

I expect to pass through this world but once;
Any good thing, therefore, that I can do,
Or any kindness that I can show to any fellow creature;
Let me do it now; let me not defer or neglect it;
For I shall not pass this way again.
—Henry Drummond.

INDIAN
OPINION

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

God be in my head, and in my understanding;
God be in mine eyes, and in my looking;
God be in my mouth, and in my speaking;
God be in my heart, and in my thinking;
God be at mine end, and at my departing.
—Saram Pri

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Let Us Pray

LET us call to remembrance the dead yet ever-living who have passed the doors, beyond which we cannot see. As they kept the faith in time of trial and held fast to righteousness in the hour of temptation, so inspired by their example, may we when danger is near and the flesh is weak, triumph over every trial and temptation, and finally attain unto everlasting life.

Eternal God, in whom the spirits of the just do rest from their labours: we bless thee for the memory of the righteous, and especially for those most dear to us, who have lived in faith and departed in peace. May we follow their good example, and truly loving and serving thee on earth, be gathered with them into thy heavenly Kingdom.

Almighty God our heavenly father, the spirit of the life is within us all; and in thee we live and move and have our being. We pray thee, that we may look on death as a part of life, and find in death and life together the living witness of the spirit. Wilt thou bring comfort to our souls, and give us strength anew, and teach us to walk steadfastly in the way of brotherhood and peace wherein the great and good have trod. And so may the peace of God which passeth all understanding, that peace which the world can neither give nor yet take away, rest upon our minds and hearts this day and evermore.

AMEN.



The Late Mr. Manilal Gandhi

Give Our Best And Not Less

AS we commemorate the first anniversary of the death of Manilal Gandhi, many of us will desire to express in some way our very deep respect and sincere affection for his memory. This is not difficult for those of us who had the privilege of knowing him personally. The praises which we utter are quite unforced. For Manilal Gandhi was a good man, a selfless man, a man of real integrity and courage, a man never afraid to take his own line, never willing to be a demagogue or to be led by demagogues, and at the same time never willing to make terms with tyranny or injustice. He fought as he best could fight with a certain wholeness of personality. As I think of his public life the quotation which springs to my mind is "Blessed are the pure in heart." This is high praise indeed. It can be applied to few public men. Yet I believe that Manilal Gandhi merited it. We are the poorer for his passing and the richer for his example. Not all his friends will agree with every point of his policy. Some will think

that he was not extreme enough, others will argue that he was an idealist but not a practical politician. I do not know what I think of these arguments. They come from men also worthy of respect. What I do feel is that in considering Manilal Gandhi I am before a human personality whom I cannot but respect, and I would ask nothing better for myself or any man than that we should share in that purity of heart and motive which I honestly believe was his. He gave his best. Whether our best is less or more than his best, let us quietly give our best and not less. We salute his memory.

Edgar Butler

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 12TH APRIL, 1957

Manilal Gandhi—In Memoriam

"With you a part of me hath passed away.....
Another, if I would, I could not find,
And I am grown much older in a day.
But yet I treasure in my memory
Your gift of charity, and young heart's ease.
And the dear honour of your amity.
For these once mine, my life is rich with these,
And I scarce know which part may greater be,
What I keep of you, or you rob of me."

—George Santayana.

A FULL year has passed since the passing away of Manilal Gandhi, our beloved editor. On this first anniversary we remember again, the years of his selfless service, and his devotion to the cause of non-Europeans in South Africa. Although, with his going, many things have finished for many of us, the message of his life still lives on. Gone are those kindly eyes, that sweet smile, the loving hospitality, the wit and humour, the man who was a lion at heart. Today we remember all these things about him and our hearts are heavy with longing—yet this day should remind us of his noble message. Many of us will remember him, but how many will see that light or feel again how vital that message was? His was a message of love. He believed that if we were sincere, love would prevail and conquer hatred. Above all, he believed in the adherence at all costs and in all circumstances to the moral values which give meaning to life. His gospel was Truth and Service. He sanctified service as very few men have done. In the words of Dupree: "He would hunger that I might eat; would take the bitter and leave me the sweet."

April 5th will come round the year again and again to proclaim the eternity of time. Manilal Gandhi, wished to serve his fellowmen longer, but Providence ordained otherwise. It is up to us. It is up to us now to fulfil his mission. We must endeavour with all earnestness to face the difficulties and crisis of today, in the light of his message to us—and in this way, we may give a little of our lives to the memory of one who was very near and very dear to our hearts. What greater tribute can we pay him, than the tribute of making his life's work our work and his cherished hopes, our hopes?

What is the worst of woes that wait on age? What stamps the wrinkle deeper on the brow? To view each loved one blotted from lifes page, and be alone on earth.

—Bryon.

Personal Note Of Thanks

A YEAR has passed since I took upon my shoulders the responsibility of carrying on the work of 'Indian Opinion.' I have experienced mixed feelings of hopes and disappointments, and also have had the privilege of new experiences. I always believed that this was a responsibility far too great for me, but I have found since then that one learns by mistakes, and I have made a good many of them. Today I have learnt more in the past year than I had learnt in the 28 years with my editor husband. There have been times when I have been overcome by disappointments, and the desire to give up this work has been great, but always, an inner voice has stopped me.

Before I enter into the second year of my responsibility I wish to thank Almighty God, who has been my comforter and guide, and without whose assistance I would never have been able to carry on. I have stated before that this paper is not a money-making concern, and my predecessors have been such great men, that I have to tread very carefully lest I make some mistake and bring down even by a fraction the prestige that they have built. I have received many attractive suggestions from many friends during this period, but I felt that though they were all meant for my benefit, they were such that would have made me waver from the morals of 'Indian Opinion' and so I have had to reject these suggestions. By doing so I know, I must have hurt the feelings of my friends, and I wish to record here my sincere apologies.

I also wish to thank all the readers and friends for their very kind assistance, without which, I could not have succeeded. I hope that they will continue to give me all the assistance they can.

Finally I wish to record my sincere and heartfelt gratitude to the staff of 'Indian Opinion.' They have been most kind and considerate in overlooking my mistakes. Because of my inexperience, they have often had more work thrust upon them but they have met all these difficulties without any complaints, and with their years of experienced work under my late husband, they have smoothed out many difficulties from my path in the past year. For this, I am indebted to them.

All this has convinced me that everyone looks up on this work as a labour of service and love and it has the blessings of God. With these blessings and with the guidance of the dear departed souls, I hope to continue with more success.

Publisher—SUSHILA GANDHI.

Prasad And Radhakrishnan Renominated

THE All-India Congress Committee announced on April 3 that Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Dr. Radhakrishnan have accepted Congress Party's nomination to stand for the second term as the President and the Vice-President of India.

The Central Parliamentary Board of the party has nominated Dr. Rajendra Prasad as the President and Dr. Radhakrishnan to the office of Vice-President.

A Dangerous Hour

This article is written in memory of Manilal Gandhi
by Alan Paton

IF I judge correctly, we are living in a dangerous hour. The greatest danger to South Africa has always been that a time might come when white and black would see one another as mortal enemies. We are nearer to that than we have ever been before.

If that time should ever come, white people will say about black people, "they are so many that we dare not give them anything; and if we did, they would seize all." And black people will say about white people, "we expect nothing from you; what we want we shall take, when the time comes."

There have always been—and there still are—numbers of black people and white people who do not think in this irreconcilable way. But the intention of the Government, and notably of Dr. Verwoerd, is to abolish communication between such people. Isolated from one another, what will they do? Will even they fall prey to the prevailing fears and hates? Will even they begin to think that white interests and black interests are irreconcilable?

The real danger does not lie in Dr. Verwoerd or in any law that he likes to make. The real danger is that finally he will convince us that conflict is the only way of life. Then, because we cannot take up conflict, we shall give up living, and when we give up living, we shall give up believing, we shall be swept to the black side or the white, in preparation for the dread battle that we have helped to bring more near.

There used to be another way out of this valley of the shadow of death. That way was total separation. If only we were totally separated, there could be no battle at all. But we are beginning to see clearly that total separation is a dream; the Government is not even prepared to pay the money necessary to realise the semi-apartheid of the Tomlinson report. Total separation is more than a dream—it is a deception.

Therefore only two possibilities are left. One is to accept black-white irreconcilability as our doom; the other is to reject it with all our hearts and wills, and it is these hearts and wills that Dr. Verwoerd is determined to break. In his fury he is shaking the tree of his enemies, hoping to shake the last of us free of our hold upon its branches. His Native Laws Amendment Bill is meant for that very purpose. It is designed, not only to prevent

African and non-African people from meeting together, but to make them yield the very idea that there can never be any purpose common to African and non-African, let alone a common society belonging to all.

I say this is a dangerous time, but I am not thinking so much of Dr. Verwoerd and his Bills, as I am thinking of our hearts and wills: I am thinking, as every good soldier must do, not so much of the terror of the enemy as of the stoutness of the defence. The hour is dangerous, not so much for what might happen without, as for what might happen within. And remember, our defence against Dr. Verwoerd has never lain in outward pomp and power, but always in our hearts and wills.

The beliefs that we cherish in the oneness of mankind and the wickedness of discrimination have been taught by all the great religions of the world. The fact that they are under attack must make us all the more eager in their defence. The time calls for stout hearts, not long faces. If we are true to our trust, then we help and encourage all those who are trying to be the same. Of us more than any others it can be said, united we stand, divided we fall.

I write these words in memory of Manilal Gandhi, who was fierce against injustice, and gentle in all else. It is a year since he died, and the world, especially our part of it, has certainly not grown any better since, and it looks as though it is going to grow worse. But the worst thing that could happen to it is not anything that Dr. Verwoerd can do; it is that we, through fear or despair, should cease to defend the right, and should begin to believe that conflict is the only way of life.

Manilal Gandhi, like his father before him, believed in the inexhaustible power of the Divine, upholding and sustaining the world. No hour is too dangerous when men yield their hearts and wills to no other power. For this power casts out fear, and it is only of fear that we need be afraid. It is fear that makes this our dangerous hour.

A Tribute To Manilal Gandhi

From Hanna Lazar

I was asked to write a few words for "Indian Opinion" for the issue devoted to the death anniversary of my dear good friend and brother—Manilal Gandhi.

To express adequately my thoughts and deep feelings—I would have to be a writer (which I don't claim to be.) What can I say other than: To me he is not gone, and never will be gone!—Just like my beloved parents, uncle Hermann Kallenbach, Bapuji—so also Manilalbai, was, is, and will remain interwoven in my personal life till the time will come (I hope) when we will all meet again on another plane—which I believe to be a better and brighter one!

I met Manilalbai for the first time when my people and I arrived in Durban by boat from Europe.

I knew about the Gandhi family long before that day. My uncle Hermann Kallenbach when visiting us in Europe (my mother was his only sister, to'd us a great deal about his close association with Mr. M. K. Gandhi and his family. Ever, since my childhood, Bapuji's photograph, which he had sent to mother through uncle, stood framed on a special table in our home.

So when the memorable day dawned—and I met Manilalbai for the first time in person, I felt as if I had known him all my

life! EVEN today I can see the picture in my mind's eye: There they all stood—five of them—waiting for us to alight from the boat. 1. Parsee Rustomjee; 2. Omar Jhaveri; 3. Manilalbai; 4. Uncle; 5. and another friend whose name I have forgotten. All of them are no more here with us—yet they can never leave us!

The thing which struck me most forcibly about my good brother, after I had met him quite frequently (our respective farms, Inanda and Phoenix being near each other) was his wonderful humility; his unwavering faith and his undaunted courage!

No matter how desperate he sometimes felt, how frustrated and humiliated, he never gave up the struggle for justice, for self-improvement and for truth! Truly Manilalbai was a worthy son of his great father Mahatmaji and sweet mother Kasturba.

"Our ingress to this world is naked and bare;
"Our progress through this world is trouble and care;
"Our egress out this world we know not where;
"But if we live well here we live well—there!"

And so, farewell sweet friend! But "to live in the hearts of those who love is not to die!"

I can never forget you, and I will try to honour your memory by emulating your life!

Africans Invited To Lunch At Opening Of New Mine

RACIAL partnership scored a new victory on the Copperbelt when leading African personalities were invited to the formal opening of the big Bancroft copper mine. At Sir Ernest Oppenheimer's invitation more than half a dozen African guests attended the morning tea-party which preceded the formal opening, and the luncheon that followed it. Chief among them were Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, president of the African Mine Workers Union.

No copper mine in Northern Rhodesia has been opened in this inter-racial way in the past.

The Bancroft mine authorities simply invited representatives of

all the recognised industrial organisations to their employees, whether White or Black, thus following the precedent set by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia at his reception during the recent visit of the Colonial Secretary.

Race relations were referred to only once during the speeches.

Replying to Sir Roy Welensky at the luncheon Mr. Harry Oppenheimer said that, to his mind, the Federation was being shaped in an extremely sound way.

"The great principle of partnership is, after all, a principle which in this multi-racial country can give unity and give nobility of aim," he said.

Extracts From Editorials By The Late Mr. Manilal Gandhi

Wanted True Leadership

THE Indian community in South Africa is suffering at the present moment plethora of leaders. From one point of view it may perhaps congratulate itself that it has so many leaders. But from our experience of public affairs we hold the firm conviction that true leadership is not a common thing. True leadership requires many things and only when a community has a few leaders of the true type it can feel safe and march towards progress and advancement. Otherwise plethora of leaders only intensifies dissensions and differences within the community and prevents united action—where such action is necessary and desirable for the good of the community at large.

"Indian Opinion" since its very inception has always been idealistic in its outlook and has not believed in the leadership of privilege and honour seekers. It has always advocated that leaders must be men of independence, courage and above all, inspired by a spirit of sacrifice, truth, honesty and fairplay. We think these are also the main tenets of Satyagraha which has had its origin in South Africa under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi whom some of our leaders idolise.

—15th June, 1934

—o—

Goodwill Sunday

India has been quite justifiably criticised and condemned for her evil of untouchability. India who is suffering for her sins is fast on her way to eradicate that great evil. But South Africa who claims to be more advanced in civilisation than any other country seems to be copying that very evil that India is ridding herself of. Her segregation policy, her colour bar laws are just that and nothing else. In fact she has gone one worse because in India it was a social law not sanctioned by State law but here the differentiation is based on colour and race and sanctioned by the law of the State. The real Christian spirit would be goodwill towards all mankind. That includes the enemy as well. In fact it allows no animosity or ill-will towards anybody. If there is ill-will towards some and a profession of goodwill towards others such goodwill has no room in the real conception of Christianity.

The Rev. W. H. Satchell has struck the right note when he writes in the "Natal Mercury":

"It is good that we should pray for goodwill among all sections of the people. Yet prayer alone is obviously not enough. Prayer without action is sheer hypocrisy.

"While not forgetting that the primary intention on this Sunday is the fostering of goodwill among the different European groups, I write to urge the importance of action to reinforce prayer as a means of establishing mutual understanding and tolerance between Europeans and non-Europeans. I write of my own city. Titanic sacrifices are being made by our people in England. Are we less noble than they?"

We will go a little further and say that our prayer should be for the abolition of the colour bar altogether because it is un-Christian and undemocratic. Our prayer, moreover, should be for the grace of God to be showered not only upon ourselves but upon our so-called enemy, that both may have better sense to solve their disputes in a spirit of goodwill and friendship and shun the slaughtering of mankind. This may sound very high and impracticable. But the path of righteousness is beset with thorns and without righteousness there can be no goodwill. Therefore, the observance of Goodwill Sunday however good it may sound, will have no meaning if it is not followed by action in a true Christian spirit.

—28th March 1941

—o—

Hours Of Darkness

Indians in South Africa have a very grave responsibility on their shoulders. They may not sit quiet like mice, nor may they allow themselves to be dragged into any rash action by rousing their emotional feelings. They must keep their balance even in the face of the strongest provocation and act in a dignified manner. If there ever was a time to sink all differences and distinctions between the rich and poor between the various sections based on cast, creed or province and to stand solidly together and be mutually helpful to face the difficulties that confront us, in the true spirit. They were taught

by Mahatma Gandhi, it surely is today. Let us not take his name in vain or exploit it to suit our purpose. Let us prayerfully invoke his spirit to guide us in this darkness.

—8th July, 1949.

—o—

What We Should Do

Our is a crusade and we must be prepared to suffer and to lay down our lives, quietly, at the altar of Truth and Righteousness, without causing injury to those who persecute us. That requires power, for superior to that required in wielding the sword. That power is spiritual power, which comes by the grace of God to him who has indomitable faith in him and respects and abides by His law as against man made laws even at the risk of being crucified. It is difficult, very difficult, but not impossible to acquire. We are in the midst of abounding darkness. But if we go forward with faith in God we shall surely see light. "God helps those who help themselves"

These are not meaningless words.

—22nd July, 1949.

—o—

Trouble Lies With Ourselves

...The trouble is really with ourselves. If the South African Government has sinned in violating God's law by its evil deeds we are greater sinners in submitting, out of selfish reasons, to those evils, knowing them to be evils. One who knowingly sins against man and God, as indeed



The late Mr. Manilal Gandhi

we are doing is a worse sinner, and impotency to deal with them, is yet another unforgivable sin. So the question is, who is to blame whom?

...Here in South Africa, where the future under the present regime seems so very gloomy, there are signs of a steadily growing awakening in the church, which is raising its voice, however feeble, against the ills of the Government. They are signs of hope. May that heavenly light grow brighter and enlighten our path and soften the hearts of those in whose hands He has thought fit to place the reins of this country and thus bring peace and prosperity here and throughout the world to all mankind in the year to come.

—11th November, 1955.

(The above words were the last words of Mr. Manilal Gandhi before he was taken ill, and taken away from us.—Ed.-I.O.)

Memorial Service For The Late Mr. Manilal Gandhi

THERE was a representative gathering on the 5th April at Phoenix to attend a memorial service for the late Mr. Manilal Gandhi. Swami Nischalavanda who presided, spoke in English about the ideals of the deceased and his uphill work for the community, for at times he felt isolated, yet he strove on. He was followed by Pandit Nardav Vedalankar, who spoke in Hindi.

Bapuji's favourite hymn "Lead Kindly Light" was beautifully sung by Mr. Matabese, of the Ohlange Institute. Mr. Wadia recited the Zoroastrian prayer and Miss Gool recited the Maellim prayer. At the close of the service the Shantipath was sung. During the day, the Kasturba Gandhi School prayers were recited, for the late Mr. Manilal Gandhi, who was the founder of the above school.

A Day With The Gandhis

By ROBERT ST. JOHN

THE road to Phoenix is lined with poinsettias growing wild but just as red, just as perfectly formed as the hothouse, Christmas kind.

Occasionally a mongoose darts across the road after a snake.

The house which Mahatma ("The Wise, Great-Souled One") Gandhi built on a hill and called Sarvodaya ("For the Welfare of All") still stands there, but Manilal, the son, has built a larger and more modern place of brick and stone for the second and third generations.

The buildings on the hilltop are surrounded by pineapples, pawpaw and banana trees, and there is a tennis court close to the house.

At the entrance a sign reads:
Welcome To Those Who Cross
The Threshold Of This Door:
A Hearty Welcome To Both Rich
And Poor!

Although Manilal Gandhi agreed with his father about the evils of mechanization, a Dodge automobile stands in the Gandhi garage.

Manilal Gandhi is 60 years old. His eyes, behind thin-rimmed spectacles, are soft and kind, although sometimes they flash with impatience. His black hair has started to grey. He dresses in a conventional, western manner, generally very unostentatiously, although this day he wore a beige sports shirt, beige slacks and open work sandals. Most noticeable are his hands! The fingers are long and tapering. There is much of the aesthete about him. Often his voice seems to be coming from far off, almost as if from another world.

Mrs. Gandhi has salt-and-pepper hair, is short of stature, always wears saris, goes to Durban each Saturday to do the week's marketing for the entire establishment, gives "Indian Opinion" as much of her time as she can spare, has a sweet and gentle face, and hands very much like her husband's. Being a Hindu she wears the small red "holy mark" on the forehead. She never interrupts her husband, and speaks of her father-in-law almost reverently.

Sita, the oldest of the three children, is what a Frenchman would call *mignon*. She is fragile-looking and at first with strangers seems as frightened as a young doe cornered by hunters. But Sita, who is 23, is an extremely intelligent young woman and has the title of manager for the paper,

Whenever her father is in prison or away on trips it is she who takes complete charge.

Arun, a 19-year-old boy, looks like a typical American college boy.

Ela, the 13-year-old baby of the family, is a quiet little girl, very shy, very sweet looking.

In one corner of the Gandhis' living room there is a case of curios, all of them connected with the life of the Mahatma. On one wall there is a photograph in colours of Gandhi and Nehru. On another wall there is an enlarged photograph of Presi-

think vegetarian food healthier, but for spiritual reasons. It is tied to their pacifism, their dislike of harming man or beast, and their feeling that man must discipline himself.

It seemed appropriate that questions about fasting should be asked at the dinner table. Manilal Gandhi said he himself had done many seven-day fasts in his youth, when he and his father were working together. In 1951, after his father's death, he did his first 14-day fast. Then, just last year, in sympathy with the Africans' protest against dis-

his father would want it done.

"His sterling character was what attracted followers and disarmed entire governments. No one could ever not treat him gently. Even when the police would come, even they could not help but treat him with kindness,

"Father's personality alone shook the British Empire

"He led an austere and prayerful life of great self-discipline, renouncing everything for the good of mankind. He knew what to do. He trained us children to live the hardest sort of lives. We could never drink nor smoke. We were not allowed to become slaves to anything."

Manilal Gandhi said he was very impressed with the Africans' adoption of passive resistance.

"It is a wonderful, amazing thing to watch. Naturally it is difficult for them to understand non-violence, especially if it is not explained properly to them. They must not be told that if they go to prison for several months they will win what they are fighting for.

"They must be told that this is war. They must be told, just as you tell a soldier in war, that they may have to give their lives. They must expect the worst. They must be prepared even to go to the gallows. A good passive resister must have no mental reservations."

I asked if he ever felt torn between carrying on his father's work in India or in South Africa. He smiled.

"Father's philosophy was that evil must be fought where you find it; that one must never run away from it."

Then we discussed his prison record.

Between 1907 and 1914, while his father was still in Natal, Manilal Gandhi served several three-month terms for civil disobedience.

In 1930 he went to India on a visit and there served a full year's term.

In 1946 he served a three-month South African term.

And then the Germiston case. He smiled as he told me how he became involved in it.

"I went one day to see Julius Lewin in Johannesburg and there I found Raymond Duncan. We had lunch together and for the first time I learned about the plan to go to Germiston Location. Suddenly I became very jealous of this young white man

A Fearless Champion

IT is difficult to imagine that only a year ago Manilal passed away, so much has happened in that year.

The "treason trial" arrests would not have surprised him. Indeed he had long expected something like this. And although he had certain reservations about the original plans for the Congress of the People and about the wording of some of the clauses of the Freedom Charter, he would have stood solid with those of us who publicly take our stand on the side of the arrested men and the cause for which they are being persecuted.

But perhaps what would most have delighted him in these developments of the last year is the manner in which these bus boycotts have been conducted. Once again, as in 1952, the African people have shown themselves fully capable of sustaining disciplined determination and strict non violence, even in the face of very considerable administrative and police provocation.

This surely would have earned his unstinted admiration. And he would have rejoiced equally in the visible proofs the boycott yielded of an increasing white understanding of African difficulties and demands to be treated as human beings as of right, which was steadily made manifest at the level of personal contacts with the boycotters in spite of ministerial and official discouragement—even intimidation.

Despite the steady flow of repressive legislation, the year since Manilal's death has been marked by a visible solidifying of the all-racial opposition to apartheid which would have warmed his heart as much as it dismays the advocates of *baasskap*.

C. W. M. GELL.

dent Truman with Prime Minister and his sister.

At dinner we talked of food. The Gandhis are strict vegetarians, as are about half the Hindus of India and a quarter of the Hindus of South Africa. There were many courses to the dinner; so many it seemed like a Chinese meal. The vegetable curry was excellent but *piece de resistance* was an Indian fritter called *chillie bites*.

Unlike most vegetarians in the West the Gandhis refrain from eating meat and other animal products not because they

criminatorily laws, he made his first 21-day fast. His daily diet consisted of a small quantity of boiled water. He lost 25 pounds. Even his father never fasted longer than that.

Manilal Gandhi is not fanatical about his father's memory. He considers that his father was one of the world's greatest men. He says it in as matter-of-fact a way as if he were stating the distance to Durban. Unlike so many of famous figures, he insists on being a personality in his own right, yet he does everything within his power to carry on his father's work in the way he knows

who was soon to go to prison and I told him so. He answered, "All right, come along with us!" So I went and so I got arrested."

After a pause he said he thought there was some misunderstanding about subsequent events. Normally, when a passive resister is sentenced and is given the choice of paying a fine or serving as many days in prison, he chooses the imprisonment and is immediately led off to start his sentence. But in the Germiston case one of the laws they had intentionally broken was a prohibition against the holding of a public meeting in an African location without a permit. Both the African and Indian Congresses wished to test the validity of this regulation, so they appealed the convictions in the Magistrate's court. Manilal Gandhi had very reluctantly agreed to this, but the day I spent at Phoenix he was nervous and restless, because it had been many months since his conviction and nothing was happening, and this was all contrary to the basic theories of civil disobedience.

"I am very soon going to give myself up and ask to be allowed to serve my 60 days," he said.

It was not long later that he did just that. For 16 days he was kept in the Germiston prison, where he lost a pound a day. After 23 more days in the Pretoria prison he was released just in time to celebrate the Hindu feast of Divali (New Year's) with his family. (Raymond Duncan and two white girls also gave themselves up and served two weeks terms, after paying part of their fines.)

Manilal is deeply anti-Communist on the grounds, he says, that Communism is based on violence and in his code violence is one of the extreme evils. Yet he is neither hysterical nor fanatical about it. When he went to prison late in 1953, he announced that it was partly in protest against the banning of so many South Africans under the terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

"One of my minor objections to Communists," he said, "is that I find it almost impossible to work with them. If there is even just one of them on a committee he will always try to dominate it."

After dinner we toured the grounds. The entire Phoenix establishment has been made a trust for the Indians of the community, Mahatma Gandhi would never recognize the place if he were to come back to it. There is a large printing plant now. They have never been able to afford a linotype machine, so ten printers work six days a week setting by hand each letter of each word that goes into

the 18 or 20 pages of 'Indian Opinion,' which now has 3,000 subscribers scattered around the world.

One year ago Mrs. Gandhi decided that something had to be done about education for the children of the people who worked for them and so, just as Winnie had done at Alexandra, she had started an outdoor school. She herself was the teacher. Then they moved into the original Mahatma Gandhi home and made two classrooms of it.

A few months ago a government inspector came along and found nearly 200 children jammed into those two small rooms.

He said he hated to be critical, but he thought maybe they needed just a little more room. And so...

As all days must, the day with the Gandhis finally ended. It ended with Jackie running out of the house with a bottle of ink in his hand and everyone chasing him. Jackie was the Gandhis' household pet, a monkey who delighted in confounding Editor Gandhi by stealing his pen and hiding it. Once he did something much worse, for which no one forgave him for days.

After Manilal Gandhi had worked late one night editing all the articles for the next issue of 'Indian Opinion', Jackie got in through an open window and with that literary interest common to all members of the family made off with the pile of paper. Some was finally found, but Jackie evidently ate the rest, or tossed it to the four winds.

The day ended when the sun began to set and it was time to catch a train for Durban. Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi drove me in their Dodge to the depot. There, sitting in the glooming of a crisp autumn evening waiting for the train, I asked my final question:

"What of the future?"

The train was 45 minutes late, so I had a considered reply.

"Our only possible weapon is passive resistance. The Swart Acts increasing the punishments must not stop me. In India the maximum penalty was six years. We must even submit our bodies to lashes if that is their pleasure. If even only a few will go on with the campaign, the goal will be achieved.

"But if Africans and Indians allow themselves to be forced into violence, then the animosities which will be engendered will never disappear. Look at the Boer War! Where is the peace between Africans and Britishers? Look at any war. Where is there ever peace after a war? Or democracy?"

Just then a stream of several hundred Africans came down the railroad tracks. They were on their way home from work. Many of them had taken out of freight cars standing on the siding pieces of sugar cane from two to six feet long. They were chewing and sucking the reddish stalks. Many of them were almost naked. Their bodies glistened in the light of the setting sun. They walked, weary as they must have been from a long day's work in the cane fields, with poise. They could not have been going home to anything very pleasant: a hovel, a supper of mealie meal, a sleep on a hard bed. They had an ugly present and not much of a future. Yet they walked along with a certain proud dignity which both Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi remarked.

"There is no reason for friction between them and us, unless someone tries to create it," Manilal Gandhi said.

"It is true that Indians opened up trading in remote parts of the country in a day when white men looked down on trading. The Indians became the merchants from whom the Africans did nearly all their buying. Some of the Indians exploited the Africans. Perhaps many did. Just as some, perhaps many business men of whatever race exploit people. It has nothing to do with race. It is purely a class trait.

"The white people brought Africans to the cities and did nothing to house them, so they sought places from the Indians and the Indians rented them space in their backyards. Some Indians overcharged them. Again this has nothing to do with race. Landlords of all colours sometimes overcharge.

"At one time Indians owned nearly all the shops, and the buses and the cinemas. But Indians cannot expect that this will go on forever. As the African progresses, he will want to run his own shops, buses and cinemas. Indians must realize that Africans will assert their rights.

"With goodwill on both sides and if no one tries to stir us up against each other, there will be no serious trouble between Africans and Indians."

Just at this point a train whistle split the quiet autumn air.

A day with the Gandhis was over.

'Watching Over Africans'

HUNDREDS of Africans thronged the open-air meeting place at Kabushi African township in Ndola to hear Mr. James Johnson, Labour M.P., speak on the need for African advancement in Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Johnson, who came out from Britain to study conditions in Northern Rhodesia at the invitation of the African Congress, was addressing a trade union gathering.

Referring to the Government estimates for this territory for 1957, he said:

"I would like to see twice as much spent on African education as on the police and twice the amount spent on African education, as is spent now."

"You are still under the protection of Her Majesty's Government and there are many people like myself in the House of Commons who are watching over you and studying your conditions."

Inanda Indian Welfare Society

THE fifteenth annual general meeting of the Inanda Indian Welfare Society was held at the Inanda Govt. Aided Indian School on Sunday, April 7. Mr. G. Mangrey in his Presidential Address exhorted the members to take a keener interest in the affairs of the Society and he elaborated on the aims and objects of the Society which in a summarised form were Social, Educational and Religious. Mr. S. Kasu, the Secretary presented a very comprehensive report of the Society's activities for the past year.

The following officials were elected for the ensuing year:—
Patrons: Mrs. Sushila Gandhi, Messrs. G. Panchoo, M. Dookran, V. Murugan, S. S. Govender, Harilal Ramgobin, B. Seebharuth, R. Hiralaal, D. Kasu, T. Mahabir, S. R. Ropooorain, B. Gugraj, G. Ramnath, R. Raghunath and Dr. Dennis Choonoo.
President: Mr. G. Mangrey, vice-president: Mr. S. Ramparsad, hon. secretary: Mr. S. Kasu, hon. treasurer: Mr. Haripersadh Ramgobin, asst. secretary: Mr. Ranjit Mahesh, asst. treasurer: Mr. Krishna Ramgobin; executive committee: All officials and Messrs. Mawalal Ramgobin and K. Dhanukdharie, hon. auditors: Mr. R. Hiralaal.

GANDHI—

The Story Of His Life

CHAPTER IV

AT last three years of study came to an end, and Gandhiji was free to return.

The voyage back to India was very stormy and nearly every body was sick, except Gandhiji. In the ship's dining-room only two or three people came to the table at meal times. They sat holding their plates in their laps, as the ship was tossed this way and that by the wind.

Gandhiji was longing to see his dear mother again. But when he heard the sad news that she had died while he was in England. His elder brother had kept the news, not wishing to him such a thing while he was away in a foreign land among strangers.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correa

Since it was necessary for Gandhiji to start earning money as soon as possible, it was decided that he should go to Bombay to practice there as a barrister. He was to go alone at first and set up a household on his own until he had found some good clients.

He engaged a cook to look after him, but unfortunately the fellow was very stupid and dirty. He did not even trouble to wash his own hands, much less to do his work in the kitchen properly. Poor Gandhiji was too kind to scold him. Instead, he tried to teach him how to look after the house. But the cook was very lazy and merely watched while Gandhiji did almost all the work.

In the meantime no clients turned up and so Gandhiji earned no money at all. After six months of this life, he returned home to Rajkot, quite tired and disappointed.

It was good to be with the family again, of course, but it was disappointing to have to tell them how things had gone with him in Bombay. They had expected him to be of so much help to them after completing his studies in England, and so far he had been able to do nothing.

For a long time things went very slowly in Rajkot, too. Gandhiji earned only a very little money now and then. He had begun sadly to feel that he was not going to be a success in life. Little did he think that one day the world would ring with his



PUTHLIBAI—Gandhiji's Mother

name, and that after his death people would scrape up, as a precious relic, the dust trodden by his feet!

It was just when he was feeling so downcast that a firm of Indian merchants from Porbander, who had settled in South Africa, sent for him to come and take charge of some important law business for them in Durban, a South African seaport. They wrote that

they would want his service for about a year. They were not going to pay him badly, either, and the idea of further travel pleased Gandhiji, so he accepted the offer. If he was not going to be a successful barrister, he might at least see a little more of the world, he thought.

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(To be continued)

Debate Between Advocates Of Apartheid And Liberal Party Members

MORE than 100 young men burst into the grounds of a private home in an attempt to disorganise a mixed meeting held by the Liberal Party.

At the close of the meeting, Mrs. Margaret Brink, the owner of the premises, who is the Liberal Party candidate in the Pretoria East provincial by-election, told a reporter that she would ask the police to drop the matter, as no harm seem to have been done.

"In fact, when some of the men entered into the discussion, we found the experience stimulating, as I am sure they did also," she said.

In a statement the Pretoria branch of the Liberal Party said it welcomed criticism, "although we disliked the manner of intrusion the men adopted,

"We nevertheless appreciate the fact that they gave our main speaker, Mr. J. K. Ngubane, a hearing, and added great interest to the meeting by asking pointed questions.

"We feel that, having made this contact, we would welcome

an opportunity to address the men who attended the meeting under more normal circumstances."

The first warning of a disturbance came when the men were heard massing outside Mrs. Brink's grounds. Soon afterwards, two tear gas bombs were thrown, one landing near the Press table, forcing reporters to withdraw hurriedly.

The men poured into the grounds, heckling speakers and singing, "Die Lied van Jong Suid Afrika." Brief altercations between members of the Liberal Party and the men followed, but there were no incidents.

After the majority of the men had left on instructions from the police, a handful remained behind to take part in what resolved into a debate between advocates of apartheid and members of the Liberal Party.

One of the men spoke in

Sesuto to Mr. Ngubane, but he pointed that he spoke Zulu. A European interpreter was found for Mr. Ngubane and an African interpreter for the questioner, and the discussion continued.

After the meeting, the men were invited to share a cup of tea with Mrs. Brink as her guests, but they refused on the ground of their difference of opinion.

The meeting was originally to have been held in the Arcadia Parish Hall, but permission was refused when anonymous threats were made that it would be broken up if an African spoke from the same platform as Europeans.

"Looking South"

THE Town Clerk of Lagos, an African with an Oxford accent, told the Town Clerk of Cape Town, Mr. M. B. Williams: "When we have put our own house in order we shall be turning our eyes to the south."

Mr. Williams, who recently returned from a visit to Nigeria and other African territories, recalled the incident at a lunch meeting of the S.A.A.F. Association.

"I had my eyes opened on my two-and-a-half-month trip," said Mr. Williams, "When you travel in these territories you realize the shape of things to come.

"There is no doubt that however much is spent on these countries, no matter what advantages are given to the Africans by the Europeans, the inhabitants have one idea in mind—one man one vote."

He went on to say that a strong crust of educated African opinion was concentrating on building up the spirit of nationalism. It was not flag wagging but the cold calculated use of education.

"When you think of the countless millions of Africans whose minds are being directed along these lines, you get a feeling that to try to stem the tide of Black nationalism is like playing the role of Canute."

Mr. Williams said he was asked by a clergyman in Uganda whether "you people in the south realize that we Africans are probably going to prove the bulwark between the West and East in the final result."

He attended a town council meeting in Bathurst and if he had been blindfolded he would have thought he was back in the Cape Town City Council.

"There were all the same tricks—the referring back and the postponement of reports."



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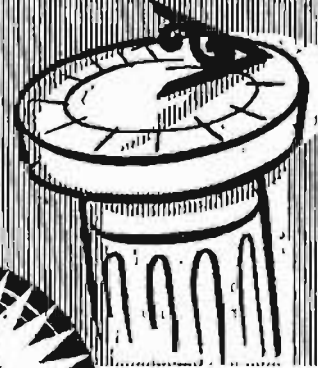
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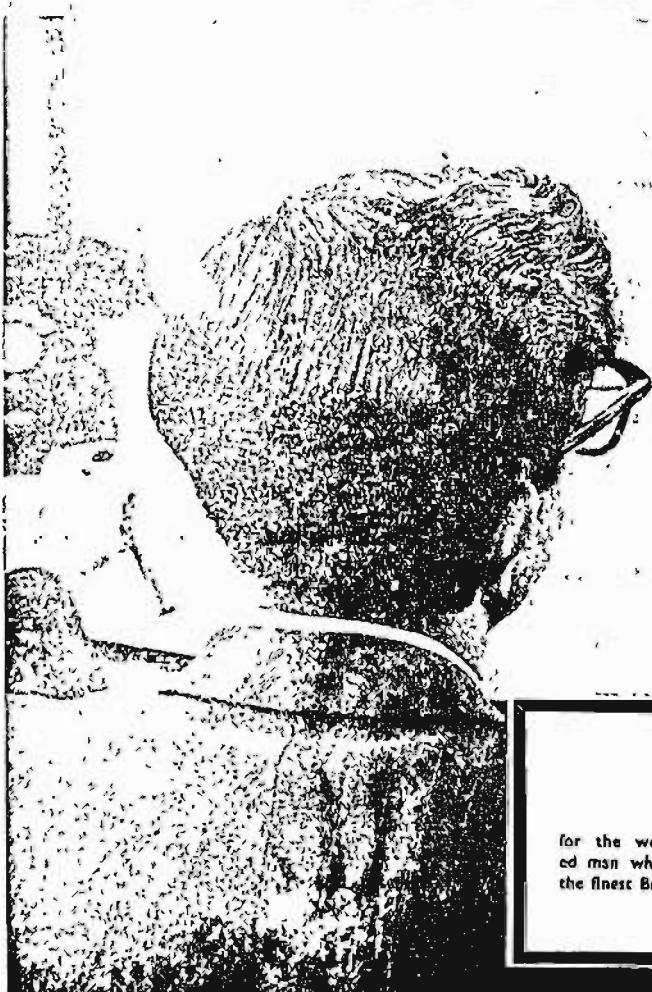


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State Information Nonsense About Indians

THE State Information Office's latest booklet on our Indians says that in a century the Indians here "have advanced from depths of want, illiteracy, physical and spiritual degradation to heights of plenty, liberty and opportunity."

They came here mostly as "untouchables" and "coolies," says the S.I.O. It does not know what it is talking about. There were very few "untouchables" among the Indian immigrants. Since we were looking for labourers, most of them were labourers which is all the Indian word "coolie" means. Naturally they came from the poorest working classes. Overall statistics are lacking. But of 7,947 who sailed from Calcutta in 1875-6, 21 per cent came from the upper castes, 48 per cent from the middle castes and only 38 per cent from the lower castes (not outcasts)

On page 4 of the booklet is a particularly misleading piece of propaganda. The faded photos of five Tamil or Telugu indentured labourers are contrasted with the beaming faces of four affluent Pretoria shopkeepers. There are no words to explain this. Nor is it said that the Gujarati shopkeepers came to this country as free, passenger Indians who comprised 19 per cent of the total Indian immigration.

Of course, some of the original "coolies" have prospered. But most of the small wealthy minority came here as free men of some substance. According to the S.I.O.'s own figures (not used in this booklet for overseas consumption), only one per cent of our Indians have an income of £300 per head, i.e. equal to the overall average of entire White population rich and poor. The Transvaal and Cape Indians, who together constitute only 18 per cent of our Indian population, average about £60 per head. In Natal, Indians only average £25 per head (Africans £19, Coloureds about £35.)

And, when the S.I.O. refers to "prosperous" Indians being found "everywhere today" enjoying the amenities of life in generous measure, it is surely deliberate distortion that conceals how 70 per cent of Durban's 160,000 Indians live below the poverty line (Europeans 5 per cent, Coloureds 38 per cent, Africans 25 per cent.) Or that out of 1,422 Indians recently examined in the Springfield district of Durban (attractively shown in coloured serial photo by the S.I.O.) 1,255 were found to be seriously undernourished. Of all these not one photo appears.

It is true that Indians "enjoy" old age pensions, disability grants and other allowances. But the differential rate at which these are paid out to the needy of various races was naturally undisclosed by the S.I.O.—Whites £5—18—9 per head, Coloureds £2—9—6, Indians £1—6—8, Africans £0—9—2. Nor is it mentioned that large numbers of Indians qualified for family allowances under the Children's Act because of their low income-level, until it was withdrawn from them (but not from Europeans) in 1949. This was done because the Nationalist Government, with its usual ignorance of sociology, felt that large Indian families were

By
C. W. M. GELL

merely being encouraged. But the S.I.O. is singularly reluctant to come to grips with statistics. On page 23 of the booklet it quotes birth rates from all over the place, but gives Union figures merely in unintelligible symbols. Perhaps the coyness is due to the steady decline in our Indian birth rate over the last 15 years. It has dropped from over 40 per thousand to a little over 30 (Europeans 26) and one of our main emotional arguments is fast disappearing.

Again, it is literally true that "hundreds of houses" are being built for Indians in South Africa out of public funds—all in Natal. But it is "hundreds" against a need of "thousands". It was authoritatively estimated that Durban Indians needed 14,000 sub-economic and 3,000 economic houses between 1945 and 1953. Towards this total 800 had been built by 1950. From the figure of 1,621 houses at Springfield in the S.I.O. booklet, I assume that this figure has been rather more than doubled in the last six years. But in the meantime the Group Areas proposals to remove Durban Indians mostly to undeveloped, agricultural land outside the city have added 10,000 houses to the total already required. The lag of 17,000 houses in 1945 has thus become 25,000 by 1956. Against these figures of what avail are the "hundreds" boosted by the S.I.O.?

Throughout the S.I.O. booklet

there is wilful statistical obfuscation. Totals of Indians employed in industry, their total salaries etc., are quoted without, of course, any attempt to elucidate or explain the figures. Only the industrious will calculate that the average wage comes to less than £20 per month and, since that includes working proprietors, managers etc., the real average working wage is very much lower (between £3 and £4 per family per week). Again the diagram purporting to show the percentage of trade licences held by Indians in Durban becomes much less impressive when it is understood that the Indian population exceeds the European, and that most of the categories in which Indians hold a clear majority are the least profitable (e.g. pedlars, hand laundries etc.)

But obfuscation becomes outright misrepresentation when it is shown how Indians have "gathered wealth" in all business pursuits. This is "typified" by the sugar industry in which "hundreds of Indians own more than 26,130 fertile and productive acres from which 500,000 tons of cane are expected this year." Now it so happens that we have definite statistics for the sugar growing industry. There are approximately 1,300 Indian owner-producers, which gives an average holding of 20 acres. But over 1,000 of these earn at most a net income of £200 per family (£33 per head), and 700 earn only £100 per family (£16 per head.) This is hardly opulence. About 50 of the remaining 300 are growers of importance. The other 250 make £500-£300 per family, a modest competence.

Yet the S.I.O. follows these figures with the brazen statement that "all this has been done (by whom?) despite the quite disproportionate totals of taxation paid by Europeans and Indians in South Africa." Disproportionate to what? One may well ask, as the S.I.O. proceeds to commend the Europeans for the "generous degree" they "subsidise" benefit and upliftment for "their Indian compatriots," and to illustrate this by the "fact" that "although Indians own £17 millions of rateable property in Durban, Europeans pay six times as much in municipal taxes."

All the "facts" here are disputable. Indians own £25 millions of rateable property in Durban (167 per head). Europeans own £114 millions (£858 per head). Not unnaturally Euro-

peans pay several times as much in rates, i.e. proportionate to their holdings. It is true the Europeans "subsidise" welfare services for non-Whites. As the wealthiest section of the community, entrenched behind a political and economic colour bar, it is the least that can be expected of them and no matter for congratulation. Nor, in speaking of Indian education, does the S.I.O. booklet acknowledge that Indians, more than any other section of the community, have themselves provided schools for their children, only 60 per cent of whom are—even so—able to find room.

It is simply untrue that our Indians here have "opportunities to achieve a standard of living comparable groups in their land of origin can only dream about." Our Indians have a slightly higher average standard than all India (25 against £20 per head per year.) That is all. Some individuals have prospered rather more than they might have in India, less than those in our other immigrant race groups. But Indian liberties and opportunities here are strictly circumscribed and fast being strangled by the Group Areas Act and national prejudice.

Dismissed From University Staff

MR. Verhagen, a technical assistant in the Department of Physics at the University of Pretoria, after being suspended from duty for some time, has been dismissed from his post by the University Council. No reason for his dismissal has been given.

During the bus boycott Mr. Verhagen, while transporting boycotters, was stopped by the police. He refused to give his name and address because he believed that he had a right to withhold them as he was not convinced that he was being held on a *bona fide* suspicion. He was found guilty of refusing to give his name and address to the police and fined £3, in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court. The magistrate said that Verhagen was convinced that he had not committed an offence and assumed that he could withhold his name and address.

Leader Of India's Untouchables : Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar

IN the last month of 1956, a man who was a leader, a symbol and a guiding spirit of more than 50,000,000 human beings died in New Delhi.

His name was Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar. For three decades, this intense and indomitable personality had been in the forefront of the struggle for legal, social and economic liberty for large segments of the Indian population which have been variously described as "untouchables", "outcasts" and "depressed classes". Mahatma called these millions "Harijans", meaning God's own people.

With Dr. Ambedkar's death on December 7, the Harijans not only lost a formidable champion, who was himself a member of the "scheduled castes", as they are now called, but his country lost a prominent lawyer, economist and politician who will also be remembered as the chief architect of free India's Constitution, one of the most comprehensive statutes ever framed.

Early Evidence

Dr. Ambedkar was born in 1893, the son of a school teacher at a military camp in Bombay State. In village schools he showed early evidence of his talents, spirit and intellect, which were recognized by the Gaekwad of Baroda who helped him through Elphinstone College, Bombay. This princely ruler later sent him to Columbia University in New York City, where he studied political and moral philosophy, anthropology, sociology and economics.

Concluding these studies, Dr. Ambedkar further prepared for the varied career which was to follow by pursuing economic research at the India Office in London, teaching political economy for two years in a Bombay college, and doing additional graduate work at the University of Bonn, Germany. He took his Doctorate of Science in economics and commerce at London University. In 1923 he was admitted to the Bar.

Dr. Ambedkar's political career began in 1926 with his entry into the Bombay Legislative Council. From this position he roused political consciousness among the Scheduled Castes and fought for their demands to receive equitable treatment. Robust, controversial and outspoken in his attacks against those outmoded evils of a social system which had marked him at birth, Dr. Ambedkar often estranged himself from his closest associates

during the struggle for the freedom of his country.

Powerful Stature

Despite the uncompromising positions that Dr. Ambedkar maintained in the defence and promotion of what he considered to be the just claims of his own "depressed classes", his stature a powerful, popular, constructive force in the nation as a whole was never diminished. In August 1947 he became Law Minister in free India's first government. In this vital cabinet post he helped to shape his country's new Constitution and piloted its passage through Parliament.

By

J. G. MASSEE

With equal fervour, Dr. Ambedkar prodded Parliament to enact the Hindu Code Bill, the legislative follow-up to constitutional provisions guaranteeing social, political and economic rights to the Scheduled Castes. Legislative delays postponed enactment of these reforms, however, and caused Dr. Ambedkar to resign in bitter protest from his cabinet post in 1951. On leaving, he denounced these delays in characteristically strong fashion "To leave untouched the inequality between class and class, between sex and sex...and to go on passing legislation relating to economic problems is to make a farce of our constitution and to build a palace on the dung-heap."

Happily, Dr. Ambedkar's allegations were belied during his lifetime. A major portion of the reforms which he urged have become law including statutes affecting the rights of women and a comprehensive bill called "The Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955."

Revolutionary Slash

The total of these various constitutional and legislative measures is a revolutionary slash at the tarnished threads in India's otherwise rich embroidery of religions, traditions, customs and social practices.

In all history, scarcely a single culture has existed without developing what the 20th century scorns as social inequalities. But no nation, in trying to eliminate these obstacles to individual and collective advancement, has faced

so ancient, so rigid and so widespread a problem as has India in confronting the caste system.

For more than 3500 years, Indian society had been divided into compartments. When Aryan civilisation spread to India, the new ruling power did not enslave or exterminate the conquered Dravidians, but introduced separations among the population to stabilise the conflicts and relations among the races. The Aryans themselves were divided into four groups: priests and thinkers, rulers and warriors, persons engaged in agriculture, crafts and trades; and labourers and unskilled workers, other than farmers.

On these foundations, the structure of Indian society was built, developing further distinctions among the population according to social status or occupation as the centuries passed. But after some 2,000 years, the earlier fluid boundaries between one group and another were moulded into virtually unbreachable barriers as tradition, custom and superstition hardened men's minds.

Inferior Attitude

During these centuries, an attitude of looking down on outsiders and on persons engaged in occupations considered to be inferior developed in India into the final evil of "untouchability". Men and women were virtually excluded from society by birth, occupation, association, unrepented sin or varying social errors. A low-caste man could be thrashed for raising an umbrella over his own head, or murdered for secretly courting a high-caste maiden. Persons of low caste were excluded from public wells, temples, shops, sometimes even thoroughfares used by higher castes. Until the 20th century it was unthinkable that certain religious ceremonies, social events, schools or hospitals should be opened to those marked for life by "untouchability." Even the protests of saints and reformers could not sufficiently soften men's hearts to melt the iron social boundaries.

Blasted

But time, evolution and legal measures, have at last blasted this stronghold of injustices. The practice or preaching of "untouchability" is now a crime. Wells, temples, shops, all public facilities are open to everyone. Members of the Scheduled Castes often receive special consideration for gov-

ernment examinations, school enrolment and social services. Dozens of government and private organisations are working to provide better training, housing and jobs for former "untouchables". The citizens of India can be proud of the swift, direct actions their Government has taken to wipe out the effects of this degrading, anachronistic burden on their development.

No one—except Gandhiji himself—contributed as much to the elimination of this burden as Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar. Of this rebellious leader, who died a devout Buddhist, Jawaharlal Nehru said: "He will be remembered most as the symbol of revolt against all the oppressing features of Hindu society." (UNESCO).

Multi-Racial Club Raided

THE Multi-racial Club at Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, was raided recently and an attempt made to burn it down.

Two men, identified by an African servant as Europeans, were seen to enter the premises through an unlocked door at midnight.

The raiders carried a tin of petrol which they poured over the floor of the lounge and on tables and cushions. Then they set it alight in one corner.

At this stage it is thought that the intruders lost their nerve, for they made their getaway before the fire had caught properly.

There was little damage and there were no casualties.

The attempt was discovered in the morning when an African employee arrived at the club.

Another African workman, who sleeps within the club grounds, said he heard a car drive up at midnight and saw two men who "looked like Europeans" get out and enter the club. He paid little attention as he thought they were members returning to collect something they had forgotten.

The police are investigating but so far no arrests have been made.

The Multi-racial Club is a gift from the Rhodesian Selection Trust and is the only one of its kind in Northern Rhodesia; the only place in Northern Rhodesia where Europeans and non-Europeans can meet in public.

Hostel Apartheid Angers Peer

LORD ALTRINCHAM, 33-year-old Conservative peer, has resigned as an official of the Victoria League because he complains there is never room at its students' club in London for coloured students. The league was formed in 1907 to promote friendship among the people of the Empire.

In a letter to Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt, chairman of the league, Lord Altrincham wrote: "One of the reasons which you have given me for maintaining this iniquitous state of affairs is that you do not wish to alienate South Africans."

"Every time a coloured student tries to get accommodation the answer is 'sorry we are full up at the moment,' but they are not always full up and coloured people are not encouraged to try again."

Admiral Harcourt admitted that a colour bar exists. But he added: "The club is not suitable for mixed races. They have different habits. If mothers in Australia, for example, think their sons and daughters are living alongside Africans, they will not be awfully happy about it."

He told the "Daily Express":

"It is just a question of wisdom. We think we are doing the right thing."

In his letter, Lord Altrincham said he was resigning from the league's finance and development committees to bring the colour bar controversy into the open.

According to Reuter, Lord Altrincham said the league's club was run on the principles of apartheid and this was an insult to all that the league professed to stand for.

"Months have now passed since I drew your attention to the fact that the club in London was being maintained for White students only.

"I have been clinging to the hope that you would turn the existing establishment into a

proper hostel for students from every part of the Commonwealth without distinction of colour, or that you would raise money at once towards establishing such a hostel, and that, meanwhile, you would withdraw our name and support from one which is an insult to all that the league professes to stand for. Nothing, however, has been done.

S.A. Influence

"Instead of being true to our own principles and setting an example to our own compatriots (whose attitude towards coloured people in this country is still not all that it should be), we are allowing ourselves to be influenced by a nation whose theory and practice of race relations is condemned by liberal opinion throughout the world and by nearly every Christian community.

"A special cause for concern is that the Queen and the Queen Mother are patrons of the league. Princess Alice is its president and Princess Margaret is president of its young contingent.

"It is most unfair and inappropriate that the Royal Family, who symbolize the Commonwealth ideal of human brotherhood and equal partnership, should be associated—even nominally and unintentionally—with a hostel based upon the principle of apartheid.

"Since persuasion has failed I have no choice but to resign from the two central committees of the league which I belong to, and to bring this controversy out into the open.

"My quarrel is not with the league itself, which I shall con-

tinue to serve to the best of my ability, but with its central direction on one matter which seems to me to be of overwhelming importance."

Refused Seat

Lord Altrincham is editor of the "National and English Review" a Conservative monthly publication.

The league's secretary, Col. R. W. Hills, denied there was a colour bar as such at the hostel. It was the league's policy to limit accommodation to people from the Dominions making donations to the league, such as New Zealand, South Africa, Canada, Australia and Southern Rhodesia.

No coloured Commonwealth country made such donations, so their subjects could not be accommodated at the hostel, which was nearly always full, he said.

But Lord Altrincham described Colonel Hill's statement as "evasive." He said that if the league's policy was one of real colour equality and admission of coloured people to the hostel, was sure their countries would contribute to the league.

On the league's statement that mixed races of both sexes could not be accommodated together, Lord Altrincham said the league's hostel in Edinburgh was multi-racial and accommodated both sexes.

Church May Ask People To Disobey Laws Of The Land

IN a sermon preached at St. Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg, reiterated the church's firm decision to stand by their conscience and, if necessary, disobey the laws of the land rather than submit to secular interference in the affairs of the church.

The Bishop said that, if it became necessary in this matter, the Church would have to counsel its people to disobey the laws and believed that such a grave decision outweighed having to submit to such interference in the life of the Church.

Taking as his text the words of Peter and the Apostles (Acts 5—29-30): "We ought to obey God rather than men," the Bishop said that leaders of Christianity had come into open conflict with the authorities of their day very early in the history of the Christian Church.

"Not only leaders of the church, but thousands upon thousands of obscure members of the church have faced exile, ostracism, imprisonment, even death itself, rather than submit

to the interference of secular authorities in the life of the church."

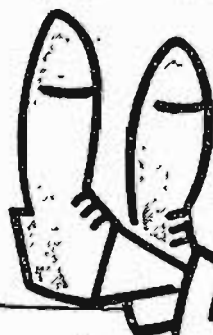
Mounting Tension

He pointed out that the mounting tension between "some, at any rate," of the churches in the Union, and the secular authorities, had, in the last weeks, threatened to develop into open conflict over Section 29C of the Native Laws Amendment Bill, which required permission from the Minister of Native Affairs before an African might worship in a urban area.

After the most careful consideration, the bishops of the Church had decided to make it plain to the Prime Minister, that, if such a clause became law, they would be faced with the grave choice between obeying their conscience and the law of the land. In the reply received to their protest, which the Prime Minister had passed on to the Minister of Native Affairs, no attempt had been made to deal with the points raised in the letter written by the late Archbishop of Cape Town, Dr. G. Clayton.

Bishops Attacked

"Instead," said the Bishop in his sermon, "the bishops were attacked for acting before the intentions of the Minister were made plain during the second reading of the bill, and that in spite of the fact that, when the bishops met, they not only had had the text of the bill before them, but also the white paper which had been issued to explain its various clauses.



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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

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UGANDA

STRONG objections were expressed in the Uganda Legislative Co-operative to a Government resolution to transfer control of the armed forces in East Africa to the East African Governments from the War Office. A 3-hour debate showed a deep division in the council, with African members leading the opposition to the proposal. Finally the debate was adjourned in an attempt to reach agreement by private discussion. In moving the resolution the Chief Secretary claimed that the transfer would give the East African Governments greater control and responsibility for the forces, and the most economical way of handling matters relating to pay equipment and stores would be for the East Africa High Commission to handle these on behalf of the individual governments. African opinion is very hostile to the High Commission which one member described as "a child of the Kenya Settlers," and is therefore unlikely to agree to any extension of its powers. Mr. J. K. Bebiha, the member for Toro, summed up the feeling of moderate African feeling when he said that they had always told that the High Commission existed for the co-ordination of essential economic and research services (railways, posts, locust control, etc), and to give it influence over the armed forces was to grant a greater power than it should have.

Dr. E. M. K. Muwazi, a prominent Congress leader, said that since control over matters of defence was always one of the last powers to be handed over to a self-governing country it was important that the control should not be passed to a Federal-type body like the High Commission. The leader of the representative members Mr. J. T. Simpson, a European, also opposed the Government. Although he was a supporter of the High Commission, the present stage of Uganda's development in relation to future self-government introduced political factors which should not be

ignored on grounds of administrative convenience.

Nigeria

Dr. Azikiwe's party, the NCNC, has won the Eastern Nigeria elections. So far it has won 44 of them—84 seats in the House of Assembly, and results are still awaited in 24 cases. The Action Group have won 9 as against their single success in the last election. The Opposition parties are already stronger than they were in the House of Assembly last time where the NCNC had 72 seats. Six of the ten Ministers in the previous cabinet have been re-elected. Professor Eyo Ita, leader of the Opposition in the old House retained his seat at Calabar. One of the biggest surprises has been the defeat of Chief Nyong Essien, the former Deputy Speaker. Three of the NCNC Parliamentary Secretaries have lost their seats.

Ghana

The Parliamentary Opposition in Ghana has called for bi-partisan action on Foreign Policy. In a statement issued recently the Opposition asked that national delegations going abroad should be representative of both Government and Opposition and that the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament should be established as a forum of discussion and consultation between the Government and the Opposition on matters of foreign policy. The Opposition also announced in the statement its intention of putting, at the earliest possible opportunity, a motion in Parliament on proposals for the Foreign Affairs Committee. The statement added: "It is the view of the Opposition that it would make for greater co-operation."

"Guardian" Comment

The following is an editorial from the "Manchester Guardian":

Dr. Azikiwe's party has won comfortably enough the general election in Eastern Nigeria; and he can reckon that, by going to the electors promptly, he has largely discounted the political effects of the Forster-Sutton tribunal's report and its comments on his relations

with the African Continental Bank. But the counter-attack has not been made without significant loss. Before the election the NCNC had 72 seats out of 84. It has now 64. But the loss of seats is not the important point of the story. Before the election the most substantial opposition came from the United National Independent Party, which had 11 seats, but had no following at all outside the Eastern Region; it was, indeed, a breakaway from the NCNC itself. It has only 5 seats this time. But now the Action Group, which has its main strength in Western Nigeria, has won 13 seats, as against one in the previous House. This may have far-reaching consequences. Not only will the NCNC be faced with a more numerous, well organised and critical Opposition in the Eastern Region; it will no longer be able to put itself forward as the only "national" party, as alone having some strength in all 3 regions. The core of the NCNC is drawn from the Ibo, it has always been able to claim a substantial membership among other tribes, while depreciating the Action

Group as merely the expression of Yoruba tribal sentiment. Now for the first time the Action Group has got a good footing right outside the Yoruba country, while Dr. Azikiwe retains his full strength only in the Ibo areas. There is a footnote to be added to this election. We have just received a telegram from Eastern Nigeria in the following terms: "Horse titling ceremonies at Eastern Nigerian election—over 20 horses beaten to death to celebrate Udi division NCNC candidate's election. Practice still not illegal. Official attitude deplores horse titling but considers it preferable to human sacrifice." What has Dr. Azikiwe to say about this? Does he agree that it was so? If he does, will he tolerate as a member of his parliamentary group? It must be realised that the NCNC's claim to be a standard-bearer of democracy in West Africa (which is not without weight in some respects) will be very seriously compromised, if it is true that barbarisms of this kind have been woven into the fabric of the democratic process.

F. S. M.

A Countryman's Diary

"By PARDESI"

WHOEVER had said that Durban was the most English city must have certainly had a sense of humour. Admittedly, Durban does have a dense English population, (no pun is intended!) but that is different to saying that Durban is an English City. English in the latter sense is supposed to mean a way of life—clean, unadulterated, refined.

"He is an Englishman!

For he himself has said it,
And it's greatly to his credit,
That he is an Englishman!"

You must have heard this little ditty before.

But just you go shopping in Durban's West Street any day in the week, and if your skin has that dark, abominable hue, brother, you will meet a new version of the typical Englishman. I don't think coarser specimens exist even in the backveld regions of Zuid Africa. "Yes, Jim?" and "What can I do for you Sam?" are common expressions.

In fairness, it must be said that there are business houses which treat non-European customers with the same degree of civility as European customers; but such firms are few and far between. Perhaps there are not

enough refined English folks to go round.....

Another Nail!

When the State took over African education not so long ago, all thinking people knew the pass to which South Africa had come. Within a year, primary and secondary schemes of study in African schools were drastically revised. The Free Meal Scheme in African schools was callously withdrawn in the face of vehement public outcry. Since then African education has been given the "full treatment." Africans, of course, were the immediate victims. Now the steam has been turned on the other races. Separate universities for each racial group will soon become an ugly reality.

Last week Indian school children in Natal had fallen prey to the vicious circle. Hitherto, each child was allowed 3d. a day in the Schools' Free Meal Scheme. This meagre amount has been whittled to tuppence—provincial funds are running out is the excuse given.

The next step would be the complete withdrawal of the Free Meal grant.

It all starts the same way.....

India Should Remain In Commonwealth, Says Bevan

MR. Bevan, British Labour Party's spokesman on foreign affairs has said in India that Nigeria, Malaya, Uganda, Tanganyika and (with little difficulty) Kenya were likely to become full members of the Commonwealth in the near future and India should remain in the Commonwealth to "guide them in the right direction."

Addressing members of the Indian Parliament on March 8, who gave him a great ovation, Mr. Bevan said the severance of the Commonwealth link would be foolish and a "profound blunder" for both India and Britain. "Unless we co-operate together, we will die apart, was the concluding sentence of his 40 minute speech.

The burden of his speech was that at a time when the only alternative to violence was Gandhism and the world required to be shown "the Nehru way," what was wanted was "not withdrawal but participation, not disenfranchisement but enfranchisement.

Prime Minister Nehru, who presided, later expressed gratitude to Mr. Bevan, "a good friend of India," for providing food for thought.

Mr. Bevan pointed out that the character of the Commonwealth was changing. Ghana had joined it and others were likely to follow suit. It would be foolish to withdraw India's influence "just when you are wanted to guide them in the right direction."

Moreover, he was confident that India's influence in "this combination will transcend that of the metropolitan power," and so it should, "by India's size, by its history, by its traditions."

He said the world situation was one without precedent. The great power concept was no longer valid and only the doctrine of Gandhism could invest the concept of power with a meaning in the world of today.

He began his speech by saying that he was not in India either as the official representative of the U.K. or as a spokesman of the British Labour Party. But he reminded his audience that harsh as India had been over some of the things that Britain had done recently, "harsher things were said by the British people—and said before you said them."

There had always been two traditions in Britain, said Mr. Bevan. One was the imperialist tradition "with which you are so much familiar. But there was also the liberal tradition. For instance, Burke and Charles James Fox had been as ardent advocates of American independence as George Washington himself.

It was foolish to speak about the English tradition as though it was one entirely associated with imperial domination. There had always been champions of liberty in Great Britain, great names like Byron and Shelley who had always fought for liberty.

The House of Commons was a very old institution but democracy was not as old as the Parliament. "Churchills were in Parliament for very many centuries before Bevan arrived and brought certain civilising influence there."

"At a moment like this, when what your people have been fighting for so long (independence of colonial peoples) is about to be consummated, he asked, "is it not a foolish thing for India to withdraw its influence from that congeries of new nations?"—ISI.

years ago. The pillars, six miles from each other, are the same as the one in Lumbini, and both of them bear Pali inscriptions.

New Man Needed, Says Nehru

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, after being re-elected leader of the Congress Party said he did not feel happy at continuing in office all the time. People in India were about to become devoted to personalities and the personal equation became more marked when the same person continued to occupy the same place for a long time, he said.

Slum Clearance In Madras

The Government of India have approved the Namasivayapuram slum clearance scheme of the Madras Government and have sanctioned a sum of Rs 358,500 for the purpose. The total cost is estimated at Rs 378,000.

This scheme is based on the principle of aided help (self). Developed and demarcated plots of land will be allotted to 530 slum families whose monthly income does not exceed Rs 175.

These families will also be provided with building materials for putting up suitable huts under the technical guidance of the local authorities.

New Ambassador To Afghanistan

Mr. S. N. Haksar, lately Ambassador of India to Turkey, has been appointed Ambassador to Afghanistan. He will assume charge of his new assignment early in May.

Helping Jobless

The Government of India propose to establish 15 production centres in the country during 1957-58 to assess the problem of unemployment among educated persons. The project is being pursued on the recommendations of a study group appointed by the Planning Commission.

The group recommended the establishment of 33 small-scale production centres in different States. Each centre would employ 300 matriculates. A preliminary training course of nine months was envisaged.

The centre would undertake the manufacture of small machine tools, agricultural implements and similar articles which have a ready market.

A provision of Rs 40 lakhs is being made for this purpose in the budget for 1957-58.

Soviet Scientists For India

According to a UNESCO announcement, six Soviet scientists will go to India to teach at the new Institute of Technology

which is being established by the Government of India.

They are part of a team of 15 professors being sent by UNESCO to the Western Higher Institute of Technology at Powai, 20 miles from Bombay.

Four Russian scientists have already been working in India since December 1956. Now all 10 will work at the Technological Institute in Kharagpur, Bangalore and Bombay until the Powai Institute is ready.

Scholarships For Physical Training

The Government propose to award for scholarships annually to promising young men and women for special training in physical education abroad. The scholarships, which will be for a period of two years, will cover all expenses of travel, stay and study.

Similar scholarships, four a year, will also be offered for study within the country of activities including yoga asanas and folk dance. These scholarships will be for a period of one year.

Training For Indian Engineers

An agreement has been concluded between the Government of India, the Ford Foundation, and the U.S. steel industry under which 900 to 1000 Indian engineers will receive five-year training in iron and steel technology in the United States. The Indian Government will pay the engineer's transportation costs, the Ford Foundation will pay their living expenses, and the U. S. steel industry will provide the training opportunities.

NEWS FROM INDIA

Ancient Church Site Found In Travancore

ACCORDING to the "Times of India" News Service, a chance discovery of what is believed to be the remains of an historic church in the heart of thick, elephant-infested forests in Nilackal (Travancore) was made recently.

This church is believed to be one of seven founded by St. Thomas during his sojourn in South India, spreading his faith

in the second half of the first century A.D.

Asoka Memorial Pillars

Two memorial pillars, believed to have been erected by Emperor Asoka, have been found in Nepal near Lumbini, birthplace of Buddha.

The finds, buried in ruins and also broken, were recently examined by specialists and it has been determined that these are two of the 16 pillars Asoka set up at various places over 2,000

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આખો દિવસ વેલ્ટેરીઅન ભોજન મળી શકશે.

લગ્ન પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણુની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ શુભ પ્રસંગે ભાડે મળી શકશે.

બોર્ડીંગ અને લોહંગની સગવડ

કાયમી બોર્ડરોને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિદ્યાર્થીઓ અને શિક્ષકોને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તો માત્ર પુરૂષ વર્ગને જ લેવામાં આવશે. ઓરડાઓમાં નવું અને આધુનિક ઢબનું ફરનીચર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. દેશમાં જતાં અમર તો દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉતારૂઓ માટે કુટુંબને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે દેશી સેવરધની સોપારી સેકેલી, અને ઠાચી તેમજ ઘાણુની દાળ, ખારેક, પિસ્તા, અને ચારોલી, વિગેરે રાખીએ છીએ.

ઘરનું આંથેલું અથાણું અને સારી જાતના માપડ હંમેશાં તઈચાર હોય છે.

ઓર્ડરથી શિખંડ અને દુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.