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INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903



"Our motto must ever be conversion by gentle persuasion and a constant appeal to the head and heart. We must therefore be ever courteous and patient with those who do not see eye to eye with us. We must resolutely refuse to consider our opponents as enemies."



A Satyagrahi bids good-bye to fear. He is therefore never afraid to trusting the opponent. Even if the opponent plays him false twenty times, the Satyagrahi is ready to trust him the twenty-first time, for an implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed.

—Mahatma Gandhi.



NO PEACE UNLESS WHITES AND NON-WHITES LEARN TO LIVE IN A SPIRIT OF PARTNERSHIP

There could be no peace in Africa unless the White and Coloured peoples learnt to live and build together in a spirit of partnership, said Dr. Ralph Bunche, director of the Trusteeship division of the United Nations, in a radio interview in Washington last week.

He drew a parallel between the situation in Africa today and the development of Asia.

"There is a great opportunity for the world to avoid in Africa the errors which were made in an earlier era in Asia, with tragic consequences which are still taking their toll," he said. "In Africa today one finds the twin issues of Colonialism and Racialism on a greater scale than anywhere else in the world.

"The troubled areas in Africa are mainly where the two races, White and Black, are found living together. These areas are primarily in the North, East and South.

"These issues, especially where they boil up into trouble, are of great concern to the United Nations."

It was still to be demonstrated, Dr. Bunche added, that the two races in Africa, White and Black, could live together and learn together in a spirit of partnership. There could be no peace on any other basis.

It is imperative for the wellbeing of the world at large and for the foundations of peace, which we are trying to build in the United Nations, that this lesson be well learned and quickly learned in Africa. Sapa-Reuter.

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 12TH JUNE, 1953

Task Before The Liberal Party

WE believe the Liberal Party has come none too soon in the life of South Africa. But before seeking the co-operation of the non-Whites it will have a great deal to do among the Whites. The mental attitude of the White race, which has been poisoned all these years resulting in the present clash of colour, must be changed and it must be done rapidly before it gets too late—if indeed it has not already got too late. The Nationalist Government is playing havoc with its poisonous Apartheid policy. Mr. Strydom, Mr. Louw, Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Swart will not be checked soon from having their own way the non-Whites will of course experience difficult times and the lives and property of a good many will perhaps be ruined or lost, but it will be a sorry day for White South Africa. If they do not give the non-Whites with grace what is their due according to the light of the non-Whites and not according to what the Whites think, is their due, the time will come, and it will come much sooner than one expects, when they will be compelled to quit South Africa with disgrace. These are not vain words; it is a prophesy which is bound to come true.

The Liberals should know that what is right is real and what is wrong is unreal. If they claim their policy to be realistic it must be based on absolute Right

and absolute Justice. They must have a powerful Press and all the modern compliances must be put to work vigorously to propagate their liberal views and they must be interpreted into action both individually and collectively. In this they can well learn a lesson from the Communists. They have a hard task and they have to fight against time. That is of course no reason to despair. They must work with faith that Right must in the end prevail. They cannot carry on their work sitting in their arm chairs. They will have to cultivate the spirit of renunciation; they will have to forego many of the comforts of life and they will have to completely dedicate themselves to their cause and to God. There is no such thing as 'Afrikaner nationalism.' The tussle today is between the growing African nationalism and Afrikaner hooliganism. We do not thereby wish to implicate all Afrikaners for there are fine persons among them for whom we have the deepest respect. We refer only to those presently in power and their supporters.

It needs to be recognised that Apartheid based on the race and colour of one's skin is an unmitigated evil—a hydra-headed monster. There can be no compulsory submission to it nor voluntary acquiescence to it. It is sinful to nurture it. It must be killed right out. As Dr. Ralph Bunche has rightly said, the mistakes that have been committed

by Asia or rather, by India, must not be copied by South Africa. India is repenting and is atoning for them. America too, as we see, is repenting for its colour policy, though, it never at any time existed in law, and she is moving speedily towards its elimination. It is South Africa alone where it has been established in law and steps are fast being taken

to entrench it. The thinking non-White people do not begrudge the Whites their leadership. They fully recognise and appreciate its worth. The only way to retain it is not by compulsion but by merit. It has to be judged by its merit as indeed every human being is to be judged by his or her merit and not by the skin colour.

NOTES AND NEWS

Church Reply To Louw

SEPARATE educational establishments for Europeans and non-Europeans were at this stage probably the best means of ensuring that no restrictions were placed on any man, whatever his colour or race, from developing his full personality, states the latest issue of the 'Church News', the official journal of the Church of the Province. The statement is in reply to an accusation by Mr. Louw, Minister of Economic Affairs, that certain Anglican bishops were not practising what they preached.

"He repeated the old jibe about admitting the children of Coloured and Native communicants in Anglican schools.

"Of course, Mr. Louw must know that the integration of non-Europeans in State citizenship does not involve any particular policy on the plane of social contacts.

"These must, of necessity, be voluntary, reciprocal and spontaneous; they do, in fact, not infrequently occur."

The Church claimed that no obstacles should be placed in the way of anyone seeking to exercise knowledge and ability. The manner by which these were acquired was irrelevant.

The Logic Of Apartheid

Commenting on the above the 'Cape Argus' writes:

'Church News,' the organ of the Church of the Province of South Africa, in commenting on the controversy between Mr. Eric Louw and the Anglican bishops on apartheid, argues that the integration of non-Europeans into State citizenship does not necessitate any particular policy on the plane of social contacts. What the Church contends, further, is not that all persons should be educated together, but that no person should be prevented by race or colour from developing his full personality in culture and education, or from making full use of the knowledge and talents

so acquired. It is commonly held by Nationalists that integration will and must result in social contacts, and it can be argued that separate education need not prevent anyone from developing his full personality. What is apparently not realised by some church spokesmen is that Nationalist policy does not rest on the denial of educational opportunities, but on the affirmation of the principle of racial separation in every sphere without exception. This, at least, is what it is meant to be, and this is what Mr. Louw assumes the bishops to be opposing. But when we come to the actual working of this policy and ask what practical measures are being taken to give effect to it, the answer of the Nationalists is just as ambiguous as that of the bishops to Mr. Louw. Social contacts, it is true, are being restricted in certain fields, and it appears that special efforts are being made to prevent intellectuals belonging to different races from meeting each other. But that is about all. While much clamour is raised about opposition to the integration of non-Europeans into State citizenship, their integration into the ordinary working life of the country is proceeding rapidly and unchecked. There is no economic apartheid, nor is there likely to be any. Yet no policy so comprehensive as that of apartheid is intended to be can have any hope of success unless it has a sound economic basis.

Lacking In Courage And Inclination

We must confess that we are a little disappointed with the explanation made by the Church of the Province to Mr. Louw's accusation that certain Anglican bishops were not practising what they preached. The charge is true and it cannot be explained away. No amount of equal facilities and opportunities granted to non-Whites can condone the sin of segregation on the score of

colour of one's skin. There is no sanction for such a thing in the Bible and it is not practised in times of trouble. Why should that evil be indulged in in time of peace. An evil is an evil and the Church should be the last to allow it to be practised and the first to condemn it right out. Mr. Louw has certainly cornered at least a section of the Anglican Church and it must humbly admit its guilt. The only explanation for it is that the Church either lacks the courage or the inclination to rise above the common prejudices, which, of course, does not redound to its credit. The country is in need of a proper lead from the Church and the Church must be bold enough to give it irrespective of all consequences. It can give that lead effectively only by practice and not by precept alone.

Passive Resistance Against Federation

A conference of the African organisations in Lusaka, attended by the Rev. Michael Scott, has reaffirmed the intention of certain Native bodies to oppose Central African federation by passive resistance. After sitting in closed session until midnight the conference, which consisted of representatives of the African Congresses of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, the Nyasaland Chiefs' Council, and the Southern Rhodesia All-Africa Convention, issued a statement reaffirming its opposition to Federation. It did not, however, put forward any alternative scheme. The statement appealed to members of the British Parliament to grant representatives of African organisations in Central Africa a hearing before the enabling Bill for federation was passed. It said: "While not accepting the proposals for federation on partition, we believe that the co-operation of the African people and people of other communities would be whole-hearted in drawing up and working a Constitution which was not based on segregation or the supposition of racial superiority." Federation was morally wrong, and the organisations would not co-operate with it. If federation were imposed, they had pledged themselves to passive resistance, the statement added. Subsequently it was learnt that the Rev. Michael Scott was deported from Nyasaland. Under the heading "Deportation Without Trial," the 'Observer' (London) commented on the action of the Nyasaland authorities. This deportation it says, shows the extravagant lengths to which the Colonial Office is prepared to go to defend its position on Central African Federation. "Autocratic

powers of banishment and deportation are being invoked in the place of trial by law in some British Colonies in Africa with increasing frequency. Although the Colonial Secretary told the House of Commons last October that action would be taken to encourage Colonial subjects to ensure that British subjects have the right to normal judicial processes before being deported nothing has been done to implement this in Nyasaland and in certain other colonies. As the position now stands, Mr. Scott has no opportunity of clearing himself in a court of law of the strange-sounding allegations made against him by the Colonial Office. There is today no safeguard against a Governor using his autocratic powers to rid himself of political opponents," said the newspaper.

The Rev. Scott, deported from Nyasaland, said on his arrival at London Airport that he would make inquiries at the Colonial Office over his deportation. He hoped to return to Nyasaland, he said.—Sapa-Reuter.

Dr. Frank Loescher

Dr. Frank Loescher, who is at present in the Union, visited Durban last week. Dr. Loescher who occupies an important position in the U.S.A. and is a man of wide experience and knowledge, is Executive Director of the Commission on Human Relations, City of Philadelphia. He was formerly Professor of Sociology at Temple University, and Visiting Professor of Sociology at Haverford College, Philadelphia. Dr. Loescher is studying the question of race relations in South Africa. He delivered a most interesting lecture at the Durban International Club last Friday evening on how the racial question in the United States was being solved. Among the institutions he visited were the Adams College, the Ohlange Institute, Mahatma Gandhi's Phoenix Settlement and met many leading members of the European and non-European communities. His visit to the Union was sponsored by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

A Lecturer On Yoga

Sir Paul Dukes, a distinguished lecturer on Yoga is visiting Durban and will be delivering several lectures both on International Affairs and on Yoga for the Western World. Two lectures by Sir Paul Dukes, K.B.E. to be held at Gandhi Hall, Lorne Street, Durban, are as follows: Thursday, June 18, at 8 p.m.: "Yoga and Health" Origin and purpose of Yoga. The physical

organism as the instrument of achieving this. Hatha Yoga. The sacred physical arts. This lecture is illustrated with slides showing Yoga postures. Thursday, June 25, at 8 p.m. "Yoga and Mind." Control mind and emotions. Raja Yoga, Bhakti Yoga, Jnana Yoga. What is consciousness? Are we really awake? Fiction of

the "I." Control of the mind through breath. Prana and pranayama. Dr. Ansuyah R. Singh in the Chair. Sunday, June 21, at 8 p.m. "The Whole Man." This lecture is being organised by the Theosophical Society, Durban Lodge, will be held at Caxton Hall, Beach Grove, Durban.

GROUP AREAS PLANS

'The Star' (Johannesburg) dated May 23 writes as follows:

THE Group Areas Act was designed to eliminate racially mixed living; but it went further than that and for some classes it seriously threatens to eliminate living altogether.

It is this aspect of the Act that causes the greatest concern to all who would see racial adjustments made without flagrant injustice. In Johannesburg (as in Durban and elsewhere) the application of the Act could become a deadly threat to the livelihood of the whole Indian trading class in particular; and the conscience of the whole community must recoil from any action that will have so drastic and unwarranted a result.

Isolated Indian traders are to be found in various parts of the city, but they have established themselves particularly in part of Ferreiratown, where they form a compact block of specialized businesses of very long standing. Any group areas plan that has the effect of ejecting them would ruin them and could not be defended on the grounds of justice or any theory of race separation.

It is this kind of problem that makes the task imposed on the City Council almost an impossible one. Under constant pressure from above, it has nevertheless to take the responsibility for decisions affecting the lives of thousands of

people. It is senseless in this context to talk of a conflict between "liberals" and others. Long-standing obligation, plain decency and the interests of the city itself all demand that vested rights shall be respected.

Residential arrangements are scarcely less difficult. Where in the interests of apartheid, people are to be compelled to leave their homes it is essential that they should be provided with something equally good and acceptable, where they can enjoy conditions of ownership and convenience not less favourable than those they are compelled to surrender. They should not be the losers in any such deal, for it is none of their making.

It should never be forgotten that the Group Areas Act is a device of a Parliament elected by a White electorate. For all other sections it is an imposed design. All White authorities, from the Government downward, must therefore lean backwards to do justice to those they rule. If sacrifices have to be made they should be made by those at whose desire this redistribution is being done.

It is in this spirit that the Act should be applied, and the council's difficulties arise from an attempt to reconcile it with the spirit of the Act itself. The ultimate responsibility before the world rests upon the Government.

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INDIAN OPINION

LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

THE UNITED FRONT—(2) A PLEA FOR LIBERALISM

By C. W. M. GELL

Reprinted from 'The Forum' (Johannesburg)

APART from this one improvable contingency, we are therefore faced with the duty of basing our political philosophy on the uncompromising rejection of racialism in all its forms and thus offering the country a clear-cut alternative principle to Nationalism. This we can only do by returning to the source-springs of our Western heritage and reaffirming our belief that the essence of civilisation lies in the moral and spiritual development of the individual personality. To make this possible we must provide all individuals with the maximum freedom compatible with social order, for personality only develops in freedom. Such restraints as are necessary to ensure the indispensable minimum of social discipline must apply to anti-social or immature persons of all groups, irrespective of colour, class, wealth or any other adventitious or external categories. We must, in short, treat all men and women on their merits as potentially valuable and responsible human personalities. This ideal finds its expression in the slogan of the old Cape liberal tradition: "Equal rights for all civilised people and equal opportunities for all to become civilised." In an organised, civilised society this means that all shall have access to education and economic opportunities so that they may profit from them according to their abilities. And it involves giving to all who are capable of exercising them in a responsible manner those minimum political, social and economic privileges which are legally known as "rights."

Before considering the immediate practical implications of the liberal philosophy, we must understand that it is not for us to decide these matters alone. Non-Europeans have their own opinions about the disabilities and frustrations of their lives and the way these might be remedied. The U.P. certainly pledged itself to consult "moderate non-European opinion." But it proclaimed a four-point non-European programme with qualifications and reservations in terms which even genuinely moderate non-European leaders could not reasonably be expected to accept. This simply will not do. But for reasons of principle and expediency we have to take into constructive account the aspirations and resentments of the small articulate non-Euro-

pean intelligentsia. Consultation, as the Nationalists have rightly pointed out, involves concessions or is meaningless. And whoever these "moderate" non-European leaders may be, I am very sure that African and Indian opinion will not accept as representative any convention that excludes the African and Indian Congresses. Those who jib at negotiating with what we have very ignorantly regarded as these "extremists" should consider how greatly their case has been weakened by the purging from the Congresses not merely of genuine Communists but of a large number of "statutory Communists" as well. They should also ponder the significance of the fact that no non-European leaders, however "moderate," have publicly repudiated the political policies of the Congresses, even if they have withheld their active support.

Some Practical Matters

I will now briefly suggest some of the practical matters with which liberal policy must concern itself. First must come the extension of the franchise to responsible non-Europeans, because only when politicians become accountable at the polls to some section of non-European opinion will they really begin to replace their uni-racial outlook by a multi-racial one and make adequate provision for those running sores of our society, non-European homelessness and disease. Extending the franchise not only offers non-Europeans an enlarging share in the higher political direction of the country and a stake in the civilised community without which their loyalty is improbable and their active disaffection into anti-white nationalism almost inevitable; it is the only token of the honesty of our intentions which will effectively rally peoples grown cynical about white pledges and good faith. I dealt last month in an article in the 'Forum' with the red herring of inter-marriage and the fear of being swamped by superior numbers. We must accept the latter as the lesser of several risks in our racial dilemma and as the unavoidable commitment of our Western faith. We cannot refuse civic rights to the small civilised minority of the coloured peoples when only their pigmentation denies what their merits deserve much more obviously than some of our frail white brethren. And we must

extend rights not with the speed at which the "immature mass" develops, but as fast as individuals can prove they have attained the standards of responsible conduct. Our concern is with persons, not masses nor races nor groups.

I hope that those who sit down to work out the franchise qualifications with the help of non-European leaders will eventually decide against communal electorates which inevitably breed sectional loyalties and may later be used to peg the representation of under-privileged groups at a strength incommensurate with their numbers. We should recall that we have far the highest proportion of whites to non-whites of any African country. This not only puts us under the obligation of showing the way forward; it should largely relieve us of the fear of admitting the civilised non-European into a common citizenship. Smaller minorities have done it and their civilisation survived. I cannot think of any minority-based civilisation that long survived its refusal to allow the majority to work their way up.

Other matters incompatible in their present form with civilised principles are the industrial colour bar, the "master and servant" laws, the refusal of legal recognition to non-European trade unions (though I hope white trade unionists will see the dangers of racial unions and take steps to avoid them), discrimination except by the purse in services provided from public funds, residential segregation arbitrarily imposed by one group without redress in the courts (the Group Areas Act once again merely took the "traditional South African attitude" to its logical conclusion and thus exposed its immorality), the Suppression of Communism Act and the two Swart Acts. Perhaps nothing more devastatingly illustrated the lack of principles guiding U.P. policy than the party's equivocal attitude to these last two Acts and the division lists on the Group Areas Act and the Native Laws Amendment Act.

Liberal Principles

The application of liberal principles makes possible a perfectly straightforward, consistent line on all these matters and on the doomed attempt to reimpose government-sponsored tribalism on reluctant Africans by the two Bantu Authorities Acts and a specious sort of "Native education." Indeed, consistent liberalism will soon reveal the contradictions with which Nationalists try to conceal their herrenvolkism and thus put them on the moral defensive. For the future does not lie in a return to the patriarchal social ethics of the

Voortrekkers, "but either in increasing racial strife or in partnership and mutual trust between peoples moving rapidly towards equality of human status.

And it is for this that nothing would contribute more immediately to a lessening of racial tension than the abolition of the pass laws. They are justified on the grounds of identifying criminals and influx control. But they are quite ineffective for both purposes. Criminals and illegal immigrants to the towns quickly provide themselves with forged papers and the laws bear most heavily on the law-abiding majority who are daily and hourly liable to arrest with its attendant inconveniences and discourtesies for no worse "crime" than forgetfulness or carelessness. If any of these laws can really be justified on practical grounds, let the onus be on those who want them retained to prove it. The U.P. will remember what it said during the election campaign about whites having to carry passes, though without the liability to instant arrest. No great effort is required to imagine how respectable non-Europeans must regard these laws.

Finally, let us be clear about the purpose of a liberal policy. It is not a short cut back to power. There is no such short cut today for the Opposition; we are in the wilderness, possibly for several elections, and the Nationalists are going to make it no easier for us to regain power democratically. Probably we had to test out the old formulas once more in order to learn from bitter experience how politically bankrupt they are. Now let us settle an account with our consciences that we postponed for the period of the election. In doing so we may immediately lose some of our M.P.s and voters to the Nationalist Party, but that is where racialists and repressionists properly belong. From this Dunkirk of our political hopes we shall emerge stronger for being relieved of the impossible task of reconciling the irreconcilables within the framework of one party. The loss of numbers will be more than offset by the gain in morale. Despite abuse and the risks of social ostracism and legal prosecution under the all-embracing Swart Acts, we shall stand forth without shame or fear as representatives of that "growing and audacious liberalism" to which Dr. Malan referred in his final pre-election broadcast, conscious that the basis of our faith more nearly represents Western civilisation than anything in our opponents' colour caste mentality and realising that we have a long-term job of public enlightenment ahead of us in which our personal

example will count as highly as our principles.

The certainty of growing racial strife and the probability of white defeat (about which I wrote in April) have been brought nearer by the result of the election. The alternative possibility of racial harmony on a basis of sharing the benefits and responsibilities of civilisation has made that much more difficult to achieve. But if it is ever to prevail, it requires that we no longer delay our first investment in a policy which, however immediately unpopular with the white electorate, provides the only distinctive and constructive alternative to National racialism. This is something worth fighting for, a rallying point for all men of goodwill from either side of the colour bar against the day when more will see that united as a nation we stand and divided we fall. Even during the early years of our comparative political impotence we shall be performing an important function by offering a

refuge from despair to both Europeans and non-Europeans who from their different positions see no solution but the use of repressive or revolutionary force.

To those who are unaccustomed to a South African political party boldly taking its stand in advance of public opinion I would quote the words General Smuts used in another context:

"When you are up against a situation so terrible in its possibilities for good or evil, you can do only one thing, even if you fail utterly. And that is the right thing, the thing you can justify to your conscience and to the conscience of all reasonable and fair minded people."

I believe that the political philosophy I have outlined here is right and that it offers the only practicable alternative to the disaster that parties pledged to white or black domination will bring upon our country. I hope that we will be able to implement it in time.

THE WIDER WORLD

By JOHN GILD

MR PATON WAS DISAPPOINTING

THE first meeting of the Liberal party in Johannesburg last week was a success if measured by the public attendance. But it was a failure if measured by any other standard. The chief speaker was Alan Paton, who said in the course of his speech: "The question of mixed marriages, separation of races, and so on, can be settled later on according to the wishes of the people in the party.... If there are any colour bars, they must be by consent, but not imposed against the will of the people."

Now, with all due respect to Alan Paton, this strikes me as very muddled thinking on his part. Before rushing into publicity and print, surely the Liberal party ought to clear up its own mental confusion. Does Mr. Paton really imagine that, at this time of history, you can find any representative non-Europeans who will kindly "consent" to a colour bar? I suggest to the Liberals, who are trying to attract some support from Africans, that the only sensible and dignified attitude for them to adopt is to oppose racial discrimination wherever it occurs in any shape or form in the Union's laws and public practices. Once the Liberals begin to compromise on any aspect of racialism, they are doomed to moral as well as political failure and frustra-

tion. White folks who want to make half hearted compromises with firm principle can always remain in the United party, which is based on a denial of the value of principle in politics. Of course, the fact of the matter is that Mr. Paton is a novelist with no experience of the kind that tough realists require in political life.

Oom Kosie Failed

The new Liberal party has, however, done one good thing. By raising the question of the franchise for non-whites, it has put the Press on the defensive. The case for a common roll is so reasonable and so strong that those who are against it have to resort to the most absurd arguments. This was amusingly illustrated last week when the Johannesburg "Star" said in an editorial: "Africans are not fit to vote on a common roll because the Native is a new comer to the intricacies of the civilization we know—the civilization of atomic fission, aerodynamics, and international finance." To this Patrick Duncan wrote an ironic reply, drawing a verbal picture of Oom Kosie being examined on the platteland to see whether he really knew enough about those three subjects to qualify as a voter. As Mr. Duncan well said, "white people will begin to think that there must be something in

the idea of a common roll if it is opposed by such arguments" as the editor of "The Star" was driven to produce.

Appeasement In The Air

The United party is now seriously considering the question whether it should give the Government the two-thirds majority legally required to disfranchise the Coloured voters. Those in favour of doing this produce two main reasons. First, they say it would end the constitutional crisis which is so unsettling to investors and businessmen generally. Secondly, they argue that the alternative is to let Dr. Malan find some way of packing the appeal court with judges sympathetic to his view. Once this has been done, the legal equality that the English language still enjoys with Afrikaans will also have been undermined. That equality is today the only other clause in the constitution that is also entrenched. I don't suppose that anyone will really be deceived by these specious arguments. The potential "quittings" in the United party, as Mr. Struss himself called them, are now led by a new member of parliament, Mr. Blaar Coetzee. I believe that he is a wealthy man who has made money by publishing poor-quality fiction in Afrikaans. What is interesting to speculate is how and why Mr. Coetzee and his allies have become so strong within the United party. My own surmise is that the mine-owners and other big business men want to keep the U.P. from becoming anything like a really progressive party. So they support and influence the conservative elements within it. They want business to carry on as usual undisturbed by a clash of political principles in

the country. They want opposition to the Government to be purely formal so that the deceptive appearances of parliamentary democracy can be maintained.

High Cost Of Cold War

Here is a graphic illustration of what the western world is spending on preparations for a third world war:

"The world in arms is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. The cost of one modern heavy bomber is equal to a modern brick school in more than 30 cities. It is also equal to two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 people. It is also equal to the cost of two fine, fully equipped hospitals or some 50 miles of concrete highway. We pay for a single fighter plane with a half-million bushels of wheat. We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people. This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron."

You would never guess who made the speech from which those ringing phrases are extracted. It was no less a person than President Eisenhower. And they apply not only to the budget of the United States but also to South Africa where Parliament last year voted £40 million for special "defence" expenditure.

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IN supersession of all previous notices in respect of passenger baggage the following general instructions are issued for the information and guidance of passengers arriving in India from destinations other than Pakistan, Ceylon and French and Portuguese territories in India:

Passengers should declare their belongings correctly in the customs declaration form, and should state the actual value of the articles in Indian currency, i.e. second-hand value if the articles have been in use and the cost price if the articles are new.

Bona-fide Baggage—The bona-fide baggage accompanying a passenger is exempt from duty. The bona-fide baggage includes wearing apparel, personal effects (as defined below) and reasonable quantities of household effects, provided the articles are imported for the personal use of a passenger or members of his/her family travelling with him/her, and are not for sale or for the use of other persons. All other articles imported as baggage and not specifically exempted from duty under the orders reproduced in any of the subsequent paras of this Notice are dutiable.

Personal Effects—Duty free personal effects include the following articles: Two watches, a travelling clock, two cameras inclusive of a cine camera and a projector of sub-standard size (i.e. less than 35 (mm) and ordinary component parts and accessories imported with the camera; two fountain pens, two pencils, a cigarette case, one cigarette lighter, two portable musical instruments such as a violin, banjo, guitar, mandoline, portable harmonium other than electric gramophone with 20 records 4 1/2 long playing but not a piano, game requisites, e.g. one set of golf clubs, two fishing rods, 20 polo sticks, two tennis racquets, two cricket bats with bag, two hockey sticks, two badminton or squash racquets, a pair of skis etc., bedding and travelling rugs in reasonable quantity, magic lantern with slides in reasonable quantity, pair of binoculars, a bicycle, a typewriter, adding machine, duplicating machine, sewing machine, dressing case (fitted), deck chair, folding table, camp-bath, electric iron and electric curler, for a lady passenger, and a perambulator, a go-cart, child's set and toys in reasonable quantity if a child accompanies. A

passenger without children accompanying is allowed to import toys worth Rs. 60/- or 6 toys in number whichever is beneficial to the passenger. Instruments, apparatus and appliances imported by a passenger as part of his/her personal baggage and in actual use by him/her in the exercise of his/her profession or calling are exempt from payment of duty under the Indian Customs Tariff.

Household Goods—The following articles are exempt from duty to the extent of quantity or value mentioned below:

Tobacco 1/2 lb., perfumed spirit 1 pint, cigarettes 100 in number, cigars 50 in number, pictures Rs. 50/-, glass and crockery Rs. 100/-, silver and platedware Rs. 200/-, cutlery Rs. 75/-, household linen Rs. 100/-, kitchen utensils Rs. 25/-, portable stove or cooker Rs. 10/-.

Provisions including confectionery Rs. 10/- per passenger subject to a maximum limit of Rs. 3/- for confectionery and for each individual item of provisions.

Note—Double the above allowances are admissible when husband and wife are travelling together.

Personal Jewellery—Personal jewellery up to Rs. 5000/- in value per passenger is exempt from duty.

Note—The above limit may be extended at the discretion of the Customs Collector provided the passenger is not resident in India, not visiting this country on business or accompanying anyone on business, and his/her status warrants the ownership of the jewellery.

Souvenirs—Souvenirs up to the value of Rs. 50/- are admitted free as personal baggage. Souvenirs may be taken to include things given or kept to recall the past, or as a memento of the past, or a memento of a special place or occasion etc. but shall not include any consumable stores.

Tourists—Foreign Nationals visiting India as tourists who are not the residents of India may be exempted from payment of duty upto the maximum limit of Rs. 100 by the Collector of Customs in suitable case on articles like cameras, films, binoculars, and such other articles with which a tourist generally equips himself during his temporary stay in India but not on consumable stores such as liquors. This

concession is not applicable in the cases of passengers who are residents of neighbouring countries like Aken, Cairo, Persian Gulf Ports, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Foreign Territories in India and East African Ports.

Articles Of Deceased Persons—Articles imported by a passenger and proved to the satisfaction of the Customs Collector to have belonged to his deceased wife or other deceased member of his family who was dependent on him at the time of death will be passed free on production of the requisite Death Certificate, provided that the effects or articles are such that they could have been passed free if brought by the deceased person himself.

Unaccompanied Baggage—The bona-fide baggage landed at any Customs Port within one month before or after the arrival of the passenger in India is exempt from duty. The Customs Collector in his discretion may extend the above period up to four months provided he is satisfied that (a) the failure to import the baggage within the time limit was due to circumstances beyond the passenger's control, and (b) the baggage was the property of and in possession of the passenger before he/she left for India.

Note—A passenger whose baggage is likely to arrive at any port other than that of disembarkation is advised to state this fact to the Customs Officer on duty so that an advice of the free allowance granted at the port of disembarkation may be issued promptly in order to enable the passing of the unaccompanied baggage without delay at the other port.

Restrictions Under The Foreign Exchange Regulations Act

(i) All foreign currency brought in by a passenger must be declared on his arrival to the Customs Officer on duty and the requisite currency certificate obtained in the appropriate form to be supplied by the Customs Officer on duty. Failure to do so may result in heavy penalties including forfeiture of the currency.

(ii) The import of gold and silver bullion, gold coins and uncurrent silver coins is prohibited unless covered by a permit from the Reserve Bank of India.

(iii) Import Bank of England notes is restricted up to £5 per passenger. Amounts in excess of this limit require a permit from the Reserve Bank of India.

(iv) Import of Burma currency notes is totally prohibited.

v) All other foreign currency notes may be imported without limit provided such currency is declared to the Customs officer on arrival of the passenger.

Moral Re-Armament

A Group of leading Africans in Johannesburg joined on June 1 in paying tribute to Dr. Frank Buchman on the occasion of his 75th birthday and the 15th anniversary of his launching the programme of Moral Re-Armament.

Their message stated, "We congratulate you on your 75th birthday. We have keenly followed your struggle to bring about the new world here in Africa where God has placed people to work together like the fingers of a hand. We need God-inspired leadership and we will not rest until your message reaches the hearts of the yearning African millions."

It was signed by Dr. F. W. Nkomo, a founder of the African National Congress Youth League; Dr. J. M. Nhlapo, Editor, 'Bantu World'; Mr. R. V. Selope Thema, former Editor, 'Bantu World'; Rev. O. S. D. Mooki, President, South African Advisory Boards Congress; Rev. L. H. Mahabane, President, South African Unity Movement; Mr. J. M. Mhlala, Chairman of Advisory Board, Kwa Thema, Township, Springs.

In a world broadcast Dr. Buchman stated, "In my lifetime I have seen two history-making discoveries. The discovery of the atom as a source of untold energy and its mobilisation. That has given us the atomic age. The other discovery is of man as a source of untold energy and his mobilisation. That has given us the ideological age. It is the key to events around us."

"While statesmen plan for armies and conferences," continued Dr. Buchman, "the disruptive forces win the ordinary man. While cabinets call for more production there are 'slow-downs' in industry. While everyone calls for unity between nations disunity grows within nations. What is the answer? The statesmanship which can set the ordinary man on the march with a vision, comradeship and plan to remake the world."

"Absolute moral standards are the well-spring of inspired statesmanship. We talk of peace and unity, but forget that man who harbours ill-will can solve the hates of nations. We criticise the stubbornness of others, but ignore the self-will which our children are so familiar with in ourselves. We talk of Divine guidance but forget that it is the pure in heart who see God. It is not those who talk but those who listen who receive guidance. The key to new statesmanship is new statesmen."

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BRITAIN'S COLOUR BAR IN AFRICA

III—PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

By JULIUS LEWIN .

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THE third feature of British policy under discussion is the reluctance, if not refusal, to concede social status to people who are not white. This is usually regarded more as a matter of private colour prejudice than of public racial discrimination. But the subject cannot be dismissed in that fashion. When hotels or restaurants or cinemas or shops in British colonies refuse to give Africans or Indians the same facilities as the offer to every white man, strong colour bars grow up and the longer they last, the harder it is to break them down afterwards.

This is what is now happening in Northern Rhodesia, in Kenya, and in some other colonies. It is partly a consequence of the refusal of equal economic opportunities and equal political rights. For when these are denied to men because they are black or brown, it is easy to shut other doors in their faces and to put up notices "Europeans only." This is what is being done more and more in South Africa and it is this policy that has drawn on South Africa the fire of criticism from the world's Press.

At present it is left to the discretion of the proprietor of a cinema or hotel in a colony to decide whether he will enforce a colour bar or not. In order to avoid "trouble" with those people who have strong prejudices against colour, such as white South Africans, he will normally allow himself to be influenced by their hostility to the presence of non-Europeans.

In this way private prejudice in the individual mind can become highly infectious. When it spreads, as it has done in Rhodesia and East Africa, it sooner or later results in public discrimination, which usually takes the form of many different laws applying unequally to men of different race.

The process is discreetly referred to in a recent official report (Cmd. S235, 1951, page 21) on Rhodesia and Nyasaland:—

"A social colour bar exists in all three territories... Discriminatory practices include the habit of certain shops serving African customers through batches, the barring of Africans from European cinemas, hotels, and restaurants, and the provision of separate accommoda-

tion for Africans on the railways and in buses. Some post offices also have separate entrances for Africans....."

Notice how easily the senior British officials who wrote that paragraph pass from *privately-owned* shops and cinemas to *publicly-controlled* post offices.

The personal prejudices of a few individuals, or a group of them, like South Africans entering Northern Rhodesia, can soon spread and influence many people. That is why the Government of a colony dare not shrug its shoulders and ignore colour prejudice as if it were merely a matter of personal tastes. This is in fact the attitude often adopted by British officials, who are themselves usually free from prejudice. But it is not good enough because it leaves the way wide open for the growth of prejudice.

Private prejudice leads to public discrimination. Then the enforcement of laws that discriminate against black or brown people encourages the growth of further prejudice against them because such people are seldom seen in exactly the same human situations or places as white people. By experiment and research in the United States, Americans have reached the conclusion that *discrimination breeds prejudice*.

The Government of a colony must therefore itself have a positive policy in this field. It cannot remain neutral and passive in the face of commercial or social practices that are calculated to encourage the growth of racial antagonism.

What could the Government do? It could, in the first place, announce that new licences will not be given, or old ones renewed, where hotels, restaurants, cinemas, or shops and similar public places refuse to provide equal amenities for all civilised people regardless of their race. It could, secondly, announce that it will not itself in future practise or countenance racial discrimination in any shape or form.

Americans, to their great credit, have devoted a lot of thought to these problems of racial relations. In several American States, laws have been passed which prohibit discrimination against a person on the ground of his race. Such laws apply to hotels and restaurants and cinemas and swimming baths and many other places. No

such law has yet been passed in any British colony. Nor is there such a law even in Britain itself, where it should not be difficult to introduce it. It would be a splendid gesture to the peoples of the British colonial empire if Britain were to pass and to apply such a law. It would also be a heavy blow to those powerful people in British colonies who proclaim the doctrine of "white supremacy."

Such a law could hardly be passed without opposition. Those who will oppose it will no doubt produce, as they did in the United States, some fine theories about the importance of "separate but equal" facilities. Let no one be deceived by such a theory, for theory it will remain. In recent years, the United States Supreme Court, in convincing analyses of several cases brought before it, has rejected the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities as contrary to the principle of legal and human equality laid down in the American constitution. Acceptance of any such theory means endorsing in practice a policy of racial separation or *apartheid*, as it is called in South Africa, where it has brought indignity and misery to countless men and women whose only offence is the colour of their skin. Certainly no one who accepts social segregation or racial segregation in principle has any moral right to criticise the policies pursued in South Africa.

Although the tradition of the British common law also runs contrary to racial discrimination, administrative practices and cus-

oms recognising discrimination have been allowed to grow up in the colonies, partly because they are seldom challenged in the courts. Without entering into legal technicalities here, it must be said that experience both in South Africa and in the United States shows that the strongest protection for a policy of equal rights regardless of race would be a comprehensive, overriding constitutional declaration by Parliament affirming the principle in the most unequivocal terms.

A declaration to this effect made throughout East and Central Africa would be a historic landmark in progress along the road to racial freedom and human enlightenment in the dark continent.

Nor would any new departure of policy be involved in such a declaration. Neither the Labour nor the Conservative Party has ever accepted the need for racial discrimination. On the contrary, no Member of Parliament of any party would dare to stand up at Westminster and say he favoured racial discrimination in law or in social life. In theory Britain has never supported distinctions based on race. Yet in practice such distinctions are common enough in some of her dependencies. There is in fact a striking contrast between British political theory and British administrative practice. As long as this contrast continues, British good faith will be doubted by the rest of the world and Britain will be suspected, as she is by many in South Africa, of hypocrisy in these matters.

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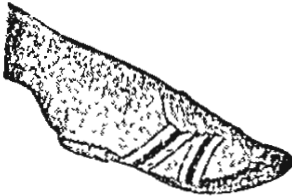
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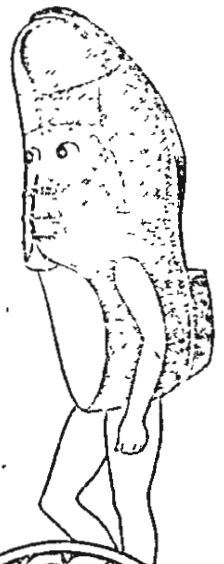
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Book Review

ILLUMINATING STUDY OF MAU MAU

MAU MAU AND THE KIKUYU,
By L. S. E. Leakey (Methuen) 7/6

I HOPE the prominence given to Stoneham's Mau Mau in the April 'Form' will not distract attention from Dr. Leakey's far more satisfactory book on the same subject. Of comparable size, it costs little over half as much and is about twice as illuminating and constructive.

Where Mr. Stoneham's more superficial book excels is in picturing what life amidst the terror means to a settler's family, a loyal chief, an African policeman, multi-racial society, Mr. Stoneham, has nothing constructive to offer. And the reason for this is that, as "an old Kenya hand," he cannot dissociate himself from his environment long enough to see that the traditional basis of a white-dominated society has broken down and must be replaced either by an increasing reliance on force (both by those who would retain and those who wish to overthrow the existing regime) or by some new form of multi-racial partnership.

The present reviewer cannot say whether in the context of Kenya's particular problems the suggestions contained in Dr. Leakey's final chapter provide the right answers, at least they look more hopeful than Mr. Stoneham's "drunkard's dream." And they do not minimise the material and emotional sacrifices that should be made by the white minority nor the long and arduous path to social re-adjustment that Africans have to tread. We in this country, who share a good deal of these aspects of an uncertain future which our fellow-Europeans and fellow Africans in Kenya, will feel more inclined to pray that they may succeed in overcoming them than to throw stones at their past failures and the harvest they are now reaping.

Dr. Leakey is widely known as an eminent pre-historian. He is also a cultured and liberal-minded European. And he has the good fortune to be a Kikuyu—that is to say that, having lived among them since childhood and speaking their language as one of them, he has been adopted into the tribe, admitted to his age-group and initiated as an elder. Without in any way palliating the enormity of the present terrorism—it has so far killed nearly 1000 of his own Kikuyu people

and less than 20 Europeans—he is thus able to tell his story from both sides, to trace its origins back into tribal history and early misunderstandings between the tribe and the first Europeans. As a result we are enabled to see with sympathy how both white and black have been in large measure dupes of circumstance and we are thus less tempted to arraign one party or the other—"the unregenerate savage" or "selfish, land-grabbing whites." Things are seldom so simple.

Dr. Leakey's is a model of what such a book should be, restrained, factual, critical but constructive. He has much to say with rare authority that will interest all those concerned with race relations anywhere in Africa. It is a classic story of the impact of western civilisation on an African tribal society which becomes gradually demoralised until a new social pattern can be evolved. Some day someone must write the case-history of the concurrent white demoralisation along the lines sketched out by Dr. Albert Schweitzer from the other side of Central Africa.

Finally, I must draw attention to Dr. Leakey's closing paragraphs where he stresses how important a common language is. Since he doubts the ability of Europeans to learn African languages well, he pleads for the accelerated teaching of English to Africans. But is it that Europeans can't or won't learn African languages? It was often said in India that the British are bad linguists; but in fact they are very good oriental linguists if they will take the trouble. And those of us who were fluent in one or two of the vernacular idioms know how little the average Britisher with a smattering of the *lingua franca* called Hindustani really made contact with the uneducated mind of the villager. The tempo of African education in European languages will undoubtedly increase by their wish as well as ours. But, since the task is so vast and since so many will remain unaffected for so long, are not we representatives of a "higher civilisation" under the obligation to make ourselves intelligible to more primitive peoples, rather than expecting them to express themselves in a foreign language? Our present South African attitude demands

from Africans and ability in linguistics whose existence we deny in all other fields of endeavour. And all who have dealt with backward peoples endorse Dr. Leakey's opinion that an interpreter is a very poor substitute for direct speech and his use constitutes an evasion of our responsibilities.

C. W. M. GELL

Mr. Pant In Nysaland

Mr. A. B. Pant, Commissioner for the Government of India in British East and Central Africa spoke on the subject of "India" in Blantyre last month. The Hon. Mr. P. Dayaram presided. Mr. K. P. Patel, on behalf of the Cultural Society, under whose auspices the meeting was called, welcomed Mr. Pant and party.

Mr. Pant referred to his visits to the other parts of Africa and said that he had found new patterns of society being built

up all over the Continent which was once supposed to be a dark continent. This Continent had to play an important role in the development of a peaceful society.

Referring to the new developments taking place in India Mr. Pant said people of all races, religions and languages of the world reside in India except the Red Indians and all are making united efforts of Gandhiji—the Father of the Nation, who did not believe in centralisation of Industry by machinery but believed in Village Industries.

He also spoke at length about land gift movement carried on by Acharya Vinoba Bhave where millions of acres of land have been gifted by landlords for redistribution among the landless people with a view to increasing production of food and removing poverty. He also stressed the idea of universal brotherhood and equality.

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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

TIME FOR CONSTRUCTIVE THINKING

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

NEARLY all who would have liked to tell the Liberal Party one or two things have had the opportunity to have their say and now is the time to sit down and face the solid reality of the fact that the Liberal Party now exists and that it has come to stay.

I like to believe that most of the things said against the Party were largely by way of reaction to a novel development. Somehow, the Liberal Party seems to have come as a surprise to most leaders of African political thought. That goes for the Indians too. But for the moment let me confine myself to the Africans. It came as a surprise too to Dr. Malan. In London he told the British that the resistance movement was dead. He missed the real significance of that great demonstration.

The first phase of the resistance movement was, first and foremost, a feeler. The leaders of the African National Congress rightly wanted to test African feeling in the country on the prospects of a more determined march against apartheid. In other words, they wanted to know precisely where they stood in the view of their own people. The response was an eye-opener to everybody. To the extent that the leaders of the African people now know precisely where they stand, there is no real point in sending large batches of men and women to jail instead of devising means to make more positive use of the power Congress found it had when it tested African feeling.

But there is another reason why to talk of the resistance movement being dead is to be propagandistic and nothing more. And this is where Dr. Malan slipped badly in London. The resistance movement provoked reactions in the white community which could not all have been foreseen during the days when people had their eyes on the Port Elizabeth and other riots and on the Sjambok Bills. There was reason to imagine that these two developments would drive Liberalism back into its old funk-holes. But the success of the resistance movement and the rigid adherence of the resisters to the code of non-violence confronted a substantial number of the white people with a situation which made it possible for them to take a firm stand on prin-

ciple—and bring into being the Liberal Party.

Reassessing Situation

To me, then, the leaders of the African National Congress have every right to sit down and re-assess the situation in the light of what is happening in the African continent as well as in the outside world. After that, they might ask for more volunteers to go to jail; they might not. But whatever happens, the resistance movement familiarised them with everything they could have wanted to know: the readiness of their own people for bolder policies against oppression; Malanite reactions to these; the mood of the Liberals and the reactions of the world.

When Dr. Malan says the resistance movement is dead and stops there, he means, in short, that he is blind to the fact that the leaders of the African National Congress are nation-builders.

I am ready to admit that there are people in the African National Congress who appear to have been taken by surprise when the Liberal Party came on the scene. I am willing to give them the time to absorb the shock. But it does not make any sense for anybody to declaim against the Liberals either for the sins of their ancestors or to condemn them for having taken a little more heart as a result of the resistance campaign. If the campaign was not out to educate men—then what was its real purpose?

We must face the fact that the resistance campaign was an argument. If that argument has won at least one convert, we must be realists enough to recognise the fact and sit down to find ways of what to do with this single convert so as to win more. That is one challenge of the Liberal Party and it is a challenge from which the African National Congress dare not run away. Sooner or later we must meet the European on the basis of equality and work out a way which will prove satisfactory to him and to us. I do not think we shall be able to do that if we run away from facing the challenges incidental to this from the very beginning.

For this reason, now is the time to concentrate, not so much on the things that divide us as on the things that should bring us together in the great fight

against Malanism. Firstly, we should recognise quite frankly that there is room for the African National Congress and the Liberal Party to exist side by side. On the African side there are people who would be more at home in the atmosphere of racial tolerance which pervades Liberal gatherings. There are people who would find a fuller life for themselves in working with their white countryman in a practical, no matter how imperfect a way, to solve what we in the Congress are also trying to solve in our own distinctive way. These people have all the right to believe their approach is the correct one—just as we in Congress believe in irresistible pressures. We set out in the resistance movement to "politicise" our people. That process has brought into being a greater degree of political-mindedness among our people and we should not be surprised if some of them think that the African National Congress is not the best home for them. I should welcome it if in politicising our people, we even brought into being the African who is not a nationalist. We must encourage independence of thought among our people. We must not have political sheep who can be led over any precipice by any adventurer. I am always glad to meet an African who tells me intelligently that all Congress talk of African Nationalism is so much rot. It gives me the opportunity to examine the soundness of the things in which I believe. I might believe in them when they are all wrong. Only strong criticism will ensure that I stand on solid basis. Even as a critical movement which will force us to equate African Nationalism with the demands of the present racial situation and our concept of united nationhood, the Liberal Party would be a blessing to us. We must accustom ourselves to the value of criticism and if the Liberal Party were to be intelligently critical of Congress, why, that would help us a great deal as an organisation which looks forward to ruling the country one day.

Something More Practical

To go on to something more practical. One of the things which should bring us together is parliamentary representation. I think Congress has a case in rejecting it in its present token form. Congress, further, might be right in declining to have anything to do with this type of representation itself. But Congress would be wrong to stand in the way of the Liberal Party where it wanted to

capture the three Assembly and the four Senate seats. Congress did not declare war against the Communist Party years ago when it backed people interested in these seats. If Congress could not fight the Communist Party then, there is no reason why it should fight the Liberal Party now.

An agreement could be worked out whereby Congress encouraged the Liberal Party to capture these seats without any real sacrifice of anything. Congress wants the franchise for the African. The Cape Vote is certainly not the franchise. But against the existence of the Liberal Party, it is a step in that direction. The real fight, then, is no longer for the withdrawal of African representatives from parliament; it is for the increase of their numbers. Who they shall be is not a point we should press too far at this stage—as long as we are quite clear about ultimate goals.

In the light of this, Congress would lose nothing by helping the Liberal Party to capture these seats. One thing it would gain is that the people who would be elected would no longer be the representatives of the African people as such. They would represent only a section of African opinion; that section for which Congress could not cater.

The Liberals, on their part, would have to make up their minds about some of the reservations they continue to make on who shall be the South Africans and who shall not be the South Africans. To me there is a great deal of unrealism in the Party's insistence on being an organ of the elite. Beneath this it is quite possible that there is a nostalgic if unconscious hankering after the advantages (for the whiteman) of segregation. This is a real stumbling bloc to co-operation between Black and White. It casts a dark shadow over the real intentions of the Liberal Party and, in short, creates the impression that deep in its heart the Liberal Party does not really want too many Africans turning to it as a political home. Against this background, people on the Liberal Party side should try to understand how their own attitude here is responsible for the stiffening of opinion on the Congress side. And if the genuine intention is to create racial amity, stumbling blocs which militate against understanding should be removed. It is no answer to say the Liberals should be given a chance. If there has been a

change of heart, even as a result of the resistance movement, let it be the genuine thing.

There are no Communists in South Africa according to the law. There are people who believe Moscow's foreign policy is always right; that Russia is the paragon of political virtue. They might not even be fellow travellers either. But in their blind adoration of everything Russian they will even commit themselves to courses which are not in the best interests of the African people. Underground communism in this country is bitterly hostile to anything which might enable the African National Congress and the Liberal Party to find common ground of any sort anywhere. I suppose underground communism would place every obstacle on the way of moves to settle the issue of parliamentary representation between the ANC and the Liberal Party.

INDIA LETTER

From Our Own Correspondent

MR. NEHRU'S REMARKS ABOUT INDIANS IN KENYA

REPLYING to a question regarding the Indian community in Kenya, India's Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru stated in the Council of States: The Government of India are aware that a section of the local European community in Kenya has made various charges against the Indians in Kenya. Some such report has appeared in some Kenya newspapers. Government are not aware of newspapers in London publishing such reports.

As far as the Government of India are aware, the interests of local Indian community have not been adversely affected by this campaign. The Government of India are carefully watching the situation and will take such steps as may be considered necessary.

The Prime Minister was replying to a question by a member whether the present troubles in Kenya were being tempted to be exploited by local European community for an attack on the Indian residents in Kenya, whether some London papers had accused the Indians of being the brain behind the "Mau Mau" and, if so, what steps the Government of India proposed to take to safeguard Indian interests in Kenya.

Underground communism has every reason to be nervous about this. It looks forward to the day when it will use the parliamentary seats as its own platform for its own end. If they pass on to Liberal hands, well that would be fatal for it. There are people in Congress who do not realise this danger.

My own view is that the time has come when we should be complete masters of our own home. We should be free to befriend Russia, India, America, Britain or any country. Our political organisations should take up any attitude they like towards any country whenever they like. We should refuse to see nothing but virtue in Russia and vice only in India or America. We should be willing to see good and bad in all and use our knowledge thus gained for our own good. That, it seems to me, is the attitude to take towards the Liberal Party too.

Replying to supplementaries the Prime Minister said that he did not think that any Indian in Kenya could be described as being against the African population. So far as the Government of India were concerned, it had been made clear, both privately and publicly, that no Indian should seek any special interest at the expense of the Africans.

Question: "Is the Prime Minister aware that because of his sympathies over Africa, he has been accused in the 'Daily Express' of preparing a war against Pakistan?"

Pandit Nehru: "The 'Daily Express' of London is a particular type of paper which has not only recently but for considerable period of time expressed itself in highly objectionable way in regard to India. The attention of the U.K. Government was drawn to this fact and they said that the 'Daily Express' was a totally irresponsible paper and did not express the views of the Government. They totally disowned the 'Daily Express'."

Land Gift Movement In India

More than 1.15 million acres of land have been collected in connection with Acharya Vinoba

Bhave's land gift movement until April 10. More than 550,000 acres of land were collected in Bihar State alone. The second highest collection was in Uttar Pradesh—474,000 acres. Among other big collections were from Rajasthan, Hyderabad and Madhya Pradesh. Praja-Socialist leader Jai Prakash Narain said in Hyderabad that he would launch a fresh campaign in Hyderabad for collection of land gifts for the movement.

Indians Diplomatic Mission Opened In Salisbury

A regular office of the Commissioner for the Government of India in Central Africa has been opened at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. The office is located at 131 Victoria Street. Its postal address is P.O. Box 391. The telegraphic address is either "Jayhind" or "Indinfo", Salisbury. Mr. A. B. Pant, Commissioner for the Government of India in British East Africa, is concurrently accredited as Commissioner for the Government of India in Central Africa, and Mr. Nirmal Jit Singh, IIS., second Secretary to the Commissioner, will be in charge of the Salisbury office.

Official History Of Indian Armed Forces In Second War

For some time past the Combined Inter-Services Historical Section has been engaged in producing a detailed history of the Second World War, with reference to operations in which the Armed Forces of Undivided India took a prominent part or were otherwise active in some important role. This work, in about 20 volumes, will be entitled the Official History of the Indian Armed Forces in the Second World War 1939-1945. Each volume will consist of approximately 500 pages,

royal octavo size, and will include maps, sketches, diagrams, charts, illustrations, appendices, bibliography and index. At the beginning of each volume will be an introduction by the chief editor, briefly surveying the main aspects covered in the volume and discussing the essential features of strategy and tactics. The sale of these volumes will be organised by Manager, Publication Branch, Government of India, Delhi. Prepublication orders may be booked either with the Director, Combined Inter-Services Historical Section, Ministry of Defence, New Delhi, or the Manager, Publication Branch, Government of India, Delhi.

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