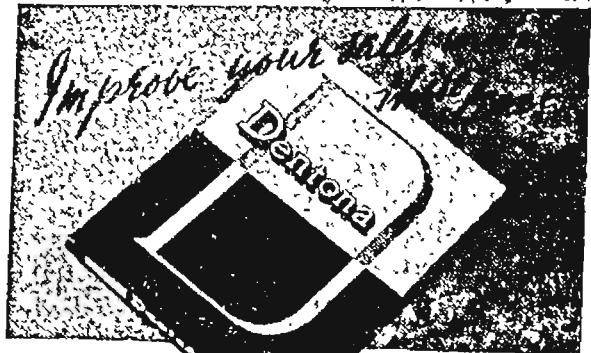
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કુલ નકલ પૈની ૬

હિંદના વડા પ્રધાન શ્રી. નેહરૂએ ન્યુ દિલ્હીમાં પ્રેસ કોન્ફરન્સ સમક્ષ કહ્યું હતું કે, “હિંદને કે બીજા કોઈને પણ ગમે તે પરિણામો સહન કરવા પડે છતાં જાતીય અસમાનતાનો સિદ્ધાંત હિંદ સાંખી લેવા તઈયાર નથી.”

તેમણે કહ્યું કે, “જાતીલેદને કાયમ રાખવાનું હિંદ કદી પણ કબુલ કરવાનું નથી અને જે કોઈ પણ સ્થળે જાતીલેદ વર્તે તો હશે ત્યાં તેનો વિરોધ કરવા યુદ્ધે ચઢવા સિવાય અમારું બનતું સઘળું અમે કરીશું.”

આગ્રામાં મળેલી ઝોલ-ઇન્ડિ-આ કોંગ્રેસ કમીટીની બેઠકમાં આફ્રિકાની પરિસ્થિતિ વિષે ચોતે કરેલા ઉલ્લેખ વિષે શ્રી. નેહરૂ એ કહ્યું કે આગ્રામાં મેં કરેલી ટીકા સામાન્ય રીતે આખા આફ્રિકાની હતી. મેં જે ત્યાં કહ્યું હતું એ મારા મનની અંદર છે તેનું માત્ર પાંચ ટકા જેટલું જ હતું.”

શ્રી. નેહરૂએ કહ્યું કે, “આગ્રામાં મેં જાણી કરીને કોઈ પણ ખાસ દાખલાનો કે આફ્રિકાના કોઈ પણ ખાસ ભાગનો ઉલ્લેખ નહોતો કર્યો. મેં એમ કહ્યું હતું કે આફ્રિકાનો આખો સપ્રાલ અત્યંત અગત્યનો છે અને લોકો તે સમજતા જણાવા નથી, ઘણી દ્રષ્ટિએ તે અગત્યનો છે અને એ વસ્તુ જે સમજવામાં આવશે નહિ તો હુનીયાને આફ્રિકામાં એક મોટો ભડકો-જાતીય યુદ્ધ જેવો ધુરામાં ધુરી જાતનો ભડકો થએલો ભેવો પડશે.

“મેં જે ખાસ ધ્યાન આપતોનું ધ્યાન ખેંચ્યું હતું. એક રાજકીય સ્વતંત્રતા આપવામાં આવતી નથી તે અને ખીલ જાતીલેદ અને અસમાનતાની. એ બંને ખીલે કયાંય કરતાં વિશેષ આફ્રિકામાં જોવામાં આવી રહી છે.

## જાતીલેદ પર શ્રી. નેહરૂ

જ્યાં સુધી ધ્યેય ઠોડવામાં નહિ આવેલું હોય ત્યાં સુધી રાજકીય ફેરફારો અથવા રાજકીય પ્રગતી થવામાં અસુક પ્રમાણમાં ઢીલ થાય એ સમજી શકાય છે. પરંતુ જાતીય સમાનતાનો અસ્વિકાર સહન કરી લેવાનું હું કશું કારણ જોતો નથી. આ વસ્તુ સૌથી વિશેષ આફ્રિકામાં જોવામાં આવે છે. પરંતુ તે અહિં અમને બધાને લાગુ પડે છે. ૩૬ કરોડ હિંદ વાસી ઝોમાંના દરેકે દરેકનું તેમાં અપમાન રહેલું છે. આફ્રિકા કે એશીયાના ખીલ લાખોનું રહેલું છે એ જુદું.”

હિંદને કે કોઈ પણ ખીલને ગમે તે પરિણામો સહવાં પડે પરંતુ જાતીય અસમાનતાનો સિદ્ધાંત અમે કદી પણ સહન કરવાના નથી.

શ્રી. નેહરૂએ વધુમાં કહ્યું : “વડા પ્રધાનનું પદ મેળાવ્યા પછી સ્વાભાવિક રીતે અન્ય દેશોને વિષે કશું નહિ જોલવાની મારી ધર્યા હતી. પરંતુ જ્યારે, દાખલા તરીકે, દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકામાં યદ રહેલું છે તેમ, આવા પ્રકારની નીતી જાહેર કરવામાં અને અમલમાં સુકવામાં આવતી હોય, અને જેને હું અધમ અને અત્યંત અપમાનજરેલી ગણું છું. ત્યારે પણ મારે મુંગા રહેવું એવી આશા રાખવીએ એ અશક્ય વસ્તુ છે.”

વધુમાં વડા પ્રધાને કહ્યું કે “રાજકીય દ્રષ્ટિને ખાલુએ સુકતાં, હું જાણવા ઇચ્છું કે ઇસ્ટ આફ્રિકામાં હિંદીઓ સામે કેટલો લેદલાવ બતાવવામાં આવી રહ્યો છે? ખીલ જાખતોની હું ચર્ચા નથી કરતો. દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા તો એક સ્વતંત્ર સુલક છે. પરંતુ ખીલ દેશો ખ્રીટીશના તાખા નીચેના

પરતંત્ર છે. અને ત્યાં ગરીબ આફ્રીકનો પ્રત્યે જ નહિ પરંતુ ખીલઓ પ્રત્યે પણ લેદલાવ રાખવામાં આવે છે. હું જાણવા માગું છું કે તેને માટે જવાબ દાર કોણ છે. તેઓ આફ્રિકાના જુદા જુદા ભાગોમાં નવી ડાખી નીચન સરકારો ઉભી કરવા માંગે છે અને જાતીલેદ કાયમ કરવા માંગે છે તેનો મને ઘણું જ ખેદ થાય છે.

એ અમે કદી પણ સહન નહિ કરીશું અને, હું આગ્રામાં કહી ગયો તેમ, જ્યાં પણ જાતીલેદનો સવાલ ઉપસ્થિત થશે ત્યાં તેનો વિરોધ કરવા યુદ્ધે ચઢવા સિવાય અમારું બનતું સઘળું અમે કરીશું. આખા આફ્રીકાનો ઉલ્લેખ કરતાં મારા મનમાં નોર્થ આફ્રિકા, મોરોકકો, ટયુનીસીયા અને અન્ય ભાગો પથ્થે હતા જ્યાં ખેશક સ્થિતિ જુદી છે, પરંતુ તેમ છતાં ઘણી જ ગંભીર અને ઘણી જ ખરાબ છે. હકીકતમાં આફ્રિકાનો માત્ર એક જ ભાગ એવો છે કે જે આશા આપનારો છે અને તે ગોલ્ડ કોસ્ટ છે, અને ખીલ કેટલાક ભાગો જેવા કે ટાંગાનીકા અને યુગાન્ડા ખીલ કરતાં વધારે સારા છે.

સાઉથ આફ્રીકામાં વસતા હિંદીઓ પ્રત્યેની હિંદની નીતી નો ફરી ઉલ્લેખ કરતાં વડા પ્રધાને કહ્યું કે, હિંદીઓ આફ્રિકાનો વિરુદ્ધની જે કંઈ પણ માગણીઓ કરશે તેને હિંદ સરકાર તરફથી કોઈ પણ જાતનો ટેકો મળશે નહિ. અમે તેઓને કહી દીધેલું છે કે, “તમે ત્યાં મહેમાનો તરીકે છો. તમારે આફ્રિકાનાં હિતો તરફ પ્રથમ ધ્યાન દેવું પડશે. જો તમે તેઓની સેવા કરી શકતા હો તો ઘણું સારું. જો

નહિ કરી શકતા હો તો તમારે ગાંસડા પોટલા બાંધી રવાના થઈ જવું પડશે કારણ અમે તમને રક્ષણ નહિ આપીએ.”

શ્રી. નેહરૂએ કહ્યું કે “એક દેશે પોતાના જ નાગરીકોને આ પ્રમાણે કહેલું એ જરા અસાધારણ નીતી ગણાય. એ નાગરીકો ના હકોને માટે અને તેઓના હકો પર થતા પ્રહારોની સામે લડવા અમે તઈયાર છીએ. પરંતુ એ નાગરીકો જો આફ્રિકાનો વિરુદ્ધ ખાસ હકો માંગશે તો અમે તેઓનો કેસ લડવાના નથી અથવા તેઓને કશું રક્ષણ આપવાના નથી.

આ નીતી સ્વાભવિક રીતે આફ્રિકામાં વસતા અમારા ઘણા વતનીઓને પસંદ નહિ પડે કારણ અત્યાર સુધી તેઓને પોતાને માટે જ હકો માગવાની તેઓને તાલીમ આપવામાં આવી હતી.

યુરોપીયન સેટલરોને પરિસ્થિતિના લાભો ઉઠાવતાં અને ખાસ છૂટો અને જમીનો લેતાં જોઈને હિંદીઓને પણ આફ્રિકાની લુટમાં ભાગ લેવાનું મન થયું. અમે કહ્યું : “નહિ, એમ અમે કરવા નહિ દઈએ.” અત્યાર સુધી એ જ નીતીને અમે અતુસરતા આપ્યા છીએ.”

આફ્રિકામાં હિંદને “શાહીવાદી હેતુઓ” રહેલા હોવાની વાતને તદન ખોટી કરાવતાં વડા પ્રધાને કહ્યું કે, “કેટલાક લોકો એમ માનતા જણાય છે કે આખી પૃથ્વી અને તેમાં રહેલું સઘળું યુરોપથી આવેલા થોડાક સેટલરોને માટે જ અનામત રાખવાનું છે. હુનીયાના અન્ય ભાગોમાં વસતા લોકો એ જાખતમાં જુદો મત ધરાવે છે. અને એ ખાકીની હુનીયા કેવળ યુરોપથી આવેલા આ થોડા લોકોને જ ખ્યાલ નથી કરવાની.”

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- डीभीयागारे (१८ मदान नरनारीओना डुक परीचय) १ •
- सर्जता लुथिया (नवलभाई साद) ज्ञान साये आन'द आपती नवल कथा ७ •
- न'हयायला लुथिया (पुअर अ'दवावर) ७ •
- मानवीनि लुवाड (पनाताल पटल) १४ •
- भाण साहित्य
- गदल अने आडक (रमुल वार्ता) १ •
- डी'ग डेअ जेप सादसथी वरपुन भाण वार्ता ७ •

**मणवानुं डेकाणुं**

**'INDIAN OPINION'**

**P. Bag,**

**Phoenix, Natal.**



# “ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર તા. ૨૧ ઓગસ્ટ, ૧૯૫૩.

## નવાઈની રીત

અવધી લોકોને કામચલાઉ મતાધિકાર આપવાને અને હાલ જે તેઓ ભોગવી રહ્યા છે તે તેઓની પાસેથી છીનવી લેવાને સરકારે ધડેલાં સાઉથ આફ્રીકા એક્ટ એમેન્ડમેન્ટ ખીલપર પાર્લામેન્ટના બંને ગ્રહોની સંયુક્ત બેઠક મંજૂર કરવા બેઠી હતી અને જે આજ માસની તા. ૧૯મી પર મુલતવી રહી હતી તે હવે સપ્ટેમ્બર તા. ૧૬મી પર મુલતવી રહેલી હોવાનું સરકાર તરફથી જાહેર કરવામાં આવ્યું છે. તેનું કારણ સરકાર/ પોતેજ જાણે. ફરમીયાનમાં વડા પ્રધાન ડો. મલાન તેમના કેટલાક અન્ય પ્રધાનો સાથે મળીને રંગવણીઓના અચુક નેતાઓને મળીને રંગવણીઓ પાસે ધલાયદા મતાધિકારનો સિદ્ધાંત સ્વિકારાવવા મહેનત કરી રહ્યા છે. આજ પર્વત તેઓ ખીન-ગોરાઓને લાગુ પડતા અમે તેટલા મહત્વના સંવાલોની રજુઆતો માટે પણ તેઓના કોષ્ટ પણ જવાબદાર નેતાઓને મુલાકાત આપવાની સાફ ના પાડી રહ્યા હતા. પરંતુ હવે રંગવણીઓનાં એક નહિ પરંતુ કેટલાંક ડેપ્યુટીઓને તેમણે મુલાકાતો આપેલી છે અને પોતાની સરકારની એપાર્ટમેન્ટની નીતી તેઓ પાસે સ્વિકારાવવાને કેવી નવાઈની રીત તેમણે શોધી કાઢેલી છે! આ-લોકોની સાથે મસલતો કર્યા બાદ વડા પ્રધાને એક સત્તાવાર નિવેદન બહાર પાડ્યું છે, જેમાં જણાવવામાં આવ્યું છે કે, “અનેક અયોગોપરથી સરકારને એવી સામાન્ય છાપ પડેલી છે કે ધલાયદા મતાધિકાર સામેના રંગવણીઓનો વિરોધ અચુક લોકો અતાવી રહ્યા છે તેટલી હદ સુધીને નથી.” તેમ છતાં કલડ પીપલ્સ નેશનલ યુનીયન તરફથી વડા પ્રધાન સમક્ષ રજુ કરવામાં આવેલાં નિવેદનમાં તે રંગવણીઓ આજે જે મતાધિકાર ભોગવી રહ્યા છે તેમાં જરા પણ દબાવ કરવા સામે સખત વિરોધ દર્શાવવામાં આવ્યો હતો અને એવી ચેતવણી આપવામાં આવી હતી કે, “પાર્લામેન્ટની સંયુક્ત બેઠકમાં સરકાર જે બેતલાયક બહુમતી મેળવવામાં સફળ થશે અને તેમ કરીને રંગવણીઓના મતાધિકારના હકોમાં કાયદેસર ફેરફાર કરશે તે રંગવણીઓ એ ફેરફાર સંતોષની લાગણીથી સ્વિકારશે નહિ અને પોતાના નામીકતના હકો ફરી

મેળવવા પ્રતિજ્ઞા કરશે” કલડ પીપલ્સ નેશનલ યુનીયને પોતાના નિવેદનમાં વધુમાં જણાવ્યું હતું કે, રંગવણીઓના મતાધિકારના સંબંધમાં તે કોષ્ટ પણ જાતની સમાધાની સ્વિકારશે નહિ અને સાઉથ આફ્રીકા એક્ટ એમેન્ડમેન્ટ ખીલમાં કરવામાં આવેલી ફરિયાસોને તે યુનીયનના કાયદામો બંધ કરનારી ગણે છે. વધુમાં તેણે સરકારને દેશની શાંતીને ખોળવાય તેવી સ્થિતિ ઉભી નહિ કરવા વિનંતિ કરી હતી અને જણાવ્યું હતું કે, કલડ પીપલ્સ નેશનલ યુનીયનની એવી દ્વંદ્વ ખાત્રી છે કે રંગવણીઓને જુદા મતપત્ર પર મુકવામાં આવશે તે કૃપમાં રંગવણીઓનો મત કશી વિસાતનો નહિ રહે. એ વિષે તે કશો સંદેહ છેજ નહિ કે સરકારની મુલાકાતો જે અનેક ડેપ્યુટીઓને ગયાં હતાં તેમાંના કોઈને પણ જે લોકોનું તેઓ પ્રતિનિધિત્વ ધરાવવાનો દાવો કરતા હતા તેઓ તરફથી સત્તા મળેલી નહોતી. અને ખીન-ગોરાઓને લાગુ પડતી અમલના સિદ્ધાંતોની બાબતોમાં વ્યક્તિઓએ સરકારને મળવા જવું એ ચોક્કસ મુખાઈજ ગણાય. તેવી વ્યક્તિઓ પોતા સિવાય ખીજ કોઈનું પણ પ્રતિનિધિત્વ નજ ધરાવી શકે. આ પાઠ જે ખાસ કરી રંગવણીઓ અને સામાન્ય રીતે સઘળા ખીન-ગોરા તરફથી આજ સુધીમાં શીખાયા ન હોય તે હવે સરકાર કેવી બાજુ રમી રહી છે એ જોયા બાદ તે શીખાવેજ જોઈએ.

“નેશનલ” જેવા સરકારના ખુશા મતીયાઓ તે સઘળા કેમોમાં જોઈએ તેટલા પડેલાજ છે અને પોતાનો મુદ્દો ખરો કરાવવાને સરકાર જરૂર તેવાઓને એકત્ર કરી શકે. પરંતુ સરકારની વિરુદ્ધમાં પણ તેવું થઈ શકે. અમે હાંમતથી કહી શકીએ છીએ કે ખીન-ગોરાઓ પ્રત્યેની સરકારની હાલની નીતીનો વિરોધ કરનારા, ડો. મલાન અને તેમની સરકાર ધારે તે કરતાં આફ્રીકાનેરોમાંથી ઘણા વધારે લોકો મેળવી શકાય અને સરકાર આજે દાવો કરે છે તે કરતાં તેઓ કદાચ પ્રજામતનું વધારે પ્રતિનિધિત્વ પણ ધરાવતા હોય.

સરકારની કુસંપ કરાવી રાજ્ય કરવાની નીતીથી આપણે ઘણા ચેતતા રહેવાનું છે. આપણે કંઈ ધન હોલતની માગણી નથી કરતા. જેના પર

સમાજ રચનાનો આધાર રહેલો છે તે મહત્વના સિદ્ધાંતનો સવાલ છે. ખીન-ગોરાઓ સામે શું તેઓના વર્ણના આધારે બેદ પાડવામાં આવનાર છે કે પછી કોષ્ટ પણ જાતી, જાતી કે વર્ણને બેદ રાખ્યા સિવાય પ્રત્યેક વ્યક્તિની તેની લાખકાત પરથી કસોટી કરવામાં આવનાર છે? એ મહત્વનો સવાલ આપણી સમક્ષ છે. એવી દલીલ કરવામાં આવે છે કે ગરીબ અજાન માણસ એ વસ્તુ સમજતો નથી. એ તે માત્ર રોટી મેળવવાનું સમજે છે અને તેટલાનીજ તેને ચીંતા હોય છે. એ ખરું છે. અને તે સાથે એ પણ ખરું છે કે જે માણસ યુવામીમાંજ જન્મેલો અને ઉછરેલો છે તેને યુવામીની બદીઓનું જ્ઞાન હોતું નથી. પરંતુ તેથી કંઈ એમ સિદ્ધ નથી થતું કે તેણે કાયમ યુવામીમાંજ સખડ્યા કરવું અને જેઓનામાં વધારે જ્ઞાન હોય તેઓએ તેઓને ખરાં જોડાતું જ્ઞાન આપવું નહિ અને ખરે ખરે માર્ગે દોરવા નહિ. જેઓ તેમ કરતા હોય તે જાને જે “તોફાની યજ્ઞવણીઓ”ની ઉપમા આપવામાં આવી તે ગાં શરમાવાનું કશુંજ કારણ નથી. તેવી યજ્ઞવણ વાજી છે તેટલુંજ નહિ બલકે પ્રત્યેક પુરુષ અને સ્ત્રી તે તેવી યજ્ઞવણ કરવાનો પવિત્ર ધર્મ છે.

ચીક હુલુલી જેવા માણસ, જેમને પોતે સત્ય વસ્તુ કહેતા અને કરતા હતા તેથી સરકારે પદબ્રજ કરવાનું ઉચિત ધારેલું છે, અને એવિધાંને ઇન્સ્ટીટ્યુટના પ્રી-સીપલ મી. ડોનલ્ડ અમ્પીમ્કુલુ જેવા માણસ, જેમને હમણાજ કેરોનેશન ગેલથી નવાજવામાં આવ્યા છે, તે જે દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના કોષ્ટ પણ વિમાનમાં મુસાફરી કરવા જાય તે તેમને અચુત તરીકેનો વર્તવ બતાવવામાં આવે અને એક ત્રણ દમડીની હોસ્ટેસ તેમનું અપાન કરે એ વિચાર કેટલો તિરસ્કાર ઉપજાવનારો છે? આ તે વર્તમાન સ્થિતિનો કેવળ એકજ અગ્રગણ્ય દાખલો અને અહિ ટાંકી એ છીએ. જે કોષ્ટ ગોરા કોષ્ટ પણ જાતી કે વર્ણના માણસ પર યુગ્મરવામાં આવવું આવું અપમાન પોતાનું રહું ફરક્યા વિના જોઈ-શકે તે જે સુધારા નો તે એટલા બધા ગર્વથી દાવો કરે છે એ સુધારાને માટે કોઈને પણ માન નજ રહે. આવી વર્તણુકનો ભોગ થયેલો કોષ્ટ પણ માણસ પોતાની લાગણી દુખાયા વિના તે સહી લઈ શકે તે સુધરેલો કહેવાવાને લાયક નહિ ગણાય.

આજે જે ઘટનાઓ બની રહી છે તે જોતાં તે કોષ્ટ પણ સ્વમાત પ્રિય માણસને માટે જીવન અસલ થઈ પડવા લાગ્યું છે. તેનું અંતિમ પરિણામ એક યા ખીજે માર્ગે બડકો સળગવામાં જ આવી શકે. સાંજળતાં બંધે કંટાળો ઉપજે છતાં પણ ફરી ફરીને અમે

કહીશું કે આ વસ્તુ સ્થિતિને માટે ખરો માર્ગ અહીંસક સત્યાગ્રહનોજ છે. જેનો અર્થ એ થાય છે કે માણસે અનિદને નમવાની સાફ ના પાડવી અને તેના જે કંઈ પણ પરિણામો ભોગવવાં પડે તે સામે પ્રહાર કર્યા વિના શાંતપણે ભોગવી લેવાં. એજ એકમાત્ર રીતમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના તેમજ સમસ્ત દુનીયાના સઘળા ખીડીત લોકોનો ઉદ્ધાર રહ્યો છે. જે શાંતીને માટે દુનીયા જંપી રહી છે તે શાંતીને પણ એજ એક માત્ર ખરો માર્ગ છે. કદાચ આપણા જીવન કાળમાં આપણે એ શાંતી જોવા ન પણ પામીએ. પરંતુ તેને માટે સેવા કરવાનો-એ દિશાએ આપણો નમ્ર જ્ઞાનો આપવાનો આપણે સંતોષ મેળવી શકીશું. આપણે એક વૃક્ષ વાવીએ ત્યારે હમેશાં તેના ફળ ચાખવા ને ભાગ્યશાળી જનતા નથી. પરંતુ ખીજાએ તેના ફળો ભોગવી શકે છે અને વૃક્ષ વાવનારને આશિર્વાદ આપે છે.

## નોંધ

યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સ કમીશન સમક્ષ વધુ જુલાની દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના વર્ણબેદના સવાલ પર ગયે અઠવાડિયાએ જીનીવામાં બેઠેલાં યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સ કમીશન સમક્ષ અપાએલી કેટલીક જુલાનીઓ મયા અંકમાં આપવામાં આવી હતી. ગ્લાસગો યુનીવર્સિટીના આંતર રાષ્ટ્રિય સંબંધપરના લેકચરર મી. જોન હેમ્મે જુલાની આપતાં કહ્યું હતું કે મારી દ્રષ્ટિએ દુનીયાની શાંતીને સામ્યવાદ કે અ-સામ્યવાદના જોખમ કરતાં જે વધારે જોખમ જાતીબેદનું રહેલું છે. લાંબે ગાળે વીસમી સદીના પાછલા અરધા ભાગનો મોટામાં મોટો સવાલ જાતીબેદનો ઉદ્ભવ લાવવાનો છે. દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાવાસીઓને અને યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સની હદની અંદર રહી માન્ય થાય એવો ઉદ્ભવ લાવી શકારો કે કેમ એ સવાલનો મારો જવાબ સાફ “ના” છે. દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાને માન્ય થાય એવો એક ઉદ્ભવ જોઈ નહિ. હાલના સંજોગોમાં જેમાંથી એક બાજુને માન્ય થાય એવો એક ઉદ્ભવ નથી. આજે તે બંને વચ્ચે લડત એવી ચાલી રહી છે કે ઉદ્ભવ જોવામાં આવતોજ નથી. એ લડત હાલ તે શારિરિક કરતાં માનસિક વધારે છે પરંતુ શારિરિક વધારે થઈ પડે એ કહી નહિ શકાય. માત્ર એટલુંજ કહી શકાય કે વધારે સારા બંધિયને માટે ખીજ વાવવાં જોઈએ. હકીકત એ છે કે આપણે એવા લોકોની સાથે કામ લેવાનું છે કે જેઓના હાડમાં જાતીય દેશ પ્રસરી ગયેલો છે. ઉતાવળાં પગલાં લેવાથી આપણે

રિયતિ સુધરી શકવાના નથી. એશક સૌથી પ્રથમ પગલું એપાર્ટિટ્ઝની નીતી ના બદલામાં ખીલું કંઈક શોધી કાઢવા તું છે.

મી. હેન્ડે સુચવ્યું કે આ સવાલનો અભ્યાસ કરવાને યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સનું એક કાયમનું કમીશન સ્થાપવામાં આવવું જોઈએ. તેમણે કહ્યું કે જે લોકો મદદ માંગતા ન હોય તેઓને મદદ કરવી ધણી મુશ્કેલ છે. આફ્રિકા ના અન્ય ભાગોમાં જાતીય સંબંધો વધારે સારા હોય તો દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા તેના પરથી ધણી લાભ શકે.

**એપાર્ટિટ્ઝ બીલને યુનાઇટેડ પાર્ટીના ટેકા**

યુનાઇટેડ પાર્ટીની કોલેસે ગયે અલવારીએ સરકાર તરફથી લાવવામાં

આવેલ રેઝરવેશન ઓફ સેપરેટ એમેનીટીઝ બીલ," જેની રૂએ કાળા ગોરા વચ્ચે અસમાનતાથી બેદ પાડવા માં આવેલો હશે તે પછુ કાયદેસર અણાશે, તેને થોડાક નજવા સુધારા સાથે સ્વિકારવાનો ઠરાવ કર્યો હતો. કોલેસે ઇલાયદી સમવડો પુરી પાડવાનું કામ સરકારી ખાતાઓ, પ્રાંતિક અને સ્થાનિક સરકારો જેવી જવાબદાર સંસ્થાઓના હાથમાં મુકવાને લગતા ખીલમાં સુધારા ધરી કાઢવા એક કમીટી નીમવાનો ઠરાવ કર્યો હતો. યુનાઇટેડ પાર્ટીને લાગે છે કે જુદી જુદી જાતીઓ માટે સમાન સગવડો પુરી પાડવી હમેશાં શક્ય નથી છતાં ખીન-ગોરાઓ માટે ખીલકુલજ સગવડો નહિ હોય તેને માટે કંઈક ઇલાજ લેવો જોઈએ.

**સ્ટ્રાઉસમાં મલાનના ગુણો આવતા જાય છે**

વિરોધ પક્ષના નેતા મી. જે. જી. એન. સ્ટ્રાઉસે ગયે અલવારીએ પાર્લિમેન્ટમાં યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સ પરત્વે સરકારની નીતી વિષે બોલતાં કહ્યું હતું કે ખાસ કરી હું યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સ કમીશન વિષે અને જાતીબેદ સંબંધી દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની આંતરિક રિયતિપર જાહેર માં લેવાઈ રહેલી જુગાનીઓ વગેરે ઉદ્દેશ્ય કરવા ઇચ્છું છું.

કેવી વિચિત્ર રિયતિ છે કે એક આંતરરાષ્ટ્રિય સત્તા આપણા દેશની આંતરિક રિયતિની તપાસ કરવા એક કમીશન નીમે અને તેમાં આપણો કશો અવાજ જ ન હોય?

આ સવાલ અહિ ઉઠાવવાનો મારો ઉદ્દેશ એ છે કે વડા પ્રધાન રિયતિની ચોખ્ખવટ કરે, કે જેથી હાલ કમીશન સમક્ષ જે ચાલી રહ્યું છે તેથી દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના નામને કલંક નહિ લાગે. એ કમીશન વિના હક સ્વપાયું છે અને વિના હક આપણી આંતરિક રિયતિની તપાસ કરવામાં આવી રહી છે. યુનાઇટેડ પાર્ટીને લાગે છે કે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની સરકારને માટે તેમજ તેની પ્રગ્નને માટે એક માન વક્ષણ એજ છે કે એ કમીશન અથવા તેની કશી પછુ પ્રગ્તિ હરિતજ ધરાવતાં નથી એમ વર્ગવું.

પરંતુ એક અમત્યનો સવાલ ઉપરિધત યાય છે તે એ કે જનરેર બેકેટો આને બરાબ રહી છે અને કમીશન તરફથી જુગાનીઓ લેવાઈ રહી છે. એ શોચનીય છે કે વડા પ્રધાને એ જાખન માં ચોખ્ખવટ કરનારું કામ નિવેદન કરેલું નથી.

આની જાખનોમાં સમયની અમત્ય ધણી છે, અને મને લાગે છે કે, કમીશન બેકેટો તેમજ વખને સરકારે નીવેદન કરવું જોઈતું હતું, કે જેથી એ જાખન

માં કશી ગેરસમજાતી ધવા નહિ પામે.

મને લાગે છે કે કમીશનને પરદેશ માં આપણા ડેટલાક દુરમનો ઇચ્છતા હતા તેટલી સહાનુશુતી મળતી જણાતી નથી. તેની સમક્ષ આવેલા સાક્ષીઓએ બહુ સારી ડાપ પાડી નથી. પરંતુ જોખમ એ રહ્યું છે કે એ જુગાનીઓ એક તરફ ધરો અને તેથી દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાને હાની પહોંચવા સંભવ રહે છે.

મી. સ્ટ્રાઉસે કહ્યું કે એ ખરું છે કે સરકારને માટે જે કે ઉપરોક્ત એકજ માર્ગ હતો છતાં સાહય આફ્રિકન જુગાનીઓ દેશીયલ એફેસ અને ઇન્ડીટીયુટ એફ રેસ રીવિશન્સ જેવી ખાનગી સંસ્થાઓએ જે સરકારને ખાંખા વિના જુગાનીઓ આપેલી હોત તો કીક માત કે નહિ એ વિષે વડા પ્રધાને પોતાના વિચારો જણાવ્યા હોત તો સારું હતું.

હાલની સરકારની પરદેશ નીતી વિષે એક વસ્તુ મને સારી લાગી છે કે એ જાખનોમાં તે આગલી સરકારને પમસે ચાલી રહી છે. જનરલ સ્મટ્સે યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સને દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની ખાનગી જાખનોમાં માયુ મારતી અથવા તો તેમ કરવાને ખીન દોડાણા દેશો તરફથી યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સનો લાભ ઉઠાવતો અટકાવવાને પોતાનું ખનતું ક્યું હતું.

**વડા પ્રધાનનો જવાબ**

વડા પ્રધાન ડો. મલાને જવાબ આપતાં જણાવ્યું કે હું ધણો ખુશી છું કે વિરોધ પક્ષના નેતા મી. સ્ટ્રાઉસે એ સ્પષ્ટ ક્યું છે કે તે અને તેની પાર્ટી પછુ યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સ કમીશન આપણા દેશની ખાનગી જાખનોમાં વિનાહક ઇખલગીરી કરનારું

એમ માને છે. સરકારની એ સંબંધમાં વલણ એ છે કે કમીશનની એ વર્તણુક ઠાઇ પછુ સંજોગોમાં સહન કરી નહિ શકાય તેવી છે. આ કારણથી સરકારે કમીશનની બેઠકોની અવગણના કરી હતી. સરકાર તેની સમક્ષ જુગાની આપવાની નથી કારણ તેમ કરવાની દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની ખાનગી જાખનોમાં તેની ઇખલગીરીને આડકતરી રીતે સંમતિ આપવા જેવું થાય.

કમીશન નીમવામાં યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સ તું પગલું અજાનતાબરેલું છે એટલુંજ નથી. એટલુંજ હોત તો તેનો ઇલાજ કરી શકાત. પરંતુ મોટે ભાગે તેની પાછળ ઝેર રહેલું છે.

પુછવામાં આવેલું છે કે સરકાર ખીનજાનો જુગાની આપવાનું ઉત્તેજન કેટલે દરજ્જે આપવા તઇયાર છે. તેમ કરવાથી કશો લાભ નહિ યાય. સરકાર જે તેને ઉત્તેજન આપે તો તેનો અર્થ એજ થાય કે સરકાર જે જાતે કરવા નથી માંગતી તે ખીનજાનો કરવાના માંગે છે. સરકાર કોઇને પછુ ઉત્તેજન આપવા માંગતી નથી. કોઇ પછુ કમીશન પાસે ન જાય એમ ઇચ્છે છે.

વડા પ્રધાને કહ્યું કે યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સનો મુખ્ય ઉદ્દેશ જુનીયાની શાંતી જાળવવાનો છે. પરંતુ કોરીયાની લગાઇ એ તેની નખજાઇ સિદ્ધ કરેલી છે. કોરીયામાં સરકાર ચોક્કલાની તેની મામજીને માત્ર સોળ દેશોએ પ્રત્યુત્તર પાળ્યો હતો જ્યારે બીસ દેશોએ તેની અવગણના કરી હતી. તેમાંના કેટલાક તો સરહદપરના જાળવાન દેશો હતા. દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાએ તેની હાકલ નો પ્રત્યુત્તર વાળ્યો હતો અને આને યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સના એજ દેશો દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાને ગાળો આપી રહ્યા છે.

હું બારપુર્વક જણાવવા માયું છું કે યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સ ડોમનવેલ્થનો પાયો હલાવી નાખવા માંગે છે અને તેની હરિતને સૌથી વધારે જોખમરૂપ તે પોતેજ છે.

હોદ્દી ડોમનવેલ્થના વડા પ્રધાને ની ડોમનવેલ્થમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા સામે કશો આરોપો મુકી નહિ શકાયા તેથી તેણે તેને પડતી મુકી અને યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સ પાસે યુનીયનની આંતરિક જાખનોમાં ઇખલગીરી કરાવવા મુકું. આ રીતે હોદ્દ યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સ પાસે તેની સત્તાની બહાર જઇને એક સભ્ય દેશની સામે પ્રહાર કરાવી રહ્યું છે.

એટલેજ હું કહું છું કે યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સ ડોમનવેલ્થનો પાયો હલાવી રહી છે અને તેની પોતાની હરિતને તે જોખમરૂપ છે.

આ સવાલનો ઉદ્દેશ એકજ છે અને તે એ કે ડોમનવેલ્થના સભ્યોએ એકજ યજ યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સને પોતાના ખરીતાની હદમાં પાછી ધકેલી દેવી.

ઉત્તરના પડોશી રાજ્યો સાથેના યુનીયનનાં સંબંધ વિષે બોલતાં વડા પ્રધાને કહ્યું કે પડોશી તરીકેનો ધર્મ આ સરકાર આગલી સરકારના જેટલો જ પાળતી આવેલી છે.

સમસ્ત આફ્રિકાના સંબંધમાં એ ખીલકુલ સ્પષ્ટ છે કે યુનીયનના લાભો આફ્રિકાના અન્ય ભાગોમાં ખની રહેલા બનાવો સાથે સંકળાએલા છે. અસુક નેટીવ રાજ્યો એવું માનવા લાગ્યા છે કે તેઓ હવે પરદેશી તંત્ર નીચે રહેવા નથી માંગતા પરંતુ સંપુર્ણપણે સ્વતંત્ર ધવા માંગે છે.

આની પાછળ બહારથી ઇખલ થયેલા રાષ્ટ્રવાદની અસર રહેલી છે. તેમાંની કેટલીક સામ્પવાદી પ્રવૃત્તિઓ વડે પરિણમેલી છે. અને સામ્પવા નો હેતુ પછાત લોકો જોખો હજી સ્વતંત્ર બનવાને ઇલાજો નથી તેના ઓને ઉચ્કરવાનો છે.

ખીજી તરફથી ગોલ્ડ કોસ્ટને આમલી ક્ષીટીય સરકારે સંપુર્ણ સ્વતંત્રતા અને ખીન શરતી મતાધિકાર આપીને એક કમનસીબ અખતરો કરેલો છે.

**NATHOO TABHA**  
 TIMBER & HARDWARE MERCHANT  
 & DIRECT IMPORTER

Door, Windows, Corrugated Iron, Cement, Monarch, Iron Duke, Buffalo, and Elephant brands paint or any other building material at reasonable price.

Established 1907, NATHOO TABHA,  
 107 Queen Street, Phone 24647.  
 Telegraph "Mani," DURBAN.



અને મી. ડી. એમ. નાયકર હાલર થયા હતા. અને નાટાલ ઇન્ડિઅન એસોસિએશન તરફથી ગ્રેસર્સ પી આર. પથર અને એ. એમ. સુલ્લા સાથે મી ગોલ્ડબર્ગ હાલર થયા હતા. નાટાલ ઇન્ડિઅન એસોસિએશનને હોંદીઓને માટે રીનર સાઇડ, પ્રોપેક્ટ

હોલ, પ્રોપેનર, મેનીલ, રીડનમ અને જેકબ્સના લતાને અચુક ભાગ અને રોસપરો, સીબ્યુ. ખીલેર અને હીલરી ની ખીલોના ભાગને માટે જી. એરીયા એ પાડવાની જુદી દરખાસ્તો રજૂ કરી હતી.

છે પરંતુ તજેલા ખોરાકને દેડો થવા દેવામાં આવતાં તે વળી વધારે ખરાબ થાય છે. તજેલો ખોરાક પચાવવાને હોલરી ઉપર મોટા ભોળે પડે છે. પરંતુ ખાસ અગત્યની વસ્તુ એ છે કે સખત તાપે રાંધવામાં આવેલી સધળી વસ્તુઓના સધળાં અથવા મોટા ભાગ ના અગત્યના યુલો નાશ પામે છે. ધણીજ નરમ તાપે ખોરાક ખનતા સુધી વરાળથી રાંધવો જોઈએ. તેમાં પાણી ખીલકુલ નહિ અથવા તો નામતું નાખવું જોઈએ, કે જેથી તેની અંદર નોજ રસ તેમાં પચી જાય અને તેની અંદરના સધળા અગત્યના યુલો ટકી રહે.

જોઈએ. તેના ધણી કારણો છે. ધણી ખરાં શાકો મંદી માટીમાં અથવા મંદી જમીનની બાજુમાં ઉગેલાં હોય છે. એથી રોગોના જંતુઓ તેને લાગેલાં હોવાનો સંભવ રહે છે. અને તેને ખનરમાં લઈ જવામાં આવે છે ત્યારે તેને ધણી મોકાનો સ્પર્શ થાય છે અને ધણીતા હાયને એથી રોગોના જંતુઓ લાગેલા હોવાનો સંભવ રહે છે. ખનરમાં વેચવાને ઉઘાડાં પડેલાં હોય ત્યારે શાકભાજી અને ફળોપર માખી ઓ મેસલી હોય છે જે તેનાપર જંતુ ઓ કે મંદકી સુકી જવાનો સંભવ રહે છે.

**આરોગ્યતા વિષે**

કાચું ખાઓ

ખોરાક જેટલો તેના કુદરતી સ્વરૂપ માં હોય તેટલો તે જીવન ટકાવી રાખનારો છે. રાંધવાથી તેની અંદર ના અગત્યના યુલો, જેવા કે, વાઇટા-મીન્સ અને ધાતુઓના ક્ષાર નષ્ટ પામે છે. દાખલા તરીકે એની શોષ થઈ છે કે, એક રતલ રાંધેલી મેખીમાં કાચી મેખી કરતાં અરધાં વાઇટામીન્સ હોય છે. ખોરાકને તેના કુદરતી સ્વરૂપમાં વાપરવાના અનેક ફાયદા છે. શાક ને સાફ કરવા, સમારવામાં જેટલો વખન અને શક્તિ અરખાદ થાય છે? વળી તેને પકાવવાને જેટલા કલાક સુધાની પાસે રહેવું પડે છે અને ઉધન ખરીદવામાં નકામા પૈસા નાખવામાં આવે છે, જેનો ખીલ અગત્યની વસ્તુ ઓ ખરીદવામાં સદુપયોગ કરી શકાય પરંતુ એ રાકની પડી ગયેલી ટેવો

જલદી સુધારી શકાતી નથી અને આખી વસતીને ઐકરાતમાં રાંધેલું ખાતાં અટકાવી શકવાની આશા રાખવી નિરર્થક છે. તેમ છતાં બે દિશાએ તેની શરૂઆત કરી શકાય. જે વસ્તુ રાંધવાથી વધારે નુકસાન થતું હોય તેવી વસ્તુઓ રાંધવી ધીમે ધીમે છોડી શકાય અને જે શાકો કાચાં ખાઈ શકાતાં હોય તેનું પ્રમાણ ધીમે ધીમે વધારી શકાય. તજેલો ખોરાક માનવ શરીરને વધારે હાનીકારક છે તે વધારે સ્વાદિષ્ટ હોવાથી ધણી લોકોને બહુ પ્રિય હોય છે. તજેલો ખોરાક સ્વાદિષ્ટ બનાવવાને તે સખત તાપે રાંધવો પડે છે. તેમાંથી તે ધગધગતાં તેલ કે ઘીના લેપની સાથે બદાર આવે છે. એ લેપન પાચનને માટે પુરો ખરાબ

ખાનર અને મેખી, ખીટર અને યુળો, કાકડી અને એપ્લસ, પીચીસ અને એપ્રીકોટસ તેની ઊલ સાથેજ ખાઈ શકાય. શાક કાચાં ખાવાનું ખીલું કારણ એ છે કે કુદરતી રીતેજ તેને ખોરાકર આવવાં પડે જેથી ઘંતને કસરત મળે અને મજબુત અને તંદુરસ્ત રહે. ખુબ ચવાયા પછી તે પચાવવાં પશુ સહેલાં પડે છે. પરંતુ કાચાં શાક ખાવા પડેલાં તેને પાણી વડે ખોરાકર ઘોળને સાફ કરવામાં આવવાં જોઈએ. એથી રોગોના ઉપદ્રવ વખતે તેને પરમેન્ટ એક પોટાશ વડે ઘોવાં

**નવાં પુસ્તકો**

ગાંધી સાહીત્ય

દિલ્લી ડાયરી	૧૦
કીશોરલાલ મશરૂવાળા કૃત	
સંસાર ધર્મ	૬
ગીતા મંથન	૭
જીવન શોધન	૮
લખ ગીતો	૪
પુણ્ય પરવાયુ' નથી	૫
મળવાનું ઠેકાણું આ ઓરીસ	
'Indian Opinion'	
Private Bag,	
Phoenix, Natal.	



ફોન: ૨૪૮૪૫.

**ઓસરી ક્યાંથી ખરીદશો ?**

જો આપ સ્વસ્થ અને બરોસાપાત્ર ઓસરી મેળવવાને ઈન્ટર હો. તો અમારા ઉપર લખવા ચુકશો નહિ. હવે બનતી અરો, ચોકજો માલ, કિકાયત ભાવે મોકલાવશું.

**“આહકોને સંતોષ આપવો” એ હમારો મુદ્રાલેખ છે.**

એક વખતનો દાયલ એરડર, આપનો વિશ્વાસ સંપાદન કરવાને અચુક ફળીભુત થશે કન્ડીના જોરડરો ઉપર સન્વિશેષ, કાળજીપુર્વકનું ધ્યાન આપવામાં આવે છે.

માંધીવડુ, કડોળ, ઘર-ગથ્યુ દવાઓ, લવન-પુળની સામગ્રીઓ. સાડી-લુગડા, લગ્નની પ્રત્યેક જરૂરીયાત.

કન્ડીના જોરડરો સી. ઓ. ડી.થી મોકલાવવામાં આવશે.



તરફથી મંડળના કાર્યને હેવાલ રજુ થયો હતો અને ખળનગીએ સંરથાનો આવક ભવકનો હિસાબ રજુ કર્યો હતો. પ્રકાશન વિભાગ તરફથી 'યુવક' સામયિકનો તેમજ દિવસ (સીનેમાં) સમિતિ તરફથી હેવાલ રજુ થયા હતા. ત્રણે હિસાબ અને હેવાલો સવોનુ-મતે પાસ થયા હતા. મંડળની જુદી જુદી પ્રતિઓ દ્વારા મંડળે ઘણી પ્રતિ સાધી છે તે માટે પ્રમુખશ્રી અને અન્ય સભ્યો તરફથી દરેક વિભાગ ના કાર્યકરોને અભિનંદન પાઠવવામાં આવ્યા હતા.

તે પછી નવા કાર્યવાહકોની નીચે પ્રમાણે ચૂંટણી થઈ હતી. પ્રમુખ: મણીલાલ રજુછોડણ; ઉપ-પ્રમુખ: શ્રીજીલાલ જીવજીજી, મંત્રી: હરકીશન દુલ્લભભાઈ; ખળનગી: જગજીવનકાસ નરોત્તમભાઈ; ઓડીટર: ઘેલુભાઈ રજુછોડણ; કમીટી સભ્યો: છોટુભાઈ ડાહ્યાભાઈ અને ઉત્તમલાલ રજુછોડણ; પ્રકાશન વિભાગ કમીટી: મણીલાલ રજુછોડણ. (સંપાદક) આલુભાઈ એફ. પટેલ, મોહનલાલ બલસારા, છોટુભાઈ ડાહ્યાભાઈ, ઉત્તમલાલ રજુછોડણ અને નગીનભાઈ બાજુભાઈ.

શીક્ષ કમીટી (સીનેમાં): છોટુભાઈ ડાહ્યાભાઈ, રમણલાલ બાજુભાઈ, હરકીશન દુલ્લભભાઈ, રમણલાલ દુલ્લભભાઈ, આલુભાઈ એફ. પટેલ, ઉત્તમલાલ રજુછોડણ. આદ્ય રાષ્ટ્રગીતથી સમા વિસંજન થઈ હતી.

**પિતૃભક્તિનું પ્રમાણ**

એ શ્રીમંત શેઠના મૃત્યુ પછી તેનું વીલ વાંચવામાં આવ્યું તો તેમાં લખ્યું હતું કે "મારા માર પુત્રોમાંથી માત્ર ત્રણ જ મારી મિલકતના વારસ ધાપ." પછ્ય એ ત્રણેનાં નામ તેમાં નહોતાં, અને ચોથાનું નામ પણ નહિ લખેલું જેથી તેને વારસાનો હક નહિ મળે તે કેમ જણાય એ સુંઝવણ થઈ પડી. આરે પુત્રો એનો ન્યાય કરાવવા બોજરાજના દરબારમાં ગયા અને વીલ ખતાવી. વાત રજુ કરી આપવા અરજ કરી.

રાજા પણ તેમની વાત સાંભળી મુંઝાપો. આ ઝણગનો ચોગમ ન્યાય કરી આપવા તેમણે કવિ કાલિદાસની નિમણૂક કરી.

કાલિદાસે કહ્યું "મને એ શેઠની કંઈ યાદ નથી માટે એની છબી એ મને કાઠી આપો તો ન્યાય ધાપ."

શેઠના પુત્રોએ છબી કાઠી આપી એટલે તે કણને કાલિદાસ એક આજી ના ખંડમાં જઈ એકા અને વારાફરતી એક એક પુત્રને ત્યાં બોલાવ્યા પછી દરેકને કહ્યું કે "એ જાણ! આ છબી તારા પિતાનીજ છે એની મને ખાતરી નથી. માટે એ સાચે સાચ જ એ

છબી તારા પિતાની હોય તો એના ઉપર તું યુક નોંધાવે!" ત્રણ પુત્રોએ તો પોતાપોતાના વારામાં કહ્યું "કવિરાજ આ છબી તો મારા પિતાની જ છે પણ તમે કહો છો તેમ અમારાથી એની ઉપર યુકવાનું પાપ તો કદી પણ ધાપ નહિ."

ચોથા પુત્રનો વારો આવ્યો ત્યારે કાલિદાસે તેને પણ તે છબી ઉપર યુકવા કહ્યું. એટલે તેણે તરતજ જવાબ આવ્યો "એકો! એમાં યુ? લો આ એકવાર નહીં પણ તમે કહો એટલી વાર યુ યુ યુ."

કાલિદાસ તે પછી છબી તથા તે પુત્ર સાથે ખંડની બહાર દરબારમાં આવ્યા અને આખી વાત બોજરાજને કહી સંભળાવી તે ન્યાય પણ આપ્યો કે "મરનાર શેઠનો વિચાર આ ચોથા ડાંડ છોકરાને પોતાના વારસામાંથી ખાતલ કરવાનો હતો એ સ્પષ્ટ ધાપ છે. માટે એના સિવાય ના આ ત્રણે પુત્રોને મિલકત વહેંચી આપવી."

( 'હિતેચ્છુ' રજત ન્યતિ અથમાંથી )

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**'ઇન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન'ના એજન્ટો**

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ફોન નંબર : ૨-૫૫૪૮

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કવેલીકાષઠ યુકકીપર, સોફ્ટરી, એજન્ટ.

દરેક જાતના એકાઉન્ટો તથા વાર કરી આપીશું.

ચોપડા લખી આપીશું.

સ્ટેટમેન્ટ એક એકેસ, મેલ-સશીટ, ઇન્કમ ટેક્સરીટન વિગેરે તથા વાર કરી આપીશું.

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શનિ	૨૨	" ૧૩	૧૧	૨૫	૬-૨૩	૫-૩૬
રવિ	૨૩	" ૧૪	૧૨	૨૬	૬-૨૨	૫-૩૭
સોમ	૨૪	" ૧૫	૧૩	૨૭	૬-૨૧	૫-૩૮
મંગળ	૨૫	વદ ૧	૧૪	૨૮	૬-૨૦	૫-૩૯
બુધ	૨૬	" ૨	૧૫	૨૯	૬-૧૯	૫-૪૦
ગુરુ	૨૭	" ૩	૧૬	૩૦	૬-૧૮	૫-૪૧
શુક્ર	૨૮	" ૪	૧૭	૧	૬-૧૭	૫-૪૨
શનિ	૨૯	" ૫	૧૮	૨	૬-૧૬	૫-૪૩
રવિ	૩૦	" ૬	૧૯	૩	૬-૧૫	૫-૪૪
સોમ	૩૧	" ૭	૨૦	૪	૬-૧૪	૫-૪૫
મંગળ	૧	" ૮	૨૧	૫	૬-૧૩	૫-૪૬
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## તાજુ ઉમદા ફ્રુટ

દરબનનું આફુ ૧/૬ રતલ; મોટી કલીનું લસણુ ૧/૩ રતલ; મોળ ખાસ ક્રોટ ૧૦/૬ ડઝન; લાખી અને રકવેર ખાસકોટા ૧૬/૦ ડઝન; કપુરી તથા સેવલી પાન શી. ૫ રતલ; પોરટેજ અલગ.....ખનાના, કાચા ખનાના, મોપો, પાષનાપલ, નાચીસ અને મેન્ડરીન રોજના બબર ભાવથી મળશે. દેશી શાકભાજીમાં સુરતી સફેદ પાપડી, કાળા પાપડી, તુવેર સોંગ, વેગથુ, શેકટાની સોંગ, કુધી અને લીલાં મરચાં મળશે. શી. ૭-૬ થી શી. ૧૦ નું પારસલ ખનાવી પોરટથી મોકલીએ છીએ. સુરથુ, આંખા હળદ તથા લીલી હળદની મોસમ આજુ યજ છે.

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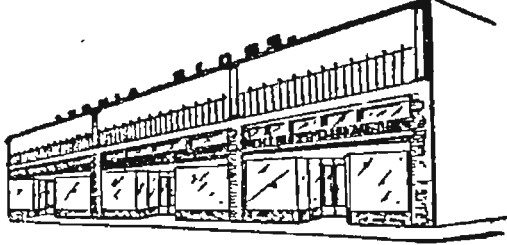
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