

# INDIAN OPINION

Founded by  
MAHATMA GANDHI  
IN 1903

No 25—Vol. XLIX.

FRIDAY 22ND JUNE, 1951.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a News paper.  
PRICE: SIX PENCE



## REAL PEACE

“If we are to reach real peace in this world and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with children, and if they will grow up in their natural innocence, we won't have to struggle, we won't have to pass fruitless idle resolutions, but we shall go from love to love and peace to peace, until at last all the corners of the world are covered with that peace and love for which, consciously or unconsciously; the whole world is hungering.”

—Gandhiji.

## ખરી શાંતી

“આ જગતમાં આપણે જે ખરેખર શાંતી તા હોઈએ અને ખરેખર યુદ્ધની સામે કરવા માંગતા હોઈએ તો આપણે બાળકોથી શરૂઆત કરવી પડશે, અને જે તેઓ પોત ની કુદરતી નિર્દોષતામાં ઉછરશે તો આપણે અઘડવું નહિ પડે, નિરર્થક ડરાવો પસાર કરવા નહિ પડે, પરંતુ ઉત્તરોત્તર પ્રેમ અને શાંતીમાં વૃદ્ધિ થતી જશે અને છેવટે જે શાંતી અને પ્રેમને માટે આપું જગત બધું અબાણું અંખી રહ્યું છે તે જગતના પુણે પુણ્યામાં પ્રસરી જશે.”

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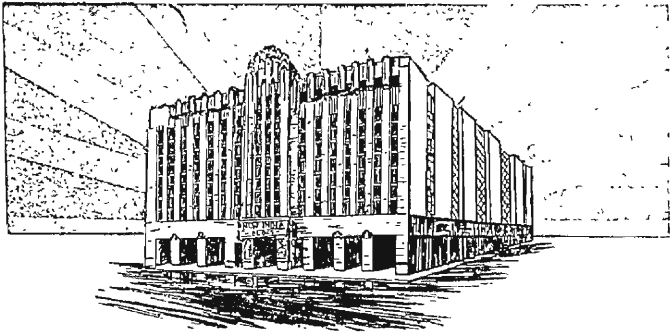
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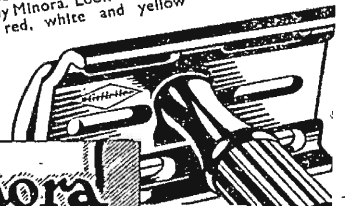
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## Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 22ND JUNE, 1951

### Proposed Federation Of Central Africa

WHILE the Union is still dreaming of a United States of Africa the proposal of a Central African Federation, which is at present being widely discussed, will come to it somewhat as a shock. It would not be wrong to attribute this move to the reactionary policy of the present Government, which is causing great concern not only to the non-Europeans as a whole but also to the English people. Though, of course, there are some among the latter, too, who are as reactionary as the extreme Nationalists. Unity is strength, no doubt, and, on that score, no one can view the proposal with disfavour. But it all depends upon the motive behind that unity. If there is any ill-motive behind it such unity will not last long. If it is pure no one can break it. In so far as the non-Europeans are concerned they have yet no power of influence in any of the British Colonies. Though they are in a comparatively very small minority the balance of power is held by the White settlers. And the policy, generally speaking, has been to keep the non-white people suppressed for the purpose of exploitation. The days are passed when the latter will tolerate being suppressed any longer. They are fast awakening to their consciousness and are becoming assertive of their just rights as self-respecting human-beings. It should be self-evident that no human power on earth can stop the course of nature. The sooner that is realised the better it will be for humanity.

South Africa, we are sorry to have to say, is adopting a suicidal policy. That policy will cause much misery to a vast multitude of humanity but the end will be an unhappy one for the perpetrators of injustice. Dr. Malan's Government is talking of estab-

lishing a republic in South Africa. It is at the same time clamouring for the Protectorates to be incorporated with the Union. The wishes of the Africans, who are most concerned, are not taken into consideration. Viewing the Government's policy in regard to the non-Europeans generally within the borders of the Union, no outsiders would feel like being part of the Union. But Dr. Malan's Government is no respecter of the feelings of the non-Europeans. It is now seeking submission by the non-Europeans in the Protectorates at the point of the pistol. In the interests of humanity it is to be sincerely hoped the British Government will not yield.

The policy of the White settlers in East Africa is none too good, as will be seen from the report of the conference in Nairobi of the European Electors Union. Their hostility towards the Indians in particular and the Asiatics in general is apparent. But that is only to set the Africans against the Indians, just as is being done in South Africa. Such sinister game will not pay in the end. It is a game only to divide and rule and the people concerned are bound to see through it sooner or later.

These are not irrelevant issues to the question under discussion—the Federation of Central Africa. We believe they are very relevant. For, if any such move is motivated by a fear complex to consolidate the Europeans against the non-Europeans we think it is too late in the day to succeed. It is fallacious to believe that Asia or India has an eye on Africa. In the case of India we can say this without fear of any contradiction whatsoever. It can perhaps be said with a certain amount of truth that Russia has an eye on the whole world and she is fast spreading her influence

in a most sinister manner. She is succeeding because of the sins of the ruling powers in those places where her influence has spread. What the non-Europeans are seeking is not power but democratic rights and human freedom for which the last two wars were supposed to have been fought. If the European race and European civilisation is

to survive, the remedy is not in seeking to consolidate the Europeans against the non-Europeans but to treat all human-beings within their respective borders with justice and equity and win their goodwill. If that is the idea behind the proposed Federation of Central Africa it will deserve to be blessed. If not it is doomed to failure.

### THE ONLY RIGHT APPROACH

(L. W. Ritch)

"And the greatest of these is Charity."

THEREFORE let none underestimate the importance in human relationships of Charity. At the same time, in order to appreciate why Charity is accounted first of the Three Graces, it is necessary to understand the real meaning of Charity rather better than, generally, it is understood.

The meaning usually given to Charity is help, assistance, to the needy.

Prompted or impelled by pity or sympathy, the helper seeks to relieve the sufferer by wholly or partially removing the cause of his distress. Common examples are feeding the hungry; clothing the naked; sheltering the homeless; educating the ignorant. All of which, it is generally agreed, are virtues and creditable things to do, as indeed, are all kindly thoughts and deeds inspired by the spirit of altruism.

Valuable however as these and like forms of Charity unquestionably are in existing circumstances, we need to recognise that they all, perhaps with the exception of the last mentioned, are but palliatives. They ease the symptoms, but do not strike at the root of the trouble.

Indeed, so far from being cures, they are often advanced in extenuation of existing conditions and to support the view that they are unavoidable.

The miseries that afflict mankind are too obvious and intimate

to be ignored but have come to be regarded as inevitable. Consequently, what can't be cured, we are told must be endured.

*An admirable philosophy of life to adopt, were it not that it is based upon an entirely false assumption that the root of the evil is too deep-seated to be reached and eradicated.*

Of course, if the plea of incurability really were well founded, Charity, as generally understood, would, as "the next best thing," fully deserve the predominant position popularly accorded to it.

Unquestionably, to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, or house the homeless are admirable and meritorious acts, their merit consisting largely, if not entirely, in the love, the sympathy and compassion that are presumed to inspire them. Nevertheless, for all practical purposes they are but palliatives. "The poor and the suffering ye have always with you." Must this really be? Is there positively no way of attacking this evil at its root?

Now, the chief obstacle confronting this altruist who believes in the possibility of establishing on earth something more nearly approximating to the Kingdom of Heaven than does this present jungle rule of ours, is the completely false notion that to approach the problem from the religious or philosophical angle or point of view is to abandon the practical and indulge in the hopelessly impracticable and visionary.

The truth is, of course that the world is really ruled by ideas. And, ideas are basically sound or unsound. In the one case the result is harmony, in the other discord, strife, disruption.

Can it be seriously questioned that the prevailing strifes—"cold" as well as "hot"—and near-chaos, their inevitable consequences, are largely, if not wholly due to nations and individuals having imported jungle ethic into human relationships? To a failure to appreciate that while the law regarding the survival of the fittest is universally true, the way mankind must take to ensure its survival is exactly the opposite to that by which the beasts of the jungle endeavour to ensure theirs? The difference is as great and radical as that between 'prey' and 'prey.'

Jungle law is, to the strong and cunning the victory; to the victor the spoils. A natural and legitimate law for survival in the brute Kingdom, but inadequate in the human.

This is so because in the human being virtues such as pity, compassion, self-denial, self-sacrifice, devotion to truth and justice have to be evolved or developed.

The human being has to rise superior to the jungle law of "Each for himself," to renounce and transcend his animal pro-

pensities; to order his life by an altogether higher ethic.

He has to realise that for Man and Mankind the Law of Survival is not to live on each other but for each other; not to prey on each other but to serve each other. He is called upon to regulate his life and conduct by an entirely higher standard.

Mankind truly progresses only as it advances in this direction; in making self-denial, service and sacrifice the law of life.

To the understanding, it is perfectly, obvious that the satisfactions the life of selfishness brings are delusive; cheats.

The problem is thus seen to be a psychological one; a matter of right approach or wrong approach.

And, this is as true of local as of world-wide problems; as true of the problem confronting the Indian community of South Africa as it is of the problems confronting U.N.O.

Reduced to its simplest terms it is the old conflict between Principle and interest. There should, of course, be no such conflict. Mankind's real interests are best served by religious recognition and adherence to Principle.

Principle must be valued more than possessions. There is no other solution; no other way out.

## WORLD ASSEMBLY FOR MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

1,200 people from 32 countries, including representatives of thirteen parliaments, attended a World Assembly for "the Moral Re-Armament of the Nations," which concluded in Mackinac Island, Michigan, on June 13. Ten special planes from abroad and from within the United States brought many of the delegates.

At the closing session, Herr Otto Sperling, a Berlin editor, said that the world behind the Iron Curtain was not so strong as it looked. "Their real strength," he said, "is the weakness of the Western democracies."

Sperling, who edits 'Das Frei Wort,' declared the news of the Mackinac Assembly is already crossing the Iron Curtain. "Moral Re-Armament will be a headache to the Kremlin," he said. He thanked the United States for not leaving the people of Berlin helpless in the worst days of the blockade. Then he called on the delegates to launch an ideological offensive against the East Berlin rally of two million youth planned for next August. "These days," he said, may be the last days of a dying civilisation, or the first days of a new one."

Among the national leaders from many countries who cabled

support to the Assembly were the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Godfrey Huggins, and the Hon. J. F. T. Naude, South African Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, who stated that Moral Re-Armament is "ensuring the aims of the democracies."

## Coloured Voters Bill Assented

The Separate Representation of Voters Bill was signed by the Governor-General, the Hon. E. G. Jansen, on Friday last week. He signed the English copy. On June 6 the Cape Provincial Council forwarded to him a petition asking him to refuse assent to the Bill. On promulgation of the Act, the Government will be able to proceed with the establishment of a sub-department of Coloured Affairs, of which the chairman, Dr. I. D. du Plessis, has already been appointed. While the Government can proceed to place the Coloured voters on a separate roll, they will not appoint a commission for the delimitation of the Cape into four Coloured constituencies until the validity of the Act has been tested in the Appeal Court. The United Party have undertaken to have the Act tested.

## DEAN PALMER LEAVES JOHANNESBURG



The Very Rev. Dean Palmer

AFTER 26 years as Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev. Dean William A. Palmer will leave for Cape Town this month to work in the diocese of that city in August. In a letter to the Parishioner, the Dean Palmer writes that he leaves St. Mary's and Johannesburg with deep regret, brightened with wonderful memories. A good deal has been accomplished by the joint efforts of all, but there was no drudgery. "Love and gratitude go out to you all," he adds. "For myself, I shall take away with me the thoughts of your wonderful understanding, your loyalty, your co-operation, your forgiveness, and when I think of St. Mary's in the days to come, I do not think it will be irreverent to link up those memories with the words of Our Lord, 'And your joy no man taketh from you.'"

Preaching in St. Mary's Cathedral Johannesburg at a Special St. George's Day Service, the Dean said:

"Not for years, have I known, such a gloom over a town like this, when we think of this session, in Parliament.

There has ceased to be a simple political problem. There is now a moral issue in the presence of a decadent re-action.

In many of the speeches there is nothing new. Their spirit is that of Germany fifty years ago.

It is the discredited doctrine of power, divorced from a sense of moral responsibility.

This is the doctrine which today is causing so much suffering in the world, and threatening European civilization with ruin.

So the solemn constitution of a country is looked upon as the mere pacific agreement of a penning moment; or a mere Will O' the Wisp that no one is obliged to follow.

The mentality of the "Scrap of paper is back again."

Nietzele was honest. He did not think of a special brand of Christianity to suit his own political purpose. Christianity did not suit this purpose, so he dismissed it as "the accumulated rubbish of the centuries."

## NOTES

## Cape University Students Support Non-Segregation

A MEETING of students of Capetown University last week decided by 572 votes to 456 to maintain academic "non-segregation." The motion proposed by the chairman of the S.R.C.; Mr. Z. de Beer, said the students of the Capetown University affirmed their belief in and support of their existing system, which put into practice "a practical and far seeing liberalistic tendency." The motion said that the students would strongly support the principle of "academic non-segregation," which they considered permanent and desirable. The students would do everything in their power to oppose any attempt from within or without the university to disturb the status quo.

How we wish the same would be the case in all the South African universities. Natal is unfortunately very backward in this respect and one cannot understand why it cannot follow the good example set by the Witwatersrand and the Capetown Universities.

## Cabinet Ministers' Utterances Abroad

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr. le Roux, on his arrival last week at Melbourne, to attend the Australian Jubilee celebrations, said:

Dr. Malan's Government was determined to lead South Africa out of the British Commonwealth and create a wholly independent republic "at the opportune time." He said the Government did not contemplate an immediate break-away, as current world problems made such a move impracticable. "The final decision on secession will be made by the people. If the people wish to have the Union of South Africa as a republic, it will be so," he said. The Nationalist Government desired above all else to retain the dominance of the White races. "This dominance is threatened—we are outnumbered four to one—and unless we take action,

we cannot preserve it." The Government had legislated to give the Coloured people separate representation in Parliament, he said.

If this is not antagonising the non-White races and setting their backs up we fail to see what is.

## Mr. Louws Say The Same Thing

A promise that the H.N.P. would lead South Africa into a sovereign independent republic in the fullest sense of the word, with no outside ties whatever, was given by the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr. Eric Louw, at a "strydag" gathering in the Johannesburg City Hall last week.

## Negotiations With India And Pakistan

Mr. D. E. Mitchell (U.P., Natal South Coast) asked the Minister of the Interior, in the House of Assembly, how far negotiations had progressed with the Governments of India and Pakistan and what the Minister intended to do about amendments to the Group Areas Act to which he had referred at the United Nations. On that occasion he had said that he was prepared to amend this legislation if it would lead to agreement with India and Pakistan.

Replying to Mr. Mitchell, the Minister, Dr. T. E. Donages said that

if an agreement was reached with India and Pakistan, steps would be taken to bring the Group Areas Act into line with any such agreement if necessary.

We thought the negotiations with the Indian and the Pakistan Governments had, for all practical purposes, come to an end, since the Union Government refused to suspend the Group Areas Bill until the results of the round table conference, proposed to be held at the time, had been reached. From the Minister's reply it would appear however that the negotiations with the Governments concerned are still continuing. The public would have been interested to know the nature of those negotiations. If the Government really wished to consider and to respect the wishes of the Governments and the people concerned the correct procedure would have been to give them an opportunity to discuss the Bill before it was

passed, which it did not do. The above question and answer at this stage seem, therefore, to be redundant.

## Mr. S. L. Singh Refused Permission To Visit Lourenco Marques

Mr. S. L. Singh has been refused a permit to travel as manager with the first official Indian soccer team to Lourenco Marques. Last year when the South African Indian Football Association applied to the Minister of Interior for a passport to allow Mr. Singh to fly to Lourenco Marques to finalise tour arrangements, the application was refused. When the Association asked the Minister to hold an inquiry at Durban to clarify the matter, no such action had been taken. On Monday the Minister of the Interior sent the Association a letter reiterating his refusal. The rest of the visiting team, and several supporters, made application for passports, and they were granted. Mr. Singh has conducted tours for 30 years. The team left last Tuesday unaccompanied by the manager.

The Nationalist Government's action is more eloquent than their words. It does not require the aid of the English Press to broadcast it.

## Union Bound By S.A. Act Procedure

"The Statute of Westminster has nothing to do with the entrenched clauses of South Africa Act, and until the Act is repealed Parliament is bound to accept the procedure laid down," said Professor E. A. Walker, Professor of Imperial and Naval History at Cambridge University and a former professor at the University of Capetown. Addressing the Institute of Citizenship. Professor Walker declared: "A lot has been said recently about how the Act of Union was thrust upon us, but that is not true. The Act of Union was a work by South Africans for South Africans. It is the Act under which this Parliament functions. The National Convention was started entirely by South Africans, presided over by South Africans and passed freely without any outside interference. I hope the referee in this case will be the Appellate Division."

## Kenya White Settlers' Anxiety

Three days of political discussions in Nairobi by a delegate conference of the European Electors' Union, which has branches throughout the colony, have resulted in approval being

given to the sending of a fact-finding committee on a tour to "listen and digest" ideas for Kenya's political future and the place Europeans should have in it, says the Nairobi correspondent of the 'Sunday Times.' The committee's chairman is Sir Alfred Vincent. Among its members are Air Marshal Charles Medhurst, Lord Francis Scott, uncle of Sir Charles Medhurst, Lord Francis Scott uncle of the Duchess of Gloucester, and Sir Bertram Glancy. The committee's task is to report back to the settlers' Legislature members in order that some concrete formula can be put before the country in time for discussion at the all races round table conference in 1953. This was proposed on condition that the present basis of representation is not disturbed until the country has had an opportunity to examine its constitutional difficulties. During the visit of the British Colonial Secretary, the main issue was whether the Europeans' claims to have representation on the unofficial side of the Legislature equal to that of all other races added together should be maintained. Now there is widespread doubt as to whether settlers will be able to maintain this "parity" much longer against African and Asian opposition and the unsympathetic Colonial Office. Therefore the main task before the Colony now is to find an acceptable alternative. The conference also emphasised that there must be a determined effort to double and redouble the numbers of White settlers both on the land and in commerce and industry. It was further unanimously agreed that there must be an equally determined opposition to immigration from Asia, especially India, which today was adding gravely to East African problems and preventing the African peoples from making progress in skilled employment.

A Tea Party was given last Sunday at their home in Currie Road, by Mr. and Mrs. P. B. Singh to meet their son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. K. Hizeze Sio, who have returned from Great Britain.

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## SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM BILL

### MINISTER OF JUSTICE ATTACKS 'MERCURY'

IN his reply to the third reading debate on the Suppression of Communism Bill in the Senate last week the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, referred to an article by "Onlooker" which appeared in "The Natal Mercury" on June 9.

He said the statement by "Onlooker" that the Bill could be interpreted in such a way that all liberty of the individual and of the Press will be destroyed, for under its provisions any criticism which the Minister considers to be encouraging Communism is a punishable offence was untrue.

"It was a deliberate misrepresentation by a so-called responsible newspaper," he said.

The Minister said that the offence of propagating Communism only became punishable if the person or newspaper concerned were taken to Court. The Bill itself made no provision for punishment.

#### 'Mercury's' Reply

Section 6 of Act 44 of 1950 (Suppression of Communism) states:

"If the Governor-General is satisfied that any periodical or other publication—

(a) professes, by its name or otherwise, to be a publication for propagating the principles or promoting the spread of Communism; or

(b) is published or disseminated by or under the direction or guidance of an organisation which has been declared an unlawful organisation by or under section two, or was published or disseminated by or under the direction or guidance of any such organisation immediately prior to the date upon which it became an unlawful organisation; or

(c) serves mainly as a means for expressing views propagated by any such organisation, or did so serve immediately prior to the said date; or

(d) serves mainly as a means for expressing views or conveying information, the publication of which is calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of Communism, he may, without notice to any person concerned, by proclamation in the "Gazette" prohibit the printing, publication or dissemination of such periodical publication or the dissemina-

tion of such other publication; and the Governor-General may in like manner withdraw any such proclamation.

Section 5 of the Suppression of Communism Amendment Bill reads:

"Section 6 of the principal Act is hereby amended by the substitution in paragraphs (c) and (d) for the word 'mainly' of the words 'inter alia'."

As was explained in a leading article in "The Natal Mercury" on May 31 the effect of this change is both radical and far-reaching. It was conceivable, said the "Mercury," that the substitution of the words "inter alia" might result in a newspaper innocently printing a speech by Stalin being arbitrarily closed down under this section as now amended.

#### Significant

It is significant that the Minister of Justice speaking in the House of Assembly on May 29 justified this amendment on the grounds that under the principal Act it was possible to ban only publications which "mainly" served to propagate Communism. The substitution of the words "inter alia" meant that if a newspaper of 20 columns used 19 of these columns for ordinary news and the 20th to propagate

Communism, then he would have the power to suppress it.

On June 7 Sir de Villiers Graeff, M.P., pointed out in the House of Assembly that under this amendment a newspaper which merely reported an illegal strike might be closed down.

It is true that the principal Act lays it down that a person who has been declared a Communist or a newspaper which has been suspended in terms of Section 6 must be brought before the Courts which alone have the right to impose penalties ranging from one to 19 years' imprisonment or to a fine not exceeding £200.

This was perfectly well understood by the author of the article. In present circumstances, however, the Minister can hardly deny that the mere naming of a person as a Communist or the prohibition of the publication of a newspaper—measures which can be enforced without prior application to the Courts—are in themselves most serious forms of punishment.

So far as a newspaper is concerned it is hard to imagine any heavier penalty than its suspension from publication.

In any event it is difficult to follow the logic of the Minister's criticism of the passage in question. If the purpose of the principal Act and the amending Bill is not to make "Communism a punishable offence," what is the objective of these enactments?

## FIRST VICTIMS OF COMMUNISM ACT ARE INDIANS

DURBAN police have been conducting an intensive check during recent weeks on Indian trade unions. The interrogations were instituted under the Suppression of Communism Act, and it is understood that most of the questionings took place at factories during working hours.

The secretary of the S.A. Tin Workers Union (Durban Branch), Mr. S. V. Reddy, has written to the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, protesting strongly against the Durban C.I.D.'s action and requesting that they be directed "not to interfere with the normal working of registered trade unions in Durban and cease forthwith their campaign of intimidation and interrogation."

The letter, copies of which have been sent to the Leader of the opposition, Mr. J. G. N.

Strauss, and other M.P.s, goes on to say: "Your assurances in the House of Assembly recently that your Department will not interfere with registered trade unions will not allay our fears if such activities of the C.I.D. in Durban are allowed to continue."

Mr. Reddy told "The Natal Mercury": "To my knowledge four members of my executive committee were interrogated. They were asked whether they were members of the Communist Party or whether they had Communist sympathies. Two of them were told by the C.I.D. that their names were on its list as members of the Communist Party. This was denied by the men in question."

It is understood that members (all Indians) of four other unions have been interrogated—Natal Furniture Workers Union,

Natal Food and Canning Workers Union, Sugar Industry Employees Union and Natal Box and Broom Workers Union. The "Mercury" was informed that as far as is known no Europeans have been subjected to questioning in this way.

An official statement from the South African Police, Durban, said that "investigations have taken place among people suspected of Communist activities, and were made primarily with a view to 'excluding' persons whose political activities were suspected. The inquiries have been made under the Suppression of Communism Act."

## How Racial Zoning Will Take Place

Mr. Percy Osborn, Mayor of Durban, told the Press last Monday that race zoning under the Group Areas Act would mean that some Indian areas might become European and that some European areas might become Indian. Mr. Osborn said that people thought that race zoning meant some of them would be forced to sell properties and leave their homes. It was not how he visualised race zoning would be brought into effect. "What should happen is something like this: Suppose a certain area now occupied by Europeans falls into an Indian zone. The first thing to do is to see to it that the Europeans concerned have somewhere else to go. We must provide them with areas possessing amenities as good as they enjoy now, or better. We must assist those people who desire to build new houses or buy houses. At the same time those who wish to sell—and people are always selling—will, of course, do so. Indians will be the purchasers. They will not, however, be allowed to move into the area right away. We do not want a lot of Europeans and Indians living biggedly-piggledly next door to each other over a long period. Occupation will therefore remain European until the majority of the properties in one marginal part of the area have been bought by Indians. It may take 20 years or more to change the whole area bit by bit in this way."



## BANTU AUTHORITIES BILL

**T**HE South African Institute of Race Relations has issued the following Press statement of the Bantu Authorities Bill which has just been passed by the Senate:

So far as the Institute is aware, at no time have the African people been consulted about this Bill. The Institute considers that any such proposals should have been discussed with the people who are affected and it wishes to emphasize that should this Bill be enacted and applied, no change should be brought about without the very greatest degree of consultation with the people concerned and their agreement. The Institute regrets that a Bill of this importance was not published in time for discussion and comment by interested persons and bodies.

The basis of this Bill is the chief or headman and the tribe. The tribal council, from which the other authorities proposed are to be formed, may be appointed or selected. The Institute considers that provision should be made for an elective basis for the tribal authority.

Experience has shown that chiefs and headmen are usually backward and conservative people who are anxious to preserve their customary rights and authority. They have often shown great ineptitude and tribemen have often expressed dissatisfaction with the existing administration of chiefs and councillors. In such circumstances it will be difficult to bring into the administration enlightened Africans unless there is an elective basis,—which may make some allowance for the hereditary principle,—for the tribal authority.

The Institute considers that while in some areas it is possible to retain for some time a tribal

pattern for local government, there are other areas where progress can only be obtained through the development of local councils. The Institute has always looked to an extension of general and local councils as the next stage in the growth of African local government for it considers that the impact of Western economy and culture will inevitably disrupt what remains of tribal life completely.

The Institute notes that provision is made in the Bill for the elimination of local and general councils. It deplores the possibility of this and considers that existing general councils should not be abolished except by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament.

The emphasis which the Bill places on the tribe will tend to exacerbate tribal feeling and jealousy. While local patriotism and pride is desirable for the proper development of the local government, this could be secured more profitably through the development of the local council system. This latter is more calculated to contain a cross-section of the people than are the proposed tribal authorities.

The relationship of the authorities to administrative officers is not clear. Will they be independent of the Native Commissioners?

The Institute considers that the abolition of the Native Representative Council breaks an undertaking which was made at the time of the 1936 Representation of Natives Act, when the Cape Native Franchise was abolished. The conferences proposed in the Bill are no substitute for the Natives Representative Council. The past history of such conferences shows that they are no more likely than the Natives Representative Council to be acceptable

to the government of the day. The Institute wishes to emphasize that the need will soon become apparent for a national central body for opinion.

Finally the Institute wishes to

emphasize that the system envisaged in the Bill is for local government only and that it can be no substitute for the political representation of the African people.

## U.S. DEALS A BLOW TO HUMAN FREEDOM PEARL BUCK BANNED FROM ADDRESSING STUDENTS

**P**EARL BUCK, the American novelist and Nobel and Pulitzer Prize winner, has been debarred from addressing coloured students of Cardozo High School because district officials were not satisfied her name had been "cleared" of allegations made by the Un-American Activities Committee. A message she sent to the students' speech day was not used for fear "embarrassment might result."

In this message, Pearl Buck said she had looked forward to the occasion of her speech as an opportunity for considering afresh the great ideals of her country, in order that they might share towards preserving them in a threatening world.

She continued: "That I am forbidden to be with you only makes the ideals of democracy the more valuable, the more important. Ideals can be so easily lost and in such strange and unexpected ways. If anyone had told me a week ago that I could not stand before you tonight I would not have believed it.

"That it has happened to you and to me makes me realise as never before that as long as the enemies of human freedom rule anywhere in the world, their evil influence creeps in everywhere.

"It is true indeed, and we must never forget it, that when other people lose their freedom, though they seem far from us, yet our freedom, too is endangered.

"The first World War was called 'a war to end all wars' and 'a war for democracy' and yet its influence was to destroy to a certain degree freedom everywhere . . .

"In strange ways and for different reasons human freedom is lost and as we watch the process wherever it takes place, we who are still free must resolve with fresh courage to keep human freedom live, and first of all in our beloved country, in order that from here it may spread to a beleaguered world.

"This courage may cost us much. The time may come, if we are not brave enough in the beginning, when it may cost everything. . . .

"Race prejudice is not the only prejudice in our land. Within one group there is prejudice.

"We must not allow it in ourselves for any reason whatsoever, for to the degree we allow it, we deny human freedom. We must root out of ourselves the denial of freedom before we can fight for freedom in the world.

"Only with a pure love for humanity, only with the respect for the human individual can the struggle for human freedom be won."

Miss Buck told the students not to be discouraged by what had happened, as there were millions of people in America who believed in their ideals and practised them.

Such people would be warned by what had happened to them and, although only a small incident in itself, news of it had already gone abroad.

—Peace News.

### NEW MYSTERY COMIC SERIAL

### LESLEY SHANE



## PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

### HIS MANY-FACETED PERSONALITY

INDIA'S Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the idol of India's teeming millions is Asia's leading statesman. Born of aristocratic Kashmiri parents, as a young man Nehru entered whole-heartedly into the struggle for his country's freedom. Mahatma Gandhi, whom he looked upon as a father, greatly influenced his life which became India's by dedication. The fiery Nehru learnt the lessons of patience, tolerance and non-violence from his master. Today, he is a valiant defender of the world's pacifists.

Endowed with a highly-strung and sensitive nature, the cares of office and his multifarious preoccupations meet inevitably strain his nerves occasionally to breaking-point. But his restraint is admirable, and his finely chiselled features rarely show the "impatience with lesser minds" which contact with petty politics must often create. He has his serious moods, of course, but the pleasant smiles and kind words are never long absent.

One cannot speak of the enjoyment of hobbies in connection with Nehru who very rarely has time for relaxation. Swimming, riding and aquaplaning he would like to indulge in oftener, the latter when he can get the opportunity to visit his beloved Kashmir. His

travels afford him an occasional breakaway from work and he has several mementoes of his journeys. He is particularly fascinated by quaint foreign costumes and will sometimes don the Chinese gown presented to him by Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and a Tsziki (Tazikistan-Russia) robe which he received at the Asian Relations Conference in 1947.

True to the Gandhian tradition, the Premier's mode of living is simple to the point of austerity. A far cry this from his early youth when as the son of the "prince-ly" Motilal Nehru he lived a licenced existence as a student at Cambridge, ate his five dinners and tanned extensively—he speaks French fluently. He could not then foresee the high and onerous destiny to which he was to be called.

The Premier's day begins. The luxury of oversleeping may be permitted to lesser mortals. But Pandit Nehru rarely allows himself latitude in this respect. Timed by his combination alarm wrist watch, he rises early. After the performance of Yogic asanas and a bath, he is ready for breakfast. This meal (at 7-30 a.m. normally and at 8-30 in winter) he usually takes with his family. His grandsons give him a joyous welcome and he is



Shri Nehru at play with his grandsons

greeted affectionately by his daughter, Indira. Though Nehru is a lover of good food and a connoisseur of excellent cooking, his breakfast is simple, almost frugal. Fruits, eggs, toast and butter constitute the usual menu, washed down by several cups of coffee. The Prime Minister is anxious to tackle the day's work and his breakfast is finished with despatch. The "Miss-A-Meal" movement has found staunch adherents in his household which regularly makes this contribution to the solution of food shortage problem in the country.

Playtime with the boys. Panditji is an affectionate grandfather; whenever he can snatch moments from a crowded and busy day he may be seen playing with his grandsons, Rajiv and Sanjivo, in the back garden of his home at York Road, New Delhi. In spite of his years, he is remarkably active and thinks nothing of carrying of the boys "pick-a-back" round the lawns or swinging them round a feat which would tax the physical ability of many men half his age. He brings understanding and sympathy to his relations with his grandsons, being perennially young at heart, and receives from them adoring hero worship in return.

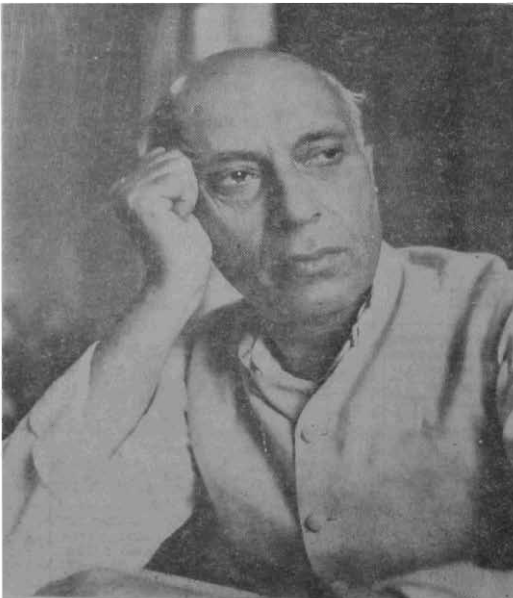
Nehru's only child, attractive Indira Gandhi, is his chatelaine and hostess. His household is effectively ruled by her, and her charm and tact act as buffers

between the Prime Minister and the petty irritations of entertaining.

Indira was educated in England, and to her are dedicated Letters to Indira written by her father when he was still struggling to secure his country's independence. She had been her father's constant companion during his recent successful tours in the U.S.A. and Canada, as well as in South East Asia. When she is in residence in New Delhi her children claim most of her attention. She goes through their lessons with them, plays with them and supervises very carefully their diet and hours of sleep. Her artistic sensibilities are manifested in her choice of sari colours and materials and in her unique coffee.

Her husband, Mr. Feroz Gandhi, is the Managing Director of a daily newspaper in Lucknow and can only be with his family when he attends Parliamentary sessions in New Delhi.

The intimate glimpses of the Prime Minister seen in these photographs, reveal the thinker and administrator at work in his private study. It is here that Pandit Nehru pores over difficult problems of state, resolves numerous ministers, diplomats, personal friends, and listens to the grievances of the common man. Here, too, he prepares and gives the finishing touches to his speeches and broadcasts to the nation, dictates



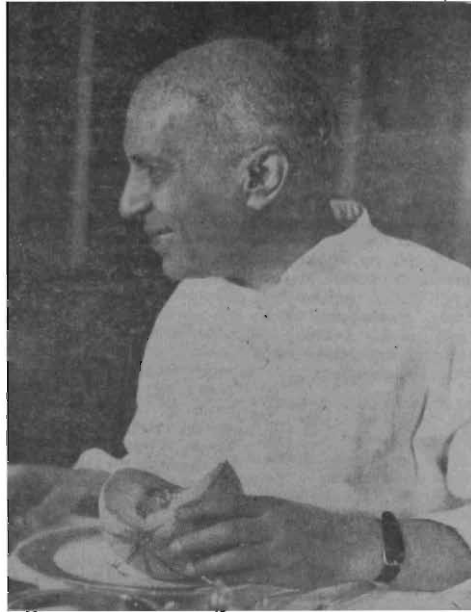
In deep thought

correspondence and articles, and maybe jot down notes for a new book. He studies the daily papers carefully for world news, Indian events abroad, criticisms of the Government and plans press conferences.

Nehru's working day begins usually at 8 a.m. when, before he leaves for the Secretariat, he interviews those who have priority audience with him. Among them are refugees whose pitiable condition awakes the Premier's sympathy and ready help. Clothes, food and money are distributed to the needy petitioners and only then does Nehru leave his residence.

Work, for Nehru, means several crowded hours of concentration and rapid decision. Important files are gone through minutely, visitors are listened to attentively. It is a nerve-racking job being the head of a Government, and the lunch hour comes as a welcome intermission. Guests at Innocheon give him the opportunity for relaxing and friendly conversation. Sometimes, but very seldom, Nehru indulges in an afternoon siesta.

The evening brings no "let-up" from official engagements. There are hosts of invitations to various parties, dinners and receptions which the Prime Minister must attend. Nehru, the quintessence of politeness, dis-



At breakfast

likes giving offence, and hardly even refused an invitation.

The end of the day's work only comes when he returns to York Road and to a good night's rest.

When he is away from the capital, the day's routine becomes even more crowded and breathless; in addition to the daily correspondence from Headquarters which brooks no delay in despatch, there are the hundred and one engagements connected with his special visit or mission. This is usually a round-the-clock programme adjusted with meticulous nicety so that every item on his itinerary is allowed due attention. The Premier's visit to Indonesia, though it gave him much-needed relaxation in the way of change of scene and friendly atmosphere, must, nevertheless, have been a strain on his nervous energy. The Congress session at Nsiek was an occasion in which he drew on his abundant resources of tactful compromise to secure calm and peace. He must have returned to Delhi with a sense of successful accomplishment. But it cannot be denied that the fulfilment of the vast responsibilities which he shoulders as head of the Government leave him a very tired man indeed.

## NATURE CURE GUIDANCE

By Robert Lawrence McKibbin

(Corporate Member Of The Institute Of Natural Therapeutics And Hypnosis (S.A.)  
Hon. Secretary-Treasurer: Homeopathic Society of South Africa.

[The following is of a series of articles on Nature Cure, written by Mr. Robert Lawrence McKibbin, 40 (a), Commissioner Street, Johannesburg. Mr. McKibbin will be pleased to answer through these columns any questions the reader may wish to ask.—Ed. I.O.]

**H**OW many people realize that their bodies manufacture soap and glycerine? Yet this is a fact. The liver makes bile and an ordinary health this bile is poured into the digestive tract where it combines with fats and oils to make, among other things, soap and glycerine, which help to keep the bowels in order and to aid digestion.

The liver is one of the biggest organs in the body and one of the most important. It has many jobs to do. One is to make store glycozer, which is produced from the sugar, sweets and starchy foods that we eat. Another job is to sort out the waste-products from the blood and pass them on to the kidneys for throwing out of the body. The liver also helps in the making of new blood. And still another job it has to do is to break up poisons that are taken into our bodies through our food and drink, or to store these poisons and keep them out of circulation. All in all, the poor old liver is one of the hardworked parts of the body and all too often the most abused.

### LIVER COMPLAINTS

Among rich people who have nothing better to do than pander to their grossest appetites and tickle their palates, there is a famous dish called "pate de foies gras," which is a pie made of fat goose livers. They make a big fuss of this stuff, but the livers that are used to make it are really diseased. What happens is that a poor goose is kept closed up in a tiny cage, in which it can barely move, where it is then forcibly fed several times a day. This treatment causes the liver to grow extremely big and fat. Then the goose is killed and its liver is used to make the above-mentioned dish. No wonder that people who like that sort of so called delicacy usually end up with all kinds of illnesses! Such livers are diseased.

I have referred to these goose-livers to show the chief causes of liver trouble. Remember, the poor goose is closely confined so that it cannot take exercise; and it is made of over-eating. Lack of exercise and over-eating are two of the greatest causes of liver trouble.

The greatest remedy and preventive of liver trouble is therefore, to be sure to have a sensible regimen of proper exercise and proper diet.

A good brisk walk of not less than two miles every day is the cheapest and finest liver tonic in the world. Ten minutes tending and rowing exercises night and morning in addition will massage and stimulate and cleanse the liver as Nature meant it to be. Then, as to diet, there is nothing like plenty of fresh raw vegetables such as finely grated carrot, beetroot, radish and turnip, finely shredded cabbage. Plenty of fresh fruit is also good. Meat, sweets, chocolate, too much cheese, too much dal, dry beans, dry peas, chillies, curry, curry, roti, white bread, cake and eggs, all put a big strain on the liver. Liqueur of any kind is, of course, very bad. Everybody knows how pot-bellied beer-drinkers become. This is the result of the liver getting greatly overloaded from trying to cope with the alcohol and other ingredients of intoxication drink. Fortunes are made by the manufacturers and purveyors of

"liver salts" and liver pills and other medicines to shake up livers that have become sluggish from congestion and overwork. But these substances do not really do much good. In fact, they can do a great deal of harm in the long run. Nature Cure practitioners have many herbal and homeopathic preparations that are infinitely better.

Among these are *Chelidonium majus* and *Carduus marianus*, preparations made from the herb's Calandrine and St. Mary's thistle. The one is best for liver trouble extending vertically on the right side, the other for horizontal trouble where the left lobe of the liver is also affected. Mint tea is very good. And whoever can get dandelion leaves, or chicory leaves to add to salads, will at the same time be taking an excellent liver tonic. Radish and lettuce are also very good liver aids, as are tomatoes.

Massage and manipulative treatment are very helpful in many cases—indeed, such treatment may be indispensable for restoring the health a liver that has been grossly abused. But the first massage is that done by the patient himself—in the form of proper and sufficient exercise, including the exercise of pushing away that extra helping of rich food and drink.

## THE PRICE OF PEACE

Inaugural talk in the series "Price of Peace" broadcast by the United Nations Radio on March 31.

By **BENEGAL N. RAU**

It has become a commonplace in these days to say that war is not inevitable and so often has this been said that there is some danger of our falling into the opposite error of imagining that peace is a matter of course. In actual fact, peace is something that we have to work for constantly; it does not maintain itself; it has to be maintained by the efforts of all of us. And, as I have often said, just as in a time of war, no sacrifice is counted too great for victory, so in a time of peace, we should be prepared to make every effort for its preservation on honourable terms. This may be called idealism; but the realists have had their own way for a long time and do not seem too happy with the result.

### Mahatma Gandhi

Most of the people whom I have had the privilege of meeting during recent months have associated India with Peace. This is natural and indeed inevitable, because India produced the great Apostle of Peace of modern times—Mahatma Gandhi; and although he died more than two years ago, he is one of those for whom there is no such thing as death. On the first of October last, some of us in New York were celebrating his birthday and on that occasion I related certain incidents of his life which might be of interest to a wider audience and which I shall therefore take the liberty of repeating here. Towards the end of August, 1947, I was on my way to Burma to help in the framing of her new Constitution and I stopped for a couple of days in Calcutta en route. The Mahatma was also there at the time; it was a period of general Hindu-Muslim tension, but Calcutta was comparatively quiet. So I, asked the Head of Police whether the peace that reigned in the city was in any manner due to the presence of Gandhi. He replied, "Oh no—that is due to a multitude of causes—chiefly the efficiency of the police. One man cannot bring peace to a whole city." I congratulated the police and continued my journey to Rangoon. About the first week of September, I was in Calcutta on my return journey and again there was complete peace in the city. But there had been grave events during the interval. In fact, on August 31, there had been a serious disturbance, the very house in which the Mahatma was living being attacked and he

himself narrowly escaping injury. Next day he started a fast—a fast unto death unless the warring communities came to their senses and promised to behave themselves. The fast lasted 73 hours; but during this period leaders of all communities—Hindu, Muslim, Christian—and all organisations, merchants, shopkeepers, workers—came to his bedside and signed a pledge that there would be no more communal trouble.

And from that day, for months on end, there was no trouble either in Calcutta or any where else in Bengal, although there was grave trouble in other parts of India. It was shortly after this dramatic change in Calcutta that I happened to be in the city on my return journey from Rangoon; and I happened to see the Head of Police again. So I asked him what he thought of the situation this time. He replied, "This time I must confess that peace has been brought by the efforts of one man and one man alone." There we see a proof of one of the articles of the Mahatma's philosophy; if the cause is just, one man with faith and determination can win through.

I sometimes wonder whether "the worth of the human person"—to quote the words of the Charter of the United Nations—is fully realised by us, or whether by constant repetition the words are coming to lose their meaning. To guard against this danger, we might recall an analogy suggested by the latest developments of science in the world of matter. The atomic bomb is the greatest explosive force that we know in the physical world today. Yet, what starts this tremendous explosion is one single neutron—an infinitesimal, invisible particle which acting as a kind of gun first sets off two other guns and then each of these two sets off two others and so on, until there is a terrific force of almost earthshaking dimensions. What is true of the physical world is also true of the moral; there also we may have vast chain-reactions radiating from a single individual. One of the lessons which we may learn from modern science, therefore, is the importance of the infinitesimally small and, by analogy, the tremendous potential worth of the individual human person and the immense value of individual freedom. If a single individual, organisation, or country can set in motion the right

kind of idea, it may ultimately move the whole world.

In this connection, I should like to make a brief suggestion with particular reference to the present international political scene. Whether it is Korea, China, Indo China or any other country in the Far East there is often a tendency to assume too readily that a particular regime there represents democracy and those that may be opposed to it are Communists. This is an over-simplification which might lead to serious errors of policy. An important service which individuals or organisations could render would be to arrange for a competent person or group of persons—preferably of Asia—to study the real facts in these countries and make an objective report on what they have seen. It should not be impossible to find reliable unbiased persons capable of such a task and the result would be a real—perhaps a vital—contribution to world peace.

### Aggressive Impulse Can Be Canalised

The price of peace is individual effort. Each one of us has first to realise not only the futility of war, but its harmfulness to the race. The last World War ended nearly six years ago; but it seems to have created more problems than it solved and peace is still far off. And as to the effects of modern war generally, let me quote the sober verdict of a distinguished biologist, Dr. Julian Huxley, one-time Director-General of U.N.E.S.C.O. "Long-continued war in which the civil population is starved and whole countries are laid waste—that is harmful to the species. The more total war becomes, both intensively, as diverting more the energies of the population from construction to destruction, and extensively, as involving more and more countries of the globe, the more of a threat does it become to the progress of human species. It might even turn back the clock of civilisation and force the world into another Dark Age." This was written before the discovery of the atomic bomb and has become even more true since. His aggressive impulses can be canalised into other outlets; his political machinery can be designed to make war less likely. These things can be done but to do them will require a great deal of hard thinking and hard work. This then is the price of peace and each of us can and must help to pay it.

I have referred to man's aggressive impulses being canalised into other outlets. The International Development Advisory Board appointed by Presi-

dent Truman in November last has just submitted a most thought-provoking report. Over a billion people live in the under-developed areas of the world; their standard of living may be gauged from the fact that their annual income per head is about one-eighteenth of that of the people of the United States; with few exceptions, they subsist on diets 20 per cent. below the minimum necessary for health and efficiency. In many regions malnutrition is chronic, with intermittent periods of actual starvation on a wholesale scale and the average life-span is less than one-half that in the United States. As the report says, hunger and ill-health cast a common shadow for most of the billion people in these areas. The under-developed areas of the world thus present us with an almost unlimited field of activity to which man's fighting instincts can be usefully diverted. To achieve lasting peace, security, and well-being in the world, we must join forces in an "economic" offensive to root out hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease. In one half of the world, these are the real enemies to peace; if we must have total war, let us have total war, not against our fellow men, but against these our common enemies.

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The Commission of Inquiry into the Press desired to direct the attention of all interested persons to an advertisement in the Government Gazette of 15th June, 1951, by which persons interested who desire to make representations to, or place evidence before the Commission, are invited to do so in writing by submitting memoranda to the Commission. In the advertisement the Commission's Terms of Reference and the relevant portions of the Preamble are published for general information.

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# ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના દરને  
સને ૧૯૦૩માં સ્થપાયું. ૨

પુસ્તક ૧૯ મું-અંક ૨૫

શુક્રવાર તા. જુન ૨૨, ૧૯૫૧.

કુલ નક્કશ પૈની.૬

## “ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર તા. જુન ૨૨ ૧૯૫૧.

### મધ્ય આફ્રીકાનું ફેરફાર

યુનીયન ન્યારે હજી આખાં આફ્રીકાનું યુનીયન સ્થાપવાનું સ્વપ્ન સેવી રહ્યું છે ત્યારે મધ્ય આફ્રીકા-સપર્ન અને નોર્થન રોડેસીયા અને ન્યાસા લેન્ડનું ફેરફારનું સ્થાપવાની બહોળા પ્રમાણમાં ચર્ચા ચલાવી રહી છે, જે ભેષ્યને ધુનીયનને આઘાત ધરશેજ. આ પગલું હાલ નો નેશનલીસ્ટ સરકારની પ્રત્યાધતી નીતી, જે સઘળી બીન-ગોરી પ્રબલ્યોને જ નહિ પરંતુ અંગ્રેજ પશુપ્રબલને ચીંતામાં નાખી રહી છે, તેને આભારી ગણવામાં આવે તો જરાયે જોડું નહિ ગણાય. જે કે અંગ્રેજોમાં પશુ કેટલાક એવા પરંતુ છે કે જેઓ ઉચ્ચ નેશનલીસ્ટોના જેટલા જ પ્રત્યાધાતી છે. એકતામાં બળ રહેલું છે એ તે નિર્ધિવાદ છે, અને એ દ્રષ્ટિએ આ યુવનને યોગ્ય પ્રતિકુળ દ્રષ્ટિથી આ નજરે લેઈ શકે. પરંતુ યુવ્ય આધાર તેની પાછળનો હેતુ શું છે તેના પર રહ્યો છે. જે ખરાબ હેતુ હશે તો એની એકતા લાભો વખત નથી નહ શકે. જે શુદ્ધ હેતુ હશે તો કોઈ તેને તોડી નહિ શકે. બીન-ગોરી પ્રબલ્યોને લાગે વળગે છે ત્યાં સુધી, કોઈ પશુ ખ્રીટીશ સંસ્થાઓમાં તેઓના હાથમાં અસર પાડી શકે તેવી સત્તા રહેલી નથી. ગોરી સંસ્થા નિકેા લઘુમતીમાં હોવા છતાં સદાનું બળ તેઓના હાથમાં રહ્યું છે. અને સામાન્ય નીતી બીન-ગોરા લોકોને દળાયેલા જ રાખવાની વર્તતી આવેલી છે કે જેથી તેઓને સુસ્તી શકાય. હવે એ વખત વીતી ગયો છે કે જ્યારે બીન-ગોરાઓ પોતાને દળાયેલા રાખવામાં આવે એ

સહન કરી બેસી રહે. તેઓના માં બહુ ઝડપથી બદલાતી આવવા લાગી છે અને સ્વમાનમિય માનવીઓ તરીકેના પોતાના ન્યાયી હકોને માટે આગ્રહી બનવા લાગ્યા છે. કુદરતની ગતિને પૃથ્વીપરની કોઈ પશુ સત્તા રોકી શકતી નથી એ તેો હવે સ્વયં-સિદ્ધ વાત છે. એ વસ્તુ જેમ વહેલી સમજવામાં આવે તેમ માનવભતીને માટે સાચું છે.

અમારે સખેદ કહેવું પડે છે કે, સાઉથ આફ્રીકા આત્મઘાતક નીતી અપત્યાર કરી રહ્યું છે. વીશાળ માનવભતીના ઉપર તે ઘણા જ દુઃખો પાડશે પરંતુ આખરે અન્યાય કરનારાઓને દુઃખકર્તા થઈ પડશે. ડો મલાન ની સરકાર સાઉથ આફ્રીકામાં પ્રબલસત્તાક સ્થાપવાની વાતો કરે છે તે સાથે જ ખ્રીટીશ પ્રોટેક્ટરોને તે યુનીયન સાથે જોડી દેવાની આગ્રહભરી માગણી કરી રહી છે. આફ્રીકને, જેઓને સૌથી વીશેષ સંગઠ્ય રહેલો છે, તેઓની ઈચ્છાને તો ધ્યાનમાં લેવાઈ જ નથી. યુનીયનની સરહદની અંદરના જ બીન-ગોરાઓ પ્રત્યેની સરકારની નીતી જોતાં કોઈ પશુ બહારનાને યુનીયનમાં જોડાવાનું મન તો નજ થાય. પરંતુ ડો. મલાનની સરકારને બીન-ગોરાઓની લાગણીની યોડી પડી છે. હવે તે પ્રોટેક્ટરોમાં વસી રહેલા બીન-ગોરાઓને પીસ્ટોલાની અણીએ નમાવવા નો પ્રયત્ન કરી રહી. માનવ ભતીના ભલાને ખાતર એવી હાર્દીક આશા રાખવામાં આવે છે કે ખ્રીટીશ સરકાર તેને નમતું નહિ જ આપે.

પુર્વ આફ્રીકામાં ગોરા સંસ્થા નીકોની નીતી બહુ સારી નથી, કે જે વસ્તુ યુરોપીયન ઇલેક્ટરલ યુનીયનની નયરોબીમાં મળેલી પરિષદના હેવાલપરથી સિદ્ધ થાય છે. ખાસ કરી-હીંદીઓ સાથે અને સામાન્ય રીતે એશીયાવાસી એ સામેની તેની દુસ્મની દેખીતી છે. પરંતુ એ તો આફ્રીકનેને હીંદીઓ વીરૂદ્ધ ઉરકેરવાને છે, જેનું આજે સાઉથ આફ્રીકામાં બની રહ્યું છે. તેવી કપટબાણ લાંબે ગાળે પોસાથે નહિ. એ બાજુ ભાગલા પાડી રાખ્ય કરવાની છે અને લાગતા વળગતા લોકો તે મોડા પહેલા પારખી જશે. આ સઘળી વસ્તુઓ ચર્ચાઈ રહેલો સવાલ, જે મધ્ય આફ્રીકાના ફેરફારને છે, તેની સાથે અસંગત નથી અથવા મારીએ છીએ કે બહુ સંગત છે. કારણ એમાં કશાં પશુ પગલાંની પાછળ નો હેતુ ભયના કારણે બીન-ગોરા એ સામે ગોરી પ્રબલ્યું બળ સંગઠીત કરવાને હોય તો અમારા મત પ્રમારે તે સફળ થઈ શકવાને હવે બહુ અસુકે થઈ ગયું છે. એશીયા કે હીંદી ને આફ્રીકાપર નજર છે એ વાત

તદને ભુલભરેલી છે. હીંદીને વિષે તો અમે ખાતરી પુર્વક એમ કહીજ શકીએ છીએ. રશીયાને આખી ડુનીયાપર નજર છે એમ કહાય અસુક પ્રમાણમાં સત્યતાથી કહી શકાય. તે પોતાની અસર ઘણી હીકમતથી ફેલાવી પશુ રહ્યું છે. તેમાં તે સફળ થઈ રહ્યું છે તે તે સ્વયોના રાજકતાઓના પાપોને આભારી છે. બીન-ગોરા એ સત્તા નથી મારી રહ્યા પરંતુ લોકશાસનના હકો અને માનવ સ્વાતંત્ર્ય, માંગી રહ્યા છે, કે જેને માટે એ બીપણ વિશ્વયુદ્ધો લડ્યાં હતા. ગોરી પ્રબલ અને તેના સુધારે એ નીભાવી રાખવાને હોય તો તેના ઈલાજ એ નથી કે બીન-ગોરાઓ સામે ગોરાઓનું બળ સંગઠીત કરવું, પરંતુ એ છે, કે પોતપોતાની સરહદોમાં વસી રહેલા સઘળા માનવીઓ પ્રત્યે ન્યાય અને અદલત-સાદૃશી વર્તવું અને તેમ કરી તેઓની શુભેચ્છા એ સંપાદન કરવી. સુચવાયેલાં ફેરફારોની પાછળ એ એ હેતુ હોય તો જરૂર નો આશિર્વાદને પાત્ર કરશે નહિ તો તે અફળ જ નીવડશે.

## નોંધ અને સમાચાર

વર્ગાંય લત્તા કમ પાડવ માં આપવશે  
૨૩ એરીયાઝ એક્ટની રૂએ વર્ગાંય લતાઓ કેવી રીતે પાડવામાં આવશે એ બાજુમાં ડરખનના ગેયર મી. પરસી ઓઝબેને ગવા સોમવારે અખ બારી સુલાહાતમાં મારીટી આપી હતી, તેમજે કહ્યું કે તેનો અર્થ એવો થશે કે દેટલાક દીંદી લતાઓ યુરોપીયન લતા બની જશે અને દેટલાક યુરોપીયન લતાઓ દીંદી લતાઓ બની જશે. તેમજે કહ્યું, લોકો ધારે છે કે દેટલાકને પ્રોપર્ટીઓ વેચી દઈ પોતાના ધરો ખાલી કરી બનવું પડશે. એ રીતે વર્ગાંય લતાઓ પાડવામાં આવે એમ કું નથી ધારતો. આ પ્રમાણે થવા

સંભવ છે: ધારો કે અસુક લતો જે યુરોપીયનોથી વસાયેલા છે તે દીંદી લતામાં આવી બન્ય, તો પ્રથમ વસ્તુ એ યશે કે લાગતા વળગતા યુરોપીયનો ને માટે બીજો જવાની સગવડ કરવા માં આવશે. હાલ બોગની રહ્યા છે તેવી અથવા તેના કરતાં સારી સગવડ વાળા લતાઓ તેને આપવા પડશે. જેઓ નવાં ધરો બાંધવા માંજે અથવા ખરીદવા માંજે તેઓને તેમ કરવામાં મદદ આપવી પડશે તે સાથે જેઓ વેચવા માંગે-અને લોકો હરેશાં વેચી રહ્યા છે-તેઓ મેશક વેચશે. નીંદીઓ ખરીદન શા ખાતરે, પરંતુ તેઓને યુરત યુરત એ લતાઓમાં ખરી જવા દેવામાં નહિ





સર્વત્ર નાસ કરનારી યદ છે. વિચિત્ર રીતે અને બિન-ને કારણેને લઈ એ માનવ સ્વાતંત્ર્ય જરૂર રહ્યું છે અને ન્યાં ન્યાં એ વસ્તુ બની રહેલી નોંધએ છીએ ત્યાં આપણે જેઓ હજી સ્વાતંત્ર્ય ભોમવી રહ્યા છીએ તેઓએ માનવ સ્વાતંત્ર્ય જીવંત રાખવા હાંમત થા હરાવ કરવા નોંધએ. અને સૌથી પ્રથમ આપણા પોતાના જ દેશમાં તેમ કરવું નોંધએ કે જેથી ત્યાંથી દુનીયાના અન્ય દેશોમાં તેને ફેલાવી યામ.

એ હાંમતની કાંમત કદાચ ભારે આપવી પડશે. આપણામાં હાંમત ન હોય તો જોવા પછુ વખત આવે કે ભારે આપણે સર્વત્રેય શુભાવતું પડે.

જાતીય દેશ એ કેન્દ્ર દેશ આપણા દેશમાં નથી. એક જ વર્ગમાં પણ દેશ વર્તા રહ્યો છે. આપણે તેને કોઈ

પછુ કારણે રચાન આપવું નહિ નોંધ એ. કેમકે જેટલા પ્રમાણમાં તેને રચાન આપીયું તેટલા પ્રમાણમાં માનવ સ્વાતંત્ર્ય આપણે ઇન્કારીએ છીએ. દુનીયાની સ્વાતંત્રતાને માટે આપણે હાંમત તે પહેલાં આપણા પોતા માંથી તેના ઇન્કારને. આપણે જડ યુગ થી ઉખેડી કાઢવા નોંધએ.

“ભારા માનવ પ્રેમથીજ વ્યકિત સ્વાતંત્ર્યની હલત છતી થયારો.”

પરં બંને જે બન્યું તેથી વિવાદોઓને નાહાંમત નહિ યવા કહ્યું કેમકે “અમે રીકામાં લામો લોકો છે કે જેઓ આપણા આશરોને સેવે છે અને અમલ માં સુધી રહ્યા છે.”

“તેઓ આ બનાવથી ધડા લેશે આ બનાવ એ કે નહોવા છે પરંતુ તેના ખખર દુનીયામાં પ્રસરી ગયા છે.”

કેમકે તે અનુભવ સિદ્ધ છે, ને તેથી બ્યવહાર છે, જે બ્યવહારમાં નબ ઉભે તે શાંતીય નથી, એ કેવળ ચાલ્કિદ પ્રયોજ છે.

\* \* \*

આધુનીક પ્રેમવર્ણીનું વલણ આત્મમાને જુલાવવાનું હોવાથી આપણને આત્મ બળની વાત નિરસ લાગે છે, ને રોજ સુરા યદ જતા શરીરબળની ઉપર નબર હરે છે. આ મંદતાની પરાકાષ્ઠા છે, પછુ મને ધીરજ છે, કેમકે મારી વાત ઉપર મને નિશ્વાસ છે. મારા

વીધાસ મારા અને મારા સાથીઓના અનુભવ ઉપર રચાયેલો છે. પ્રત્યેક વિવાદો જે પડ્યો તે તટસ્થ રીતે પ્રયોજ કરે તો આ વાક્યનો પ્રત્યક્ષ અનુભવ યદ થકે:

૧. કેવળ સંખ્યાબળની કશી કાંમત નથી.

૨. આત્મબળ વિનાનું બીજું બળ કશુંકુ એ નિરર્થક છે.

આ બે વસ્તુ સાચી હોય તો પ્રત્યેક વિવાદો આત્મબળને ઝોળબખાવને પ્રેમવા મથે.

**કાશમીર પર શ્રી. નેહરૂ**

જુન તા. ૪ થીએ શ્રીનગરમાં ભાષણ કરતાં હાંદના વડા પ્રધાન થી. નેહરૂએ કહ્યું કે, “કાશમીરના સવાલ પર, કહેવાયું છે તેમ, લવાદ કરનાર હાંદ આચરે તો હાંદ સરકાર તેનું સન્માન કરશે અને પોતાનું દ્રષ્ટિબીંદુ પુરેપુરું સમભવથી પરંતુ સીકેયોરીટી કાઉન્સીલનો કરાવ જે તેમણે સ્વિકારેલો નથી તેનો અમલ કરવામાં તે કાંઈ પણ જાતનો સહકાર આપશે નહિ.” વડા પ્રધાને કાશમીરના લોકોને ખાતરી આપી કે “અમે તે યામ તે પછુ અમે તમારી પડખે ઉભીશું.” કાશમીર ને તેમણે એ પછુ ખાતરી આપી કે સુચાયેલી બંધારણ સમામાં હાંદ તેને મદદ કરશે, અને કહ્યું કે, એ સીકેયોરીટી કાઉન્સીલના નિયંત્રેણી વચ્ચે આવનારી છે એવા તેને વિષે તેમણે કહી પણ વિચાર કરેલો નથી. સમામાં એક લાખ લોકો હાંતર હતા જેઓમાં ૬૦૦ રાષ્ટ્રિય પરિવહની સમા વાર્ષિક મેટકમાં આવેલા રહેલોરો હતા.

બંધારણ સમા બરવાની દરખાસ્ત તા સંબંધમાં વડા પ્રધાને કહ્યું કે એ રાજ્યની સરકાર તરફથી હાંદ સરકાર ન સંપૂર્ણ સંમતીથી બરવામાં આવી રહી છે. તેમણે કહ્યું કે આ વિચાર હાંદના ભાગલા પડ્યા તે અગાઉને હતા અને ભાગલા પડ્યા બાદ તુરંતજ આક્રમણ નહિ થયું હોત તો તે અમલ માં સુકાયે. હોત. આ એક આંતરિક સત્તાને ઉપયોગ કરવામાં કાંઈ પણ બીજા દેસ કે સત્તાને આડે આપવાનો દક નથી. લોકશાસનના ધોરણે તંત્ર આવાવાની પોતાની ઇચ્છાથી બંધારણ સમા રચાવવાનો વિચાર ઉદ્ભવ્યો હતો. હાંદ સરકારને તે સીકેયોરીટી કાઉન્સીલના નિયંત્રેણીને આડે આવતો હતો એવું કહી લાગ્યું નથી.

નેશ-સના ખરીતાને તે અનુસરનારી કષ્ટ રીતે કહી શકાય એ સમભવામાં આવતું નથી. આથી બંધારણ સમા ની જરૂરી તૈયારીઓ યાહુ રહેશે. રાજ્યના ભવિષ્યના આ અમલવાનો સવાલનો વિચાર કરવામાં મહત્વની વસ્તુ એ વાદ રાખવાની છે કે રાજ્ય ના લોકોની શું ઇચ્છાઓ છે? સવાલ ને કઈ પણ ઉકેલ લાવતાં તેની અસર શું થવાની છે એ પણ વિચારવું નોંધએ. ઉકેલ લાવવા જતાં સ્થિતિ કદાચ જે તે કરતાં પણ વધારે બગડી જવા સંભવ રહે. સવાલ માત્ર રાજ્ય ની ચાળીસ લાખની પ્રબંધનેજ નથી તેવું હાંદ એને પાકીસ્તાનના ભાવિ તો છે અને બોલી રીતે ઉકેલ લાવવા જતાં કશું બંધાર પરિણામો આવી પડશે.

શ્રી નેહરૂએ કહ્યું કે, હમણામાં પાકીસ્તાનના પરદેશ મંત્રીએ કાશમીર માં બંધારણ સમા રચાવવા સામે વિરોધ કરનારો કાગળ લખ્યો તેનો વિચાર કરવા સીકેયોરીટી કાઉન્સીલે હતા.

બંધારણ સમા બરવાની દરખાસ્ત તા સંબંધમાં વડા પ્રધાને કહ્યું કે એ રાજ્યની સરકાર તરફથી હાંદ સરકાર ન સંપૂર્ણ સંમતીથી બરવામાં આવી રહી છે. તેમણે કહ્યું કે આ વિચાર હાંદના ભાગલા પડ્યા તે અગાઉને હતા અને ભાગલા પડ્યા બાદ તુરંતજ આક્રમણ નહિ થયું હોત તો તે અમલ માં સુકાયે. હોત. આ એક આંતરિક સત્તાને ઉપયોગ કરવામાં કાંઈ પણ બીજા દેસ કે સત્તાને આડે આપવાનો દક નથી. લોકશાસનના ધોરણે તંત્ર આવાવાની પોતાની ઇચ્છાથી બંધારણ સમા રચાવવાનો વિચાર ઉદ્ભવ્યો હતો. હાંદ સરકારને તે સીકેયોરીટી કાઉન્સીલના નિયંત્રેણીને આડે આવતો હતો એવું કહી લાગ્યું નથી.

શ્રી. નેહરૂએ કહ્યું કે રાજ્યમાં શાંતી રચાય અને લોકશાસનની સિદ્ધાંતપર રચાયેલી સંરચાએ સંરચાય એ ને સીકેયોરીટી કાઉન્સીલને નેશ-સની નીતી શું છે અને દુનાઈટક

શ્રી નેહરૂએ કહ્યું કે, હમણામાં પાકીસ્તાનના પરદેશ મંત્રીએ કાશમીર માં બંધારણ સમા રચાવવા સામે વિરોધ કરનારો કાગળ લખ્યો તેનો વિચાર કરવા સીકેયોરીટી કાઉન્સીલે હતા.

બંધારણ સમા બરવાની દરખાસ્ત તા સંબંધમાં વડા પ્રધાને કહ્યું કે એ રાજ્યની સરકાર તરફથી હાંદ સરકાર ન સંપૂર્ણ સંમતીથી બરવામાં આવી રહી છે. તેમણે કહ્યું કે આ વિચાર હાંદના ભાગલા પડ્યા તે અગાઉને હતા અને ભાગલા પડ્યા બાદ તુરંતજ આક્રમણ નહિ થયું હોત તો તે અમલ માં સુકાયે. હોત. આ એક આંતરિક સત્તાને ઉપયોગ કરવામાં કાંઈ પણ બીજા દેસ કે સત્તાને આડે આપવાનો દક નથી. લોકશાસનના ધોરણે તંત્ર આવાવાની પોતાની ઇચ્છાથી બંધારણ સમા રચાવવાનો વિચાર ઉદ્ભવ્યો હતો. હાંદ સરકારને તે સીકેયોરીટી કાઉન્સીલના નિયંત્રેણીને આડે આવતો હતો એવું કહી લાગ્યું નથી.

શ્રી. નેહરૂએ કહ્યું કે રાજ્યમાં શાંતી રચાય અને લોકશાસનની સિદ્ધાંતપર રચાયેલી સંરચાએ સંરચાય એ ને સીકેયોરીટી કાઉન્સીલને નેશ-સની નીતી શું છે અને દુનાઈટક

**સંખ્યાબળ વિ. આત્મબળ**

આ દેશમાં આપણા હકો મારેની હલતમાં આત્મબળ કરતાં સંખ્યા બળ ઉપર વધારે ભાર યુકવામાં આવે છે. સંખ્યાબળ વિના આપણે સરળ નહિ થઈએ એવી આપણામાં નિરાશા મારી મઠા છે. એવે વખતે એ આપત માં મહાભા ગાંધીજી શું કહી ગયા છે એ મનનીય હોઈ અને તેમનાં “ધર્મ-મંચન” પુસ્તકમાંથી નીચેનું લખાણ વાચકોના લાભાર્થે આપીએ છીએ:

મુજ રૂપ છે, જેને આ લેખક અત્યારે શાસ્ત્રીય અથવા કાલ્પનિક ગણે છે તેને એ આવતી કાલે બ્યવહારિક ગણ્યો! આનું જગતમાં યતુંજ આણ્યું છે. વિવાદોઓ આત્મબળની વાત ન સમજે એ આપણી દીનતા સુચવે છે. જે વસ્તુ ખરી છે, શાખત છે, તે ન સમજાય, અને કશુંકુ છે તે બ્યવહાર ગણાય એ કેયું આશ્ચર્ય!

“એક વિવાદો સંધે છે: “કેટલીક વખત આપ એવા શાસ્ત્રીય અથવા માત્ર કાલ્પનિક ઉત્તરો આપો છે કે તેથી મન કશુંકુ નિરાકરણ મેળવે છે. પછુ બ્યવહાર વખતે એ કોયંડા એમ ને એમ અણ ઉકેલ્યોજ રહે છે. આપ તો કહી દો, “સંખ્યાબળ ઉપર તો બીજા કુંડે” આવા વાક્યથી મન ને જરા સમાધાન મળે પછુ બ્યવહાર વખતે એ બધું નકાઈ.”

માત્ર સંખ્યાબળ કાંઈજ નથી એ આપણી પાસે રોજ પ્રત્યક્ષરૂપે સિદ્ધ થાય છે છતાં એ કેમ અબ્યવહાર વાત ગણ્યોતી હશે? આપણે નીસ કરોડ છતાં એક લાખથી દયાહમ્બે છીએ તે પ્રત્યક્ષ નથી?—અસંખ્ય એક વાક્યને જોઈ કેમ નાસે છે? ઘેટાંને પોતાની પાંચરતાનું જાન છે વાક્યને પોતાની સંકિતનું જાન છે. આ એવું આત્મબળ. આત્મબળને કાલ્પનિક વસ્તુ કે આકાશ પુષ્પવત માનવામાં જ જુલ રહેલી છે.

આપ આત્મ બળ ઉપર જ દુબોઈ કિસ્તાઓ બંધાવતું કહો કે કંઈ વિશ્વસનીય લાગે ખરું? રેડીવા ખાદીમાં પણ હજી શ્રદ્ધા નથી એવા વિવાદોઓને આપ આત્મ બળ ઉપર રહેવાનું કહો. અથવા આત્મબળનો ઉપદેશ આપો એ “પથર ઉપર પાણી” જેવું આપને નથી લાગતું?”

મારી ઉમેદ છે કે ભારે આત્મબળ ની વાત કરે કું ત્યારે પથર ઉપર પાણી નથી રેતો. કદાચ એવું થવું હોય તોયે “શારદીએ ઉટાલ છે પાકા ઢાળા પહાણ” વળી પથર ઉપર પથુ એકજ જગ્યામાં પાણી રકશે તે તેમાં હિદ પડે છે. જે પથર ઉપર પાણીના ધોધ આવે છે તે છેવટે રજ કશુ થઇ નાવ છે. કેમકે એ એવું

સંખ્યાબળની હું અવગણના નથી કરતો. તેને રચાન છે, પછુ તેના ગર્ભમાંયે આત્મબળ વસેલું હોય ત્યારે જ. સંખ્યા બંધ કાંઈ એક રૂપે દાંડી ઉપર યાદી જેસે એટલે એના પ્રાણ લે. આ કાંડીમાં આત્મબળનું જાન છે. શરીર અનેક છતાં—તે મને એક છે. તેને આત્મબળ છે. આપણને એક હોવાનું બાન આવે તો આપણને આત્મબળ આણ્યું, ને તે કશું આપણે છુટીએ.

રાષ્ટ્રીય વિવાદોમાં જોવા જેટલા શ્રદ્ધાળુ વિવાદોઓ હોય તે બળવાન છે. સરકારી વિવાદોમાં બળવાનો અસંખ્ય વિવાદોઓ એ દેશને સાક ન છવાડા હોય તો તેમની સખ્યાની શી કાંમત છે? કાંમત સુખમાં છે, વિસ્તાર માં નથી એ શાસ્ત્રીય વાક્ય તો છે જ.

શ્રી. નેહરૂએ કહ્યું કે રાજ્યમાં શાંતી રચાય અને લોકશાસનની સિદ્ધાંતપર રચાયેલી સંરચાએ સંરચાય એ ને સીકેયોરીટી કાઉન્સીલને નેશ-સની નીતી શું છે અને દુનાઈટક



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તમારા દોસ્ત બિરાદરો ઉપર આ ઇદ પર

# રેકોર્ડોની ઇદી મોકલો!



ઇદના અવસર માટે નવા રેકોર્ડો તમારા નામના ઇદ કાર્ડ સાથે તમારી પસંદગીની રેકોર્ડોની ઇદી તમારા દોસ્ત, બિરાદરો, સગાં, સ્નેહીઓ ઉપર મોકલવાની ઇદની ખુશી ઉજવો. તમારા દોસ્તોને તમારી એ રેકોર્ડ બેટ ઇદના દિવસ પહેલાં પહેાંચી નવ ખોતી ખાતી અમે કરી લેશું. માટે હમણાજ નીચેના કુપન ઉપર તમારા કોર્ડોની રેકોર્ડોના નંબરો, નામો અને શરનામાં લખી પોસ્ટલ કોર્ડર, એક કે રોકડા મોકલી આપો. એકથી વધુ પારસલો માટે સારા કાગળ ઉપર લખી મોકલવા મહેરબાની કરવી.

રેકોર્ડો સુશોભીત રંગીન યોક્ષમાં બેટ આલ્બમ તરીકે પેક કરવામાં આવશે.

<p>ફીલ્મ રેકોર્ડોના સેટ: આલ્બમ નં. ૩</p> <p>ફીલ્મ "એલા" ગાયેન ગીત મીલન કે મેરા દીલ તોડને વાલા</p>	<p>ફીલ્મ રેકોર્ડોના સેટ: આલ્બમ નં. ૬</p> <p>ફીલ્મ "શાયર" મે દુનીયા હે દો બીછડે હુવે દીલ</p>	<p>ઉર્દૂ કવ્યાલી રેકોર્ડ—ક્રીમત ફક્ત શી. ૭-૦ Inayetullah Kaloo</p> <p>U 905 રખલે ઇલાહી લાગ—શકલ દીપારો ખવાગ Master Nisar</p> <p>U 504 મસકન ના બલે — આઝાદ ફના હોકર U 9૦3 સલામ અવ કાએદે આઝમ ભાગ ૧ અને ૨ G. M. Jamal</p> <p>U 906 મદીને કે — અલ્બમ અદાસે Azeem Prem Ragi (Karachi) YI 1027 અહીદત હં મુએ—ગીટ ભયે ફાઈ હુસનયે Tarabala</p> <p>YI 1093 રેહમત ખુદાઈ — મેહબુએ ખુદા Sheik Chand (Poona)</p> <p>YI 1109 અખુદ્દલાહ કે લક્ષના ઇસ વકત મોહમ્મદ નામ લીયા Hanif Quawal (Calcutta)</p> <p>U 910 મુસલમાન કર દીયા બહાર આગયે</p>
<p>ફીલ્મ "અ'હાલ" / ડરના મોહખત કરલે દીલ ટુરેના</p> <p>હમ આજ કહી દીલ ખો બહદ હમ હુમ કે નાએ</p>	<p>ફીલ્મ "ન'ઝરાના" બગવાન તેરે રાજ મે એક રાત કે પકડે ગયે</p> <p>હાવાયર હું અએલા કયા સોચ કે બનાઇ તુમને</p>	
<p>ફીલ્મ "અલ્બન યાત્રા" દીલ દર્દ કા મારા છઓ મેરે છબે</p> <p>ક્રીમત શી. ૨૫-૦ પોસ્ટલ ૨-૦ વધુ.</p>	<p>ફીલ્મ "સિરા ગીત" જા કે પરદેશ ખીયા ફર હે ફર હે</p> <p>ક્રીમત શી. ૨૫-૦ સેટ પોસ્ટલ ૨-૦ વધુ.</p>	

નવા હિંદુસ્તાની રેકોર્ડો—ક્રીમત શી. ૭-૦

Tarabala

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20-1	2A-1	2C	2D	2E	2F	2G	2H
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Indians' Names

# અમારા નવા નિશાળ ઉપયોગી પુસ્તકો

ઇતિહાસ	
દેશ વીરિય ભા. ૧	૨ ૯
ગુજરાતનું મારવ	૧ ૯
હરિના ઇતિહાસની રૂપરેખા ભા. ૧	૨ ૨
આપણા દેશનો ઇતિહાસ	૧ ૬
જુગોળ	
દેશ દેશાવરમાં ભા. ૧	૨ ૦
આર્યોક જુગોળ	૫ ૯
જુગોળ પરીચય ભા. ૩	૧ ૧૦
" " ભા. ૪	૨ ૩
વ્યાંચન માટે સાહિત્ય	
પ્રાચીન સમયની રસ કથાઓ	૧ ૯
દેશ દીપકો	૨ ૦
પળ જન્મત	૧ ૬
અંક ગણિત	
અંકગણિતના મુળ તત્ત્વો	૨ ૦
મીઠલ સ્ક્રીલ અંકગણિત ભા. ૧	૨ ૯
માડુ' ગણિત ભા. ૧	૧ ૩
" " ભા. ૩	૧ ૬
સાહિત્ય પાઠાવલી	
પુસ્તક પાંચમુ	૨ ૧
" સાતમુ	૧ ૩
ધર ભિક્ષુ ઈન્ડિયા શીખવા માટે પાઠાવલી ભા. ૧-૨ પ્રત્યેકની	૨ ૦

વૃત્તન લેખન માળા આ માળા માં નીચલા ચાર પુસ્તકો આવે છે. એ પુસ્તકો કોશ ભાગકો જ્ઞાન મેળવે છે.		વિદ્યાર્થીક વાચન માળા	
વૃત્તન લેખન તાલીમ વજ		ચાલક્ય માડી	૧ ૦
" " ધોરણ ૧-૨-૩-૪		પહેલી ચોપડી	૧ ૦
પ્રત્યેકની કીમત	૧ ૦	બીજી ચોપડી	૨ ૦
નવમુખ વાચન માળા		ત્રીજી " "	૨ ૩
ભાગપોથી	૧ ૨	ચોથી " "	૨ ૧
પુસ્તક પહેલું	૧ ૩	પાંચમી " "	૩ ૦
પુસ્તક બીજું	૧ ૦	પુસ્તક	૧ ૦
પુસ્તક ત્રીજી	૨ ૩	ચાલો લખીએ	
" ચોથું	૨ ૩	શ્રેણી ૧	૧ ૬
સાહિત્ય ક્ષેત્રો		" ૨	૧ ૬
સાહિત્ય માટે વાચન વધારવા		" ૩	૧ ૯
વધાર્થકોને ઉપયોગી પુસ્તકો		" ૪	૧ ૯
પુસ્તક બીજું	૨ ૩	" ૫	૨ ૦
" ત્રીજું	૧ ૩	" ૬	૨ ૦
		" ૭	૨ ૦

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કીમત ૧૩/-	કીમત પા. ૧-૦-૦
૧૯ આડીની સુદી	૮ થી ૧૦ વર્ષના બાળકો માટે ૧૫ પુસ્તકોનો સેટ.
	કીમત પા. ૨-૫-૦
શશુમ'થાવલી	૧૨ થી ૧૮ વર્ષના વુચ વુવતી માટે
સેટ પહેલામાં ૧-પુસ્તકો	૧૨ ૧ આઠ સુંદર પુસ્તકોનો સેટ
સેટ બીજાની	૧૫ ૦ કીમત ૧૪/-
કીચાર મ'થાવલી	હીલો ૫ ૧
પુસ્તકો માટે સુંદર વા રાંચોના સેટની	વર્ણ ૫ ૧
	ખાણુ ૫ ૧
ઇસપના પત્રો ગણેશ	બાળકોને બાંધવ ઈતિહાસ પત્રો (નેદર)
બાળકોને માટે રમુજ પુસ્તક	બાળવાર્તાવળી
કીમત	૨ ૦ ચપડી મુળ
સાંત પત્રોમાં	૨ ૧ ચલુરની વાતો
ગોધરીસની સફર	૪ ૦ જ્ઞાન ગોષ્ઠી
કંઠલાંક પદ્યો	૧ ૬ ભાલો
માત્રવત કથાઓ	૩ ૬ ખલવાની શોધમાં
ગરિન રત્નોનો સેટ ભાગ ૧ ૨ એમાં	
પ્રત્યેક સેટમાં પાંચ પુસ્તકો	
એ. પ્રત્યેક સેટની.	૧૭ ૦

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