



# INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903  
Former Editor: Manilal Gandhi—1918-1956

The reason that so many want their desires, is that their desires want reason. He may do what he will, do what he may.  
—Warwick.

Fine manners are a stronger bond than a beautiful face. The former binds; the latter only attracts.

—La Martine.

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## GHANA DISAPPOINTED STRIJDOM NOT GOING TO LONDON

GHANA is disappointed over the refusal of Mr. Strijdom, the South African Prime Minister, to attend in person the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. A spokesman in the office of the Ghana Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah, told the "Manchester Guardian" correspondent in Accra: "We had planned to start a battle to free our brothers in South Africa at this conference."

According to the spokesman Dr. Nkrumah may make a policy speech at the conference on the issue of apartheid, in which he will declare his stand and his plans.

The spokesman said Dr. Nkrumah would have liked Mr. Strijdom to be present to hear him in person instead of reading or hearing a report about his speech later.

Dr. Nkrumah, it was explained, would also like to have had informal discussions with the South African Prime Minister outside the conference room to help ease the tension already created in the world by the Nationalist Government's policy of apartheid.

### Direct Propaganda

Meanwhile officials handling Ghana's foreign policy are much disturbed over the relationship Ghana should have with South Africa, bearing in mind the Union's racial policy.

Since Ghana became independent some officials have advocated direct propaganda and a moral battle

with the South African Government,

This, they say, would "show our resentment at the treatment being given to our brothers under South African rule."

Others probably headed by Dr. Nkrumah himself, are advocating cautious moves. This group fears that any outright move against South Africa might cripple trade and other relations between the two countries in particular, and Commonwealth countries in general.

### Nigeria Outburst

Meanwhile, in Nigeria two Lagos newspapers, usually divergent in their views, both carried strongly worded articles criticizing the recent statement by Mr. Strijdom warning Britain against the hasty granting of independence to Nigeria and other territories and admitting them to the Commonwealth.

The "Daily Times"—which is controlled by the London "Daily Mirror" group—says: "It may interest Strijdom and his gang

of Negro-haters that non-European countries who are in, or hope to be admitted to, the Commonwealth are quite prepared to let other members decide whom they would rather have. —

"Strijdom, isolated in a State built on prejudice and fear, would be a sorry loser.

"He must not be surprised if this other great fellowship turns against him, too."

The "Daily Service," organ of the Right wing nationalists, said: "Strijdom

deserves pity as the champion of a lost cause.

"Whether he likes it or not, Nigeria will achieve independence in 1959 and so will other British colonies in their own time.

"And certainly free Nigeria will not fold its arms while millions of Africans are oppressed in South Africa."

The newspaper added: "Strijdom should begin to tear down apartheid before these nations emerge to force him to do so."

## MENON SAYS INDIA DOES NOT WISH TO BE MILITARY POWER

MR. V. K. KRISHNA MENON, Minister for Defence, said in Delhi that India was not a great military power and had no ambition to be one. She was seeking to use her limited resources for raising the standard of living of the common people, he added. Mr. Menon, who was speaking at a reception organised in his honour by the Andhra Association, said that India had a small army, a small air force, and a smaller navy. These could not be instruments of aggression or domination over other countries.

He said that India had a big coastline and her navy could not patrol the entire length.

The defence Minister emphasised that the Government and people of India must first seek to tackle problems at home. India's voice in the cause of peace would be most effective if we could prove that we had

utilised the opportunities afforded to us by freedom to improve the lot of the common man.

### Peaceable Intentions

But India's peaceable intentions and anxiety to concentrate on the solution of economic and social problems at home must not be

(Continued on page 210)

# INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 17TH MAY, 1957

## Another Boycott Coming?

THE African National Congress's head office has issued a directive to its branches to intensify activity and complete preparations for the launching of the Pound-a-day campaign. While we are in sympathy with the African people's demand for a living wage, it seems to us, in point of time, that there is more muddled thinking than practical realism in the decision to open battle on a new front at this stage.

At Bloemfontein last year the African community addressed an appeal to White South Africa to reconsider its thinking on the race problem and to see in a front of White and non-White democrats the only force in this country which could bring apartheid and its rejection of human values, crashing to the ground. Like most reasonable people the African National Congress applauded this decision and promised to back its implementation. That was the realistic as well as statesmanlike thing to do.

Few people were surprised when the Government replied to this by coming before Parliament with the Native Laws Amendment Bill. They are frightened men tortured by a very guilty conscience. They know they are wrong; they know they are losing—but they will fight to the last ditch to preserve what they hold.

At the same time some of the reactions from the European side to the Bloemfontein appeal were most cheering. Some promptly pledged their fullest support to all attempts to create the front called for by the Bloemfontein conference. Others expressed interest which could have later been transformed into active support.

Since then the Native Laws Amendment Bill has accelerated the process whereby this acceptance of the Bloemfontein challenge took specific form. At Cape-town a meeting of private organisations bound itself to disobey the law and to support all those who were made to suffer as a result of not complying with Verwoerd's wishes. Another meeting, held in the Maritzburg city hall, undertook to support the victims of the Native Laws Amendment Bill.

These events have only one meaning. People on the European side realise now that White and non-White interests tally at the point of joint opposition to apartheid and common defence for its victims. If this is not a solid step forward in implementing the Bloemfontein decision: if this is not a solid basis on which to build effective opposition to apartheid, then we cannot imagine what else can be in a society like our own.

Because these developments are a positive response to a call which Congress, as one of the main participants in the Bloemfontein conference, itself made, we expected the ANC to be consistent; to reinforce the extremely welcome trend events are taking; to ensure that similar decisions are taken by people in all parts of the country on both sides of the colour line.

Instead, what do we see? While African opinion concentrates on the Native Laws Amendment Bill and there are signs that this measure has the potential to be the straw that might break apartheid's back, the ANC in all solemnity opens battle on a front where the African, by the very nature of the circumstances, will fight alone. Sooner or later the African must declare war against the low wages paid to him. But we doubt very much if the present is the best time to do this.

To ask him to do this at the moment will have the effect of diverting his attention into channels where he will fight to advance purely sectarian interests when the most important issue at stake now is that all should stand together in one irresistible front against apartheid. Viewed in this light, the decision to intensify the campaign is bad and tactically dangerous.

European opinion is splitting very badly on the Native Laws Amendment Bill. It is in the interests of justice, morality and human decency that this should be the case. We would have expected the ANC to encourage this trend by telling the Africans to stand firmly by the side of those Europeans who feel that they cannot obey the latest Verwoerd decree. For the ANC to tell the Africans to fight on another front at this moment is to betray the very struggle the ANC fights to advance.

It is difficult to imagine how a responsible body can stab itself in the back when victory is already in sight. But perhaps Congress is no longer real master of its own house.

## Lazarus On Passive Resistance (Contributed)

AT a public meeting held at the Phoenix Settlement under the auspices of the Inanda Cultural Group Mr. Lazarus, Principal of Sastri College analysed Mahatma Gandhi's Experiment of Passive Resistance in South Africa.

He explained that the spiritual force behind the technique of Passive Resistance must deter people from resorting to violence in any form. No matter how humiliating and cumbersome the circumstances, retaliation in any form must never cross the minds of Resisters. With this spirit, Mahatma Gandhi's leadership has excelled that of any leader in any aspect, politics, social reform or religion.

Commenting on the experiment of Passive Resistance during the Defiance Campaign in 1953, Mr. Lazarus stated that "Passive Resistance would definitely work if extreme sincerity and honesty is displayed by those who lead the people, but he did not lose sight of the fact, that in the days of Mahatma Gandhi's experiment in South Africa simplicity of life prevailed, which facilitated the success of Passive Resistance but today, with a more sophisticated, complicated and fast life, the success of Passive Resistance was rather dubious. Under the circumstances if Passive Resistance is properly assessed, dissensions removed and a concerted effort made by all, African, Indian and European, there is no doubt that it would be a success.

Mrs. Veronica Matebese moved the vote of thanks.

# The Indian Mutiny 1857—II

IN so far as Indian nationalism is concerned, it gained more in the aftermath than the event. For the era of distrust and estrangement, which followed the barbarities committed by both sides, destroyed natural contacts and obliged Indians to depend on political activity and organisation to get their grievances redressed by the British. And the Mutiny compelled the Crown at last formally to take over from the East India Company. Queen Victoria's pledge that, "so far as may be, our subjects whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our services, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to

sense, the story is tragedy, proceeding from weakness deep in characters of English and Indian, exasperating the reader into an angry misery as chances are missed of bringing the waste to an end, as things are done in the passion of the moment which will not be forgotten."

The causes of the Mutiny so far as it concerned the army are reasonably well established. The Bengal Army was recruited mainly from Oudh. It was a caste army; where social and family loyalties often cut across service discipline, and a middle caste warrant officer might revere a Brahmin private. It was also a mercenary army, officered by foreigners of an alien faith whose personal habits were as disgusting to their men as vice-versa. All the same, it was an army with a wonderful record and a great tradition which, when morale was high, overrode all the inhibiting factors. But let morale deteriorate, let the officers' quality decline, then those diversive forces clearly contained explosive possibilities. For the total strength of the Indian army was some 240,000 of which 28,000 only were British. That meant one English soldier to every five Indian, and only one soldier (either fair or dark) to every 600 civilians. One can see why agitators 80 years later said that, if only every Indian would micturate simultaneously, the British would be washed into the sea. Out of these totals the Bengal Army comprised 150,000 of whom 22,000 were British. 13,000 of these British troops were in the recently annexed Punjab in 1857, when the Mutiny broke out in the United Provinces where the main body of the Bengal Army was stationed.

At the same time disastrous Afghan campaign of the previous decade had not only shaken the whole army by its failure. It had mortified Muslim soldiers because they were compelled to fight against people of their own creed and Hindu soldiers because on such a campaign caste purity was inevitably breached, involving them in costly penances. In the early fifties England further appeared to have unsuccessful wars in the Crimea, China and Persian Gulf on her hands from which exaggerated rumours of losses caused a further slump in her military prestige. At the same time, with the overrunning of the Punjab, a further great area of administration was added to the

opportunities which tempted the best officers to leave their regiments, either for the staff or a civil job. Who, after all, would not rather be Edwardes at Bannu—King, Prime Minister, C-in-C. and Lord Protector—rather than a subaltern in a sweltering plains cantonment, slogging away at spit-and-polish and waiting for Jones to die before he could expect promotion?

To these general causes were added two proximate ones—an

order that every sepoy of the Bengal Army should be attested for service anywhere; with the implied threat to caste purity involved in overseas operations; and the infamous cartridges greased with (among others) the fat of cows and pigs, more revolting to Hindus and Muslims respectively than handling (and biting) excrement would be to us. What made these latter even more dangerous than they would in any case have been was the growing suspicion that the British might conceivably be deliberately intending defilement as a prelude to forcible conversion.

By  
C. W. M. GELL

discharge" read like a character of hope to educated Indians of that time. By the end of the century British dilatoriness in implementing the promise had generated cynicism and disillusion; and these were in their turn powerful stimuli to modern Indian nationalism which was then developing in real earnest

The final argument against the theory of a national uprising was the very small part played by the civil population.

There were exceptions, both among the peasantry, land-owning classes and the smaller princes, though few of the leading princes took part. But they were exceptions. And the ease with which British columns obtained supplies locally almost throughout the insurrection contrasts markedly with the commissariat difficulties encountered by the police during Mr. Gandhi's civil disobedience campaigns, when the bulk of the population was indeed united against the British.

However, to say all this is not to minimise the terrible nature of what happened. As Mr. Philip Woodruffe has written in one of the most compassionate, understanding and impartial assessments, [Footnote: "The Men Who Ruled India, Vol. 1., Chapter XII (Jonathan Cape)] "it is a matter for unhappiness that the thing should have happened at all; any rising of the ruled is a failure by the rulers in their essential art. It is, too, a matter for shame that when the tide turned the revolt should have been suppressed with such indiscriminate ferocity... In the truest

## World Anxiety Over H-Tests

DR. ALBERT SCHWEITZER has called for a halt to nuclear tests. His statement was broadcast over Norwegian State Radio in Norwegian and (on short wave) in English, French, German and Russian.

The respected medical doctor, philosopher and humanitarian warned that radiation from nuclear tests means that "Not our own health only is threatened by internal radiation, but also that of our descendants."

Mr. Aneurin Bevan :

What the world requires, it seems to me, is for the statesmen to agree upon some central directives and then to call into existence a body of persons of great eminence from all walks of life—in science, in philosophy, in the arts and say:

Now here is our submission to you—here is our directive, here are the principles which we consider should be followed. You go to work on these and see if you can provide a convention for mankind which will satisfy these directives.

Such a step would take mankind to a new point of departure instead of drifting towards the disaster of an atomic war.

C. R. Rajgopalachari  
Former Governor-General of India :

"The British Government's orders (closing the H-test area in the Pacific) cannot bind people all over the world.

"It is arguable that the action contemplated by the British Government is a violation of the rights of even British subjects on the ground of detriment to health

and injury to future generations. British jurists may examine the law as it stands in respect of actions against the Government.

"There is a case beyond doubt for other Governments to start proceedings in the World Court and ask for stay of the contemplated programme. There is also a case for members of the Commonwealth and for India in particular, to consider what action should be taken in respect of these grave activities of the British Government undertaken without consultation and approval of other members of the Commonwealth."

The Indonesian Ambassador, Dr. Sunario, presented a note of "serious protest" concerning the proposed British H-bomb test to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd on April 5.

'The News Chronicle'

...best of all, if we could show the courage, Britain should state that she is prepared to stop her tests—independently of the endless conditions each country imposes. In this she could give the lead the world is waiting for.

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## "S.A. Must Find New Way Into Future"

PARLIAMENTARY methods were no longer realistic or effective in South Africa and they would not stop Mr. Strijdom and Dr. Verwoerd, said Mr. Patrick Duncan, national organiser of the Liberal Party, in East London.

He told 300 people in St. Saviour's Hall—half of whom were non-whites—that everywhere in South Africa there was a feeling of impending crisis. The country had to find a new and bloodless way into the future. The way out of the cul-de-sac into which South Africa had got was going to be painful but "we simply have to get out of it."

The greatest event of the 20th century was the ending of the subjection of nations.

The early conquests of countries such as Mexico and South America made up a "really super gangster story." People tended to look on Drake and Cortez as heroes—they were simply "super tsotsis."

"The process we now see is a reaction from this—a very just reaction. The process of reversing a flood is complete in Asia and, except for a few foreign possessions, it is almost complete in Africa."

Many thinkers, even Nationalists, had concluded that Africans must come into their rights. The present state of "baasskap" was not going to last.

"The Tomlinson plan is in itself an admission that this state of affairs cannot go on."

### Line Of Action

The Liberals realised that, as a Party, it was impossible for them to be voted into power. Their hope was to build up a membership of all races until they had a large body of people committed to comradeship so that it could act on the lines pointed by the Alexandra bus boycott but on a bigger scale.

"In our problem we cannot afford a bloody war. We have to live together and we cannot do that if there has been violence and bloodshed. We have to find a new and bloodless way into the future."

The Liberal sought:

To end the colour bar which was a poison corroding the country.

To give the vote to all adults.

To have equal access by all people to land and jobs.

Mr. Duncan said he saw no danger in the extension of the vote to all adults. "When the races accept each other the vote will be used very responsibly. This country is not and never has

been a white or black man's country. It belongs to all of us and this belief can best be served by people coming together in a body such as the Liberal Party.

### Dr. Verwoerd

Earlier Mr. B. P. H. Curran, M.P.C., said a big mistake had

been made in regarding Dr. Verwoerd as a problem. Dr. Verwoerd was not a problem—he was an answer to 300 years of white domination. The white man had progressed logically to a stage "where we got Verwoerd."

Behind Dr. Verwoerd there were a lot of other Verwoerds all waiting to take their turn and even prepared to out-Verwoerd Verwoerd.

Mr. Curran said the latent power of the majority group in the country was going to be exercised very soon and "the danger to us is that this power is going to be exercised without help from us at all."

## Colour Bar Might Collapse On Some Gold Mines

THE Government will shortly face the unpleasant choice of sacrificing £50-million a year in foreign currency in the form of gold produced by marginal mines—or to allow African mine workers to do some of the work at present reserved exclusively for Whites.

A situation fraught with weighty political and economic possibilities is developing in regard to these Witwatersrand gold mines, and it promises to become a supreme test for the Government's rigid policy of industrial apartheid.

Developments are being watched with keen interest by both employers and employees in the gold-mining industry, for what happens in the 17 mines now in the "marginal" stage will set the pattern for the mining industry in the future.

The 17 mines produce gold worth about £50-million a year and employ more than 10,000 European mine workers and

100,000 Africans.

The influential Mine Workers' Union, realising the implications for its members in particular and the country in general if these mines were to close down because of uneconomic operation, has urged the Minister of Mines, Dr. Van Rbij, to institute an impartial and independent inquiry into the position of the mines.

But the most interesting aspect of the situation is that economists and other influential people see a more realistic division of labour between White and non-White mine workers as probably the best method of lowering the production costs of these mines.

## America To Aid Libyan Economic Development

THE U.S. has agreed in principle to take immediate steps to provide economic assistance to Libya on six developmental projects

ity." The announcement was made in a joint communique from the Government of Libya and U.S. special ambassador Mr. James P. Richards who stopped off at Libya enroute back to Washington. He was in Libya previously from March 17 to 20, when it was announced that Libya and the United States would work together for successful application of the American Doctrine," in recognition of the fact that the "aggressive intention of international communism offered the greatest present threat to national independence and the peace and security of the world commun-

In accordance with that statement made on March 20, Mr. Richards now has completed studies of economic activities which would contribute to Libya's needs.

The State Department announced that Mr. Richards has agreed in principle that the U.S. Government will immediately undertake the necessary procedural and legal steps to initiate the six projects in such fields as broadcasting, education, electrical power development, tele-communications, and domestic water supplies.

## Minister Says Some Anglicans Support Him On Church Bill

DR. H. F. VERWOERD, the Minister of Native Affairs, said at a Nationalist Party *strydag* in the Edenvale constituency that he had received letters from Anglican "church men" (*kerkmanne*) saying that they agreed with his policy.

The Minister was referring to the "church clause" in the Native Laws Amendment Bill.

He therefore had no quarrel with the church as such, but only with certain Anglican "churchmen," the Minister said.

"It is not our policy to interfere with the church, the "church clause" is only there to prevent Africans mixing with Europeans at church services in such a way that they are a nuisance and cause offence. The question of mixed services is not affected otherwise."

Certain groups, among whom there were Communists, had recently launched a campaign to hold mixed parties, dances and other meetings on an unprecedented scale in direct defiance of the Government's policy. Steps had therefore to be taken to prevent this.

## Menon Says India Does Not Wish To Be Military Power

(Continued from front page)

regarded as a sign of weakness, he said, adding that the Indian people would defend themselves to the best of their ability in the event of aggression.

Mr. Menon spoke of the dangers inherent in the testing and use of nuclear weapons. If anyone survived a nuclear war, he or she would be a different person; he said. There could be little doubt that humanity and civilisation as we had known them would perish in the event of a nuclear conflagration. He emphasised that India must raise her food production if she was to feed her growing population without becoming dependent on other nations. India's population had increased by 40 million during the last 10 years, he said.

# GANDHIJ—The Story Of His Life

## ATTACKED BY A MOB

### CHAPTER X

**B**EFORE returning to South Africa as he had promised, Gandhiji got in touch with all the important men of the Congress party in India, like Sir Phirozshah Mehta, Lokamanya Tilak and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. They listened with great sympathy to his stories about the bad treatment of Indians in South Africa and encouraged him to speak about it on platforms at public meetings in Bombay, Poona and Madras. People in India already knew much about Gandhiji's work for Indians in South Africa and they greeted him everywhere with great enthusiasm. He had already become a national hero.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correa

As he had already decided to go, Gandhiji took his wife and their two little sons, aged eight and four, with him on his return to South Africa.

During the voyage the ship was caught in a terrible storm. It seemed as if the ship might sink at any minute. In their distress and fear the passengers forgot all differences of religion and knelt together in prayer—Hindus, Muslims, Parsees and Christians. One and all called on God, the Father of Mankind. In this danger they felt themselves all to be brothers.

At last the storm ended and the sky grew clear. Everyone felt happy and relieved; and the ship arrived safely in the port of Durban.

You will remember that the white people in South Africa had received false news saying that while in India Gandhiji had abused them and told lies about them, and that this news had made them very angry. When they heard that he was back again they at first refused to allow anybody on the ship to land. Their excuse was that the passengers might have brought plague germs with them from India. Only after many days was anyone allowed to leave the ship.

As soon as Gandhiji set foot on dry land he was recognised by a band of European boys who began to throw stones and rotten eggs at him. One of them snatched off his turban, while other be-

gan to beat and kick him. All this was because they believed he had criticised them unjustly while in India.

He might have been killed if it had not been for a brave English lady, Mrs Alexander, the wife of the Police Superintendent, who was passing by at that moment. She forced her way between the crowd and poor Gandhiji, who was gasping for breath, and opened her umbrella to protect him from the rain of blows. It was now very difficult for the boys to hit Gandhiji without striking the lady as well, so they had to stop.

Meanwhile, an Indian boy, who had seen everything, ran to the police station and told Mr. Alexander, the lady's husband, what had happened. Mr. Alexander at once sent a number of policemen to protect Gandhiji and conduct him to the house of one of his friends—a gentleman named Mr. Rustomjee. Kasturba and her two little boys had already been sent in advance to his friends' house before the attack on Gandhiji had taken place.

Poor Gandhiji was covered with bruises from the kicks of the cruel boys and had to be attended to by a doctor on arriving at Mr. Rustomjee's house. He badly needed rest and quiet, but soon a crowd of angry people, surrounded the house, shouting "We must have Gandhi!"

The good Police Superintendent, who had been expecting something like this to happen, had followed Gandhiji to Mr. Rustomjee's house. He now kept the crowd back by going outside and talking to them in a joking manner, treating their behaviour as if it was all fun. He even sang a comic song to make them think

that he, too, was in a joking mood. While this was going on, Gandhiji was quietly escaping from the back entrance of the house, disguised as a policeman. The idea of escaping in this way was Mr. Alexander's. Perhaps Gandhiji himself would not have liked to turn his back on danger, but he had not only himself to protect. There was also Kasturba and her little ones, who might have been injured had the house been attacked. Neither did he want to bring any trouble on his kind friend Mr. Rustomjee.

As soon as he knew that Gandhiji was safely out of the way, Mr. Alexander laughingly told the crowd that their victim had escaped and that they had better go home. Some of the people were very angry at this. Others could not help laughing at the trick Mr. Alexander had played on them. Some would not believe the story and insisted on entering the house to see for themselves. Mr. Alexander allowed two or three to come in and see that there was only the Rustomjee family and Kasturba with her little boys. Then the crowd went away.

Many people in South Africa were greatly shocked at the behaviour of the mob led by the foolish, wicked young men. The Government was willing to arrest them if Gandhiji would point them out, but he refused. He had firmly made up his mind never to hurt anyone, no matter what they had done to him. He explained to the Government that he did not blame the foolish young men at all. They had been made to believe that Gandhiji was their enemy and that he had spoken badly about them abroad

For this they had wanted to be revenged on him. He felt that when the truth came to be known, the young men would be sorry.

This noble behaviour of Gandhiji made such an impression on the European people of South Africa that a large number of them felt deeply ashamed at what had happened. The newspapers declared that Gandhiji had done nothing wrong and that the crowd had been entirely to blame. From this we can see that if God wills that we shall triumph no earthly power can overcome us, however great it may be. This truth can be learnt again and again from the life of Gandhiji. He was always meek and gentle to his enemies.

When they tried to crush him he fought back only with absolute truthfulness and love. Yet these weapons achieved more than fire or sword could have done. They freed his country from foreign rule and turned his onetime enemies into friends.

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MAHATMA GANDHI and KASTURBA when they came to South Africa in 1896.

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones?

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## Open Letter To The Africanists—IV

IN the first part of this letter I asked where we differed and pointed out that I had written to discover if we cannot agree. I noted that your goals were those of men who want a free society. I was dismayed, however, by the methods you sought to adopt to reach these goals. I pointed out to you how I myself had started the way you had done and how the tragedies which I found myself no longer able to control or avert confronted me with a crisis which made me see in a society like ours a positive menace.

I was not doing this with any intention to hold the candle before you. I know you are able young men; keenly devoted to the cause of freedom. Very many of you have made impressive sacrifices in the fight for freedom. I have no doubt in my mind that if you are called upon to make greater sacrifices, you will always match the hour. It is because I know you are such a magnificent band of young men and women that I want to appeal to you to share with me the experiences through which I went in the belief that if you do this, you might realise with me that South Africa's problems are incapable of unilateral solution.

At the very outset, let nobody mistake what I say here. I do not say you will be defeated. The numbers are on your side. In the long run, you are decisively powerful and in the position to direct events your way. It is because you are so strong, that I appeal to you to be guided by reason; it is because I seek to see you guided by ideals on which you will build for eternity that I ask you not to fall into the error of your enemies—the apartheidists. Nothing that Verwoerd or Strijdom or any Nazi-boetie will ever do will stop your march to freedom. The Nazi-boeties know that they are on the run. Hear what they have to say against the African in Parliament; see how many laws they pass to oppress the African and "keep him in his place." And when they have done all that you march with your feet at Alexandra and make their Schoemans and their Swarts and their threats all look so puerile and ineffectual. Such is your power. And, day by day you build it. I would rather you built it to establish a

society of just men. I know how passionately you love justice because you and I come of a race that has been born into injustice and survived it down the centuries. That denial of justice to us has made love of it second nature. If you are strong and you want to be just men, please practice justice now, in your relations with your fellowmen of all races; teach yourselves the habit of living and acting like just men in your dealings with the other people. You cannot do that if you start by calling yourselves Africanists or any exclusivist name.

After describing to you the human tragedies which make me see the truth in different light, I pointed how I realised that African Nationalism as such would one day get out of control and wreak havoc on all men, regardless of race, in this country. I find no joy in seeing any human being suffer unnecessarily. Certainly, wherever I can help it I do not want to see myself the cause of suffering to my fellowmen.

In the second letter, I raised some of the difficulties which your attitude raises. My attitude in these letters is to have them as a basis of discussion—in the hope that one day we who oppose tyranny might all find ourselves standing side by side in one decisive march against apartheid. I am willing to see the truth in clearer light myself and I trust you will receive these letters in the same spirit.

In this, the last instalment, I want to consider some of the ways out. Firstly, the real problem which we face in this country is not one of race. It is one of power. The question to be settled is whether it should remain solely in the hands of the White minority or pass on to African hands or be shared equitably by all who have made South Africa their home. This, to me, is the crux of the whole race question.

The men of apartheid and all White supremacists say that power must remain exclusively in White hands. You say this is arrant nonsense; you say you are going to take it, by whatever effective method and vest it exclusively in yourselves. When you have done that, you promise to be just to the racial minorities. Here you feel exactly in the error of your enemies.

For my part I think the only just and lasting solution is to have power shared equitably by all who have made this country their home, regardless of race or colour. But equity is something freely given. If we want to be just we must not in any way behave in ways which will make people doubt our real motives.

I think I am right in seeing in power shared equitably the only solution which can work in this country. It is in accord

with moral ideals. It is based on free choice. In a multi-racial society you need to make all people feel that survival for one group means survival for all. You need to make them feel that they belong together. I am reinforced in my thoughts by the fact that this approach has worked in other lands and that world opinion is going this way, too.

The conscience of humanity is such, today, that tyranny and the tyrants are on the way out. Over and above all I think my way is better because it is proof against being used to destroy the minorities.

(To be continued)

## Land Gift Movement In India-2

By Mawalal Ramgobin

### Ideal Of Love

IT is my belief with Vinoba that India will be able to evolve, consistent with her ideals, a new type of revolution, based purely on love. The people have begun donating lands on their own free will, readily and generously. The whole atmosphere in India is undergoing a change and she might well show the world the way to a new era of freedom, love and happiness. These aspirations are embodied in Bhoodan Yagna (Lands Gift Mission).

When Vinoba took up the task of Bhoodan he knew it was a difficult one, but he attributes all to the Power (God) that has inspired him to start the mission. Having begun it in all humility and sincerity he has faith that He will lead him and will be assisted by all those who believe in Sarvodaya (Welfare of all).

Though Vinoba dedicates his mission to the will of God he does not lose sight of the fact that at the present rate it will take approximately five hundred years to complete the work of Bhoodan, hence he calls upon all in India to serve the cause a hundredfold faster for in a critical period like the present, in the history of Indian freedom, he fears that the whole fabric of Gandhiji's constructive work is in danger of being destroyed. If it succeeds sooner it will have all round success. Khadi (meaning a revolution or the acceptance of a new way of life in a deeper sense), Harijan work and every other con-

structive work will also advance.

### Physical Labour

Vinobaji plunged himself into this strenuous task for eliminating the high and low from Indian society and to enable everybody to take to physical labour. He envisages that it is highly inconsistent that those who possess land should not till it themselves and those who cultivate it should possess no land to do so. Those who cannot plough get it ploughed by others, while those who can plough have to do so as labourers. Since they have no right in the yield produced by them they work half-heartedly. Moreover the labourer is paid in coin and they do not even get sufficient food.

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(To be continued)

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## A Glimpse At Gujerati Women

—SUSHILA GANDHI

THE April 19th issue of "Indian Opinion" carried a criticism of Gujerati women by Ishwar Ramjee, of Sirdar Road, Claitwood. This article caused quite an uproar in our community, and as a Gujerati woman, I wish to thank Mr. Ramjee for throwing this challenge and awakening our women. They have shown without doubt that we have the spirit and courage in us to answer back if necessary. I am also grateful to those women who have so bravely answered Mr. Ramjee.

Taking into consideration the views expressed by both sides, one feels that somewhere, in our community, there is a hitch, and married life is not as it should be; with the result that both partners in marriage are dissatisfied with one another. With careful study one discovers that almost 75 per cent of our marriages are not quite happy ones. What is the reason for this?

Here again, both parties have blamed the other for this. Mr. Ramjee's first complaint against our women is that, our children and our women are always in ill-health. To this, I would like to add that our men also fall in the same category, though I do not wish to make this as an excuse. The reason is our diet: What was good for our forefathers is not good for us today, because of the changed circumstances, the changed ways of life etc. We are apt to indulge in highly seasoned and spiced foods. We also do not have sufficient exercise. I admit that women work around the house but this is not sufficient and our men get even less exercise. The result of all this is that our bodies are easy prey to disease. Trying to find a solution I find myself considering "A Kathiawadi Wife's" answer. Is it not true that nearly all our men, with the exception of a few are apt to be immersed in the business side of their lives with little or no time for their families. And the women have to carry the burden of all the other responsibilities—marriage to them is not a partnership. How can our marriage last in this way? It is essential that men devote their time to their business, but they should find time to devote to their home life. A happy marriage is companionship, a give and take of thoughts, a burden shared. But in how many homes would we find this? This shows the lack of education on both

sides. Both parties go into marriage with little or no knowledge of what marriage means.

If women want to change it is essential that they realise that they are important individuals in society. Many men and women today are apt to be afraid of "what people might say" and this is a great setback to progress.

Mr. Ramjee wishes that women would learn how to drive cars. I would suggest that young men like him should first teach their wives to handle their ships of life so that they may overcome good weather and stormy weather.

If men look at their women only to criticize and condemn, how can they ever hope to achieve any understanding?

Many of our men do not recognize women as individuals or as people who should be consulted. This is another reason why our homes are not happy. Women are not made to feel important in their homes, though they play the most important role. Our men are supposed to be the lords and masters in our homes—as such they must have fitting responsibility and make the necessary sacrifices. There is give and take in life—if men regard their wives as partners in life—they must be proud of the privilege to give and take, on both sides. What our young men call nagging can easily be the demands of love if taken that way.

Mr. Ramjee has commented on the corpulence of our women. I feel that he has done so, by taking into consideration a few women and no men.

Some of the other allegations are also in the same vein. For example the talk about fashion. Men today are just as bad in their limited sphere.

Gossiping is done by men too but on a big scale. I agree that if both sides quit this pastime and spent more time on other things it would be to the good of all, and most of all to society.

Finally I would like to say that I personally know a number of fine educated young women who, instead of flowing after marriage, have lost their glow. Who, if not the husband, is responsible for this? This is why one has to be very careful when choosing a marriage partner—it must be someone who is going the same way,

so that both can work side by side for the same ultimate goal.

It is useless laying the blame for things that have gone wrong at each other's door. We must learn to see our faults and try to get rid of them, so that we can make the best of what life and fate have allotted to us.

This dispute is fruit for deep thought for all of us. As Mrs. Sushila Govan says, it should not be necessary for our men to

find pleasures elsewhere and if they insist in doing so, then they are not qualified to criticize the women. Men may be more advanced in some directions, whereas women are just as advanced in others. So both sides need the help of each other to get along in life. To achieve all this and to overlook petty weaknesses and appreciate the goodness in each other, love is the missing and the necessary factor.

## Nigerian Leaders Agree

FRACED with the forthcoming Nigerian constitutional conference in London, Chief Awolowo, Dr. Azikiwe, and the Sardauna of Sokoto, Premiers of the three regions of Nigeria, met privately in Government House, Lagos, to discuss the future of their country. Without issuing a formal statement in precise terms they let it be known that they had reached complete agreement about federal independence.

It thus seems likely that Nigeria will follow Ghana into

independence in 1959. It remains uncertain whether in the meantime any of the regions will claim regional independence and the relation of the regions to the federation as a whole is still of vital importance.

Many people in Nigeria hold that strong regional development is standing in the way of national unity; they would prefer to see the regions broken into smaller States. There is general hope that the national leaders will see their way to greater co-operation.

## Indian And U.S. Educators Join Unesco Mission In Liberia

TWO educators from India and from the United States arrived last month in Liberia where they will work with Unesco teams assisting the Government in its educational programme.

Professor S. K. Majumdar, an Indian chemist, educator and diplomat, has joined the Unesco team at the University of Liberia in Monrovia. His assignment will be to teach chemistry and to develop a laboratory which has just been installed in the new science building of the University. Professors of mathematics, physics and biology have also been sent to the University by Unesco under its technical assistance programme.

Mr. John B. Henry, an American educator whose international career has already taken him to Puerto Rico and Singapore, will work at the national fundamental education centre set up by the Liberian Government and Unesco at Klay, 33 miles north of Monrovia. He will teach English to trainees who, on completing their course, will open schools throughout the country. The teaching of English is important since it is

the *lingua franca* of Liberia, where some 28 regional languages are spoken.

## Rand African Women Harassed By Passes

THE law requiring African women to carry permits authorising their being in an urban area for more than 72 hours is being enforced in Johannesburg for the first time.

In Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare—areas under the jurisdiction of the Native Resettlement Board—as well as in European suburbs of the city, police have been asking women to produce their permits.

African women are seriously disturbed by this development and have arranged to send a deputation to protest to the authorities.

The chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee of the City Council, Mr. H. Miller, M.P.C., declined to comment on the police action other than to give an assurance that no request had gone from the council to the police to enforce the law.

# London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

## London

AT the annual general meeting of the Methodist Missionary Society in London recently, Dr. H. Crawford Walters, President of the Methodist Conference, said the granting of independence to the Central African Federation should be delayed. He added that during a visit to Rhodesia nothing was heard about apartheid, but one saw its fruits. "I would gravely doubt, he continued, whether, if Rhodesia became independent and self-governing, Africans would receive the position in the state to which we believe they should be entitled."

## Kampala

A motion supporting self-government for Uganda next year and complete independence by 1961 was overwhelmingly defeated in the Legislative Council. Mr. C. H. Hartwell, the Chief Secretary, said Britain's policy was the development of Uganda towards self-government, but this could not be achieved quickly. Most speakers in the resumed debate opposed the motion as inappropriate, although they all supported the principle of self-government. The motion was presented by Mr. Y. Bamute, a representative from Buganda.

## Dar-es-Salaam

Sir Edward Twining, Governor of Tanganyika, announced here that a new ministerial system would be introduced this year to replace the present membership system in the territory's Legislative Council. The re-designation of official members as Ministers was not just a change of name. "It is an indication that from now on they will be expected to concentrate on the making of policy, the explanation of that policy to the public, and the responsible task of seeing that policy carried out uniformly throughout the territory." The Government also announced that he proposed to appoint six unofficial (i.e. drawn from members of the non-Government benches) Ministers to relieve Ministers of some of the pressure of executive and administrative responsibilities for Government departments. Certain individuals, selected on a

non-official basis, would be invited very soon to accept the appointments. "No special significance should be attached to any racial balance which may emerge from those selected and prepared to serve as assistant Ministers in this interim measure in the development of the Ministerial system," Sir Edward said. The Governor, who was speaking at the opening of a new Budget session of the Council, went on to say that there was no intention whatever of introducing universal suffrage in Tanganyika, nor even considering it, at an early date. It was 'quite unrealistic' to suggest that present conditions were ripe for its introduction. The next step in the territory's constitutional development, he said, was the introduction of a qualitative franchise in 1958, the year of the first elections. A franchise bill, coming before the council shortly, incorporated the recommendations of the franchise committee, which had been approved by the Secretary of State. "Some people try to pretend that the qualitative franchise will weigh unfairly on the African population. In fact, a preliminary survey shows that in eight out of nine constituencies the number of Africans who will qualify for a vote exceed the number of Asian and European electors taken together." Before a final decision was made as to the constituencies to which the franchise would be applied in the 1958 elections, the Government would make further investigations taking into account whether Africans were in the minority in any constituency. As soon as the new legislature

came into being after the 1958 elections a committee would be appointed to study further constitutional developments.

## Accra

The Minister of Trade and Labour, Mr. Botsio, announced in Parliament that the Government had decided to liquidate the Cocoa Purchasing Co. and replace it with an organisation set up by the United Farmers' Council. The Cocoa Purchasing Company, buying agent for the Cocoa Marketing Board, which controls prices paid to cocoa growers, was investigated in May last year after allegations of irregularity, by a committee of inquiry headed by Mr. Justice Jibowu, of the Nigerian Supreme Court. The matter was later referred to a commission of inquiry which reported that the Nkrumah Government condoned irregularities in the company, which had been controlled by the Convention Peoples' Party. The Government later tabled proposals, approved on September 17, providing that a responsible Minister should end appointments of members of statutory boards in future and give the boards orders on the performance of their duties. In his statement recently Mr. Botsio said that members would recall that at the last meeting of the old Legislative Assembly the House approved various bills empowering Ministers to exercise direct control over the boards and corporations for which they were responsible. He went on: "Since the House gave approval to these amendments I have had occasion to issue several instructions concerning the activities of the Cocoa Purchasing Company. In spite of these instructions the affairs of the company continue to be unsatisfactory." Mr. Botsio said that the Government had therefore decided that the Company should go into liqui-

dation, and he had given instructions for this to be effected. He added that steps were being taken to safeguard stocks of cash and cocoa held by the company. The Minister also said that the liquidation of the company would leave a gap in the country's buying arrangements. The United Ghana Farmers' Council intended to fill this by setting up an organisation to buy cocoa, which "will be independent and will buy cocoa for the Marketing Board like any other licensed buying agent in the country."

Four Africans, one Asian and one European have been appointed assistant ministers in the Tanganyika Administration.

## U.S. Help For "Treason" Suspects

A nationwide appeal, headed by John Gunther, author, and the Very Reverend James A. Pike, Dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York City, was launched in the U.S. recently to aid 160 South Africans charged with treason. Mr. Gunther pointed out that "any man, woman or child, black or white, who advocates democracy based on equality of rights may be branded, according to South African law, a Communist or a traitor."

The South African Defence Fund, with an initial goal of \$100,000 in the US and Canada, is being administered by the American Committee on Africa, Inc. The fund was created at the request of outstanding South Africans who oppose Apartheid. The trials are expected to last for a year or more. The money will "help provide those under arrest with the best possible legal defence," and "help meet the critical needs faced by their families."



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