

Indian Opinion

No. 10—Vol. XXIX.

Friday, March 6th, 1931.

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

THE CHURCHILL SCHOOL OF THOUGHT DENOUNCED

A FITTING REPLY

THE *Cape Times* editorially comments as follows in its issue of the 25th February:—
Mr. Churchill is the new Gandhi. When every responsible leader of opinion in Britain and India, including the Mahatma himself, is doing his utmost, in the light of his individual conscience, to help solve India's problems, Mr. Churchill starts a non-co-operation movement. In the middle of December, when the Round Table Conference was sitting in London, he delivered a speech in which he described the "pretensions" of the Indian "extremists" as absurd. The pretensions, he went on, had hitherto been met with nothing but soft deprecations and placatory words by the Governments of India and Great Britain; and it was therefore necessary to re-state unmistakably that the British nation "did not intend to relinquish effectual control of Indian life and progress". The Round Table Conference, he insisted, had no power to frame a Constitution for India and no agreement it reached would be binding on Parliament morally or legally. It seemed certain that a new House of Commons would be in existence before a fresh Government of India Act could be introduced and "we are free to call a halt and retrace our steps". These views were promptly repudiated by the British Prime Minister, who described Mr. Churchill's speech, rightly but mildly, as "mischievous from beginning to end and without a constructive idea or proposal"; and it was pointed out, at the time, in these columns that Mr. Churchill's main contention—that "the British people did not intend to relinquish effectual control of Indian life and progress"—was balderdash.

To what end (we asked) were the Morley-Minto and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms put into force and the Simon Report drafted, except to enable the peoples of India gradually to assume control of their own destiny? What is the object of the Round-Table Conference itself? It was called together with the express purpose of enabling representatives of all parties in India to thrash out the broad lines of their own future government. Far from it being the intention of the British nation not to relinquish "effectual control of Indian life and progress," the single aim of British policy in India for the last two decades has been to educate the Indian peoples to govern themselves. Yet Mr. Churchill has the effrontery to declare that no agreement reached by the Conference can be morally binding on Parliament. His contention that no such agreement would be legally binding is, of course, technically correct. The Conference has no statutory powers. It is a purely consultative body. But a moral obligation is implicit in its existence. Without the acceptance of that moral obligation the Conference becomes more farcical than Mr. Churchill. Its whole object, in short, is to do just what Mr. Churchill says it cannot do—to relieve the British nation of the burden of maintaining "effectual control of Indian life and progress." No people in its senses wishes to-day to exercise that sort of control over any other people or conglomeration of peoples; and if the Round Table Conference can reach unanimity even on broad principles and thus hold out a promise of eventually relieving the British nation of a repugnant responsibility it will earn the gratitude and esteem of every sane man.

A few days after Mr. Churchill's speech Mr. Baldwin summoned up courage to announce that

his colleague's views were not the views of the Conservative Party. Mr. Churchill retorted by resigning from the Conservative leader's "business committee". There was a touching correspondence between "My dear Baldwin" and "My dear Winston" in which "My dear Winston" stalked magnificently into the Sind desert but managed, at the same time, to retain a comfortable seat on the Opposition Front Bench.

Now that our divergence of view upon Indian Policy has become public (he wrote) I feel that I ought not any longer to attend the meetings of your "Business Committee," to which you have hitherto so kindly invited me. I hope and believe that sincere and inevitable differences upon policy will not affect the feelings of friendship which have grown up between us during the last six years. I need scarcely add that I will give you whatever aid is in my power in opposing the Socialist Government in the House of Commons, and I shall do my utmost to secure their defeat at the General Election.

To which Mr. Baldwin gracefully replied:

I am grateful to you for your kind letter, and much as I regret your decision not to attend the meetings of your old colleagues, I am convinced that your decision is correct in the circumstances. But I agree with you, gladly and whole-heartedly, that there is nothing in a difference of opinion on a single policy, however important, to prevent our close and loyal co-operation in doing our utmost to turn out the present Government.

From that gallant beginning Mr. Churchill has gone forward with reckless prowess. When the Round Table Conference ended he declared that "a stranger would conclude, from the eloquent and well-meant speeches, that Britain is anxious to wind up its connection with India as soon as possible". The stranger would, in a measure, be right. For what has been Britain's policy, since the war with the American colonies brought her to her senses, except to set on their feet the nations in her charge? Her watchword is trusteeship, not suzerainty. Mr. Churchill, however, thinks that Britain "must have the courage, in Lord Birkenhead's words, 'to tell India the truth'". Delightful! But why should he not allow, as every balanced and impartial observer allows, for the desire of India "to tell Britain the truth". Britain has had the say in India for seventy years. Why should not India hold the platform for a while? Such a procedure accords with British ideals of justice—ideas which have been tacitly acknowledged by all three political parties in Britain by their participation in the Conference.

But Mr. Churchill knows better. He believes that, if Britain is anxious to wind up its connection with India as soon as possible, "then the day of its power and greatness in the world is ended for ever". Shades of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and the once-powerful Liberal Party—a party which Mr. Churchill adorned so long as it was powerful. Was Britain's day of greatness ended, or did it begin (in

(Continued on page 82)

UNITY AMID DIVERSITY

"There is "true" (sattvic) knowledge

Learnt thou it is this :

"To see one changeless Life in all the Lives"

"And in the Separate, One Inseparable.

"There is imperfect knowledge : that which sees

"The separate existences apart,

"And being separated, holds them real.

"There is false knowledge : that which blindly clings

"To one as if 'twere all, seeking no cause,

"Deprived of light, narrow and 'dull' and 'dark' (tamasic).

("Song Celestial" Chap. XVIII.)

FROM time immemorial, the "Seers of the Essence of Things" have held that the universe of Form, in all its pseudo-infinite diversity, is but the "Many-ness" expression, of the One Life. Unity remains concealed, so to speak, behind and within numbers,—the manifested universe of fractions or decimals that constitute the integers—its diversity aspect. The latter are rooted in the Unity. The Unity is at once the Source and the Essential Reality of their being. Just as the term "parts" would be meaningless save in relationship to the "whole" to which they belong, so, the 'I's and the 'Thous', the 'He's, 'She's and 'It's can have no 'is-tence' save in relationship to "That" in which all live, move and have being.

Were this Truth recognised in the matter of human, not to say extra-human, relationships, how topsy-turvy and stupid must appear our present outlook, our policies and conduct generally.

The "human" aspect of the All-Life differentiates as races, colours, peoples, nations—mankind of varying complexions of consciousness—live, self-conscious, pieces in a divinely conceived mosaic.

Harmony and happiness and light and peace would prevail, where now are darkness and discord, conflict and mutual slaughter, would but the parts reproduce and express as between themselves the divine Love that brought them into being and that sustains them in their long pilgrimage towards self-realisation.

The narrow exclusiveness of the pronoun—self, the inflated egoism that breeds selfishness, what are these but "False knowledge,

that blindly clings to one as if 'twere all"? While we glory in the fact that our beloved Aryavarta is the Fount and Reservoir of these immortal truths, might we not, when criticising the tamasic conduct of our white brothers in respect of racialism, colour-hatred and similar narrownesses, somewhat profitably engage in a little self-examination with a view to eradicating any forms of exclusiveness which might possibly exist within our own communion? Mahatma Gandhi is honoured as teacher of the ancient truths and accepted as a harbinger of a new order founded on the law of love, primarily because the Word he preaches is made manifest in his own life. It is not enough that the would-be regenerator be no worse than others. To convince and convert he must become a living example of what he seeks to prove good and desirable for others. We are perhaps prone to forget that as long as we are struggling for "equality of treatment" only in order that "we may get into the game" as it is being played, that is for the right to share in the grabbing, the hunters already in possession of the field may not unnaturally be expected to resent our intrusion and to do their utmost to keep the hunting to themselves. Rivalries to secure, and collisions in the efforts to retain 'spheres of influence' and fields for exploitation are the very causes that have led to the world's most disastrous conflicts, and so long as peoples and individuals elect to order their policies, systems and personal lives on the principles of jungle-life, similar results must recur again and again.

The conflict in which we in South Africa are presently involved is one example of these forces at work, the battle presently waging in India is another. India will win if the spirit that inspires Mahatma Gandhi finds sufficient response in India's people to outweigh the opposing forces of brute-strength and self-seeking. Similarly, our cause in South Africa will be victorious in proportion to the purity and unselfishness of the motive that inspires us, and according to the nature of the gains we look for. It is the informing spirit, not the perishable form, that counts. "The act, is less, far less, than the right-thinking mind."

REGISTRATION CERTIFICATES

(BY C. F. ANDREWS)

WHILE I have been in Capetown working on behalf of the Transvaal Indian community in order to bring relief with regard to the two Bills which are now before the Union Parliament, I have been at the same time editing for publication in Europe and America large portions of Mahatma Gandhi's story called 'Satyagraha in South Africa' in so far as it is related to the Transvaal. Some of this wonderful story has been already published in the West in my previous volumes, called 'Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas' and 'Mahatma Gandhi: his own story'; but in the latter book, when writing the Preface, I stated that with great reluctance I had been compelled to leave out altogether the Transvaal Struggle of 1907-1911 because the narrative will require a whole book by itself to do it justice.

For that reason, I held it over and promised that if a third volume was required by the public then I would make this struggle the subject of it. Since that time, there has come a clear demand for a third volume, and therefore, now, in every moment of my spare time, I am engaged in that task and it has been a very great satisfaction to me that this new book has been asked for in Europe and America at the very time that this new struggle for human liberties has come to the Transvaal Indian community and that I have personally been called by the community to return to South Africa in order to take part in it.

For, a closer study of the Satyagraha struggle of those earlier days, such as I am now engaged in making, has revealed to me as nothing else could do the sacrifices which the Transvaal Indians then went through with such heroic fortitude. It has also abundantly made clear the value and significance of the registration certificates themselves. Furthermore, it has shown me in detail, what solemn promises were given by responsible Ministers, such as Lord Milner and General Smuts, that if only the Transvaal Indian community would agree, once and for all, to take out these registration certificates, then they would remain with them in the future as a safeguard and a security for all the years to come which could never be taken away or rescinded.

The words used by great statesmen such as these are precise and unmistakable. They

cannot possibly be denied or contradicted. Lord Milner, if he were living to-day, would be the first to uphold his own emphatic promise. General Smuts, who is still with us actively engaged in affairs of State, as Leader of the Opposition in the Union Parliament, will take careful note that this new Immigration Amendment Bill cancels with one stroke of the pen the vested rights which he himself gave to the Transvaal Indian community in 1908. They were given as the result of the great Satyagraha Struggle. They were afterwards confirmed, in the year 1914, when General Smuts accepted the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement, declaring therein that he would pay due regard to vested rights.

It is true that the Indian community, along with all other communities in South Africa, has fully accepted the principle of three years' absence from the Union, implying loss of domicile unless further extension has been obtained before the three years' date expires. This new principle of immigration does not apply to Indians only but to all races alike. This new 'three years' regulation, accepted in the Immigration (Amendment) Act of 1927, has already become the law of the land, and there is no going back on this fact of past history.

But this is quite another thing from actually taking away an existing right which has been given to a very small group of harrassed Indian residents in the Transvaal and has been regarded by them quite rightly as their one safeguard and security. The Transvaal Indians, as things are to-day, have far too few vested rights. They cannot afford to give up any one of them without grievous loss. They cannot agree to lose this registration certificate, which would make their whole position in the Transvaal, for which they have struggled so heroically in the past, again insecure and unreliable.

The Transvaal Indians may well claim that as this matter was never brought forward in the Immigration (Amendment) Bill of 1927, which implemented the Capetown Agreement, it should be left over till the end of this year when a new revising Conference is to be held and a new Agreement is to be formed. Let this matter, which is so vital to the community, be kept over to that date and be settled, not by a mere stroke of the pen, but by a careful, reasoned discussion between the two Governments of South Africa and India.

(Continued From Front Page)

a particular sphere) when self-government was given to the two Northern Colonies in South Africa? The conditions may be different but the principle is the same. Admittedly the conditions of India—the heterogeneous populace, the clash of religions—make self-government difficult. But that is all the more reason for Britain exercising her peculiar genius of bringing contentment to the alien instead of falling back on the patent device of domination—which is all that is offered by Mr. Churchill and the friends he is collecting at a variety of questionable meetings. Such friends are not hard to collect. Everybody who has ever been in India has a solution of her problems. The Captain (temporary) in the Supply and Transport Corps during the war is as conversant with every detail of the problem as Sir Michael O'Dwyer. But the advance which India makes in political consciousness from year to year escapes their notice. India as a whole has changed so rapidly that those who were familiar with it ten years ago would not know it to-day. Mr. Churchill is attracting to his banner the stalwarts of yesterday. He is leading them into the wilderness. He has annointed himself with the Gandhi cap and covered his political nakedness with the loincloth. As an artisan—he once almost qualified as a bricklayer—he will no doubt take easily to the spinning-wheel and produce yards of coarse cloth—or rhetoric. But the impartial observer will probably prefer to follow the lead of that much-harrassed but superbly convincing man, Lord Irwin, who is reported to be on the verge, after repeated efforts, of bringing the Congress Party within the scope of the Round Table Conference. If Lord Irwin succeeds in his design his name will probably go down to history as that of the greatest Viceroy. Coupled with it will go the name of Mr. Winston Churchill—the man who tried to ruin the Commonwealth.

Congress Approves Of Peace In India

Main Heads Of Viceroy-Gandhi Agreement

The agreement between Lord Irwin and Gandhi has been confirmed, states a Renter message from New Delhi, and general satisfaction prevails in Congress circles. The Congress executive meets this afternoon (Wednesday) to call off civil disobedience and to record its appreciation of Lord Irwin's services in cementing the ties between India and Britain.

Our London correspondents (states the *Natal Advertiser*), cable that, according to a *Daily Herald* message from New Delhi, the main heads of the agreement are:

The private manufacture of salt by people living on the sea coast shall be allowed without prejudice to the Government monopoly;

Property confiscated for refusal to pay taxes shall be restored subject to reservations; and

Peaceful picketing for economic objects shall be legal.

The Congress committee also agreed to waive their demand for an inquiry into the alleged police excesses.

Agreement has been reached between the Viceroy and Gandhi, states a message from Calcutta, on all outstanding questions as the result of prolonged talks yesterday and the path is now cleared for Congress participation in the round-table conference. It is understood that an understanding has been reached on questions relating to an inquiry

into charges of undue force used by the police, picketing, boycotting and salt manufacture. The talks, which were renewed last night centred round the question of the restoration of confiscated property and it is believed the Government is willing to concede restoration provided the arrears in the land revenue are paid up. Certain Congress executive members are opposed to this proposal and a draft formula has been drawn up by the Congress Working Committee and submitted to the Viceroy's Executive Council for review.

All-Day Conversations

A truce in India and the new participation of Congress leaders in the new round-table conference which will continue the work begun at London. This, says the *Daily Herald*, according to our London correspondent, is the meaning of the Irwin-Gandhi agreement which came after all-day conversations. Gandhi in the morning met Sir George Schuster and in the afternoon visited the Viceroy. This meeting, says the *Times'* correspondent at New Delhi, lasted from 2.30 in the afternoon until 7 in the evening, with only a short break during which Lord Irwin had tea and Gandhi his one meal of the day. This has consisted for 40 days of a pint of goat's milk brought to him by his secretary.

Gandhi then met the Congress Working Committee for an hour and returned to the Viceroy's house at 10 in the evening. At this meeting, which lasted till 1.30 this morning, the agreement was reached, the details of which will be given in an official communique later.

London Press Comment

London Press comment is as follows:

The *Daily Mail*:—It is an unqualified victory for the campaign of civil disobedience. Lord Irwin has made a dismal surrender to a fanatic who is determined to drive the British out of India. The strongest possible protests are required if defeatists in India are to be stopped before they have wrecked everything.

The *Morning Post*:—It is essential before it is too late to dissociate the Conservative Party from the Irwin policy of surrender.

The *News Chronicle*:—It is more important than the Franco-Italian naval agreement. It will afford an opportunity for a revival of trade between Britain and her greatest market. The nation's thanks are due to Lord Irwin who has crowned his vicerealty by this fine achievement in conciliation.

The *Manchester Guardian* says: "There can have been few more astonishing episodes in the history of empires than the conversations between a Viceroy and a Mahatma. A representative of a world power meets a representative of an unarmed people on equal terms. They negotiate together like any European statesmen, only without the background of a rival force. And this for India will be more of a symbol of her new freedom than the round-table conference. Gandhi meets the Viceroy as an Indian, and the Viceroy receives him so. The Englishman has to wear particular clothes to fit into a particular etiquette if he is to meet the Viceroy, but Gandhi goes as himself.

A Great Triumph

"It is a triumph for Indian nationalism. It was formerly believed that empires needed to make a show of magnificence and ceremony if they were to sustain their power. In that sense those who condemn Lord Irwin as one who has helped to bring about the ruin of an empire are right. But then he has seen beyond empires."—*Natal Advertiser*.

Salt War Truce In India

New Delhi, March 3.—Agreement on the Salt Law has been reached between Sir George Schuster, Finance Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and Mr. Gandhi.

It is understood that the agreement provides that people living at the sea coast will be allowed to gather, manufacture and sell salt, which will be regarded as nature's gift to them. Acknowledgment of its principle is not likely to interfere with the Government salt monopoly, under which the Government will still supply salt to most of India.

In connection with the meeting of Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi, political circles are optimistic that outstanding difficulties will be settled and that the details of an agreement will be published immediately. Apparently, the Salt Law problem was the main point to be settled, which was the reason for Sir George Schuster's intervention.

There was an indication of optimism at Mr. Gandhi's headquarters yesterday, in the fact that informal talks concerned a new round table conference, with its first session in India and its final phase in London.—Reuter.

Immigration Amendment Bill

Dr. Malan Moves Second Reading

Japanese Agreement Attacked

Capetown, Monday.

In the House of Assembly to-day the Minister of the Interior (Dr. D. F. Malan) moved the second reading of the Immigration Amendment Bill which, he explained, had been rendered necessary owing to a certain judgment by the Supreme Court, although he had taken the opportunity at the same time to remedy existing defects in the immigration law.

Dr. Malan explained that the Bill put prohibited immigrants, coming into South Africa over the land borders on the same footing as prohibited immigrants entering through the sea-ports. The Bill also slightly extended the list of deportable offences, and it gave the Government the power to deport an Indian immigrant if, during his probationary period of three years, the police made a report against him.

Indian Registration

Proceeding, Dr. Malan explained that under a Supreme Court judgment it had been held that an Indian who held a Transvaal registration certificate or a Natal domiciliary certificate could not be debarred from re-entering the Union, although he had been absent from the Union for more than three years and had lost his domicile. Under that judgment such Indians might re-enter, although they must do so as new immigrants and begin afresh. It was now proposed to remedy that, and to debar from re-entering the Union these Indians in the same way as any Indian who was absent from the Union for more than three years.

General Smuts (S.A.P., Standerton) pointed out that the Bill made provision far beyond the intention outlined by the Minister and the prima facie effect of clause 2 was to destroy entirely the value of the registration certificate.

Clause 2 reads: "The holder of a certificate of registration or a certificate of domicile shall not by virtue of such certificate or other document be entitled to enter or reside in the Union or any Province thereof." Surely, said General Smuts, that went further than the Minister intended. The registration certificate was the Magna Charta of the Indian in South Africa, and here an attack was made on the fundamental basis of the rights of Indians to enter and reside in the Union. If the Bill in its

present form were passed not a single Indian in the country would have had any security of tenure. In all fairness, he asked the Minister to limit the sweeping provisions of the clause specifically to cases where Indians, through three years' absence from the Union, had lost their domicile.

Japanese Agreement

General Smuts went on to deal with what he described as a matter of the greatest importance, the Japanese agreement. He felt that the Government had not acted rightly in making that agreement an informal document—a mere exchange of correspondence—instead of putting it into correct treaty form and asking Parliament to ratify it.

It was, declared General Smuts, certainly quite as important as other international agreements which Parliament had been asked to ratify. The agreement—which for some reason he could not fathom applied to the whole Union except the Free State—allowed a considerable relaxing of the immigration exclusion which had always been in practice. Certain classes of Japanese would now be admitted wholesale on certificates issued by the Government, and the agreement laid down a precedent which the Government in future would be bound to follow in the case of other Asiatic countries. It would be impossible to limit such special privileges to the Japanese Empire, and to say "nay" to China and other Asiatic countries, without giving grave offence. Under the agreement wholesale traders with their families and staffs would be allowed to come from Japan and settle down in the Union. They must look forward to the time when that system had taken root and they would have a fairly large number of Asiatic wholesalers in all the important centres of the Union.

As a result of the agreement, said General Smuts, trade with Asiatic countries would take a new turn. The whole question of competition between European and Asiatic countries was one of standards. In Asia they had millions of underpaid labourers, and it stood to reason when competition started between European and Asiatic manufacturers that the latter would have a great advantage.

Continuing, General Smuts said the effect of the agreement would not only be to increase the Union's trade with Asia but it would very largely shift her trade relations from America and Europe to Asia. In view of that they must consider whether it would be possible to maintain the principle of exclusion hitherto applied to Asiatic countries. They could not open the trade door and at the same time maintain their cardinal policy of immigration exclusion.

Appeal To Government

General Smuts appealed to the Government and the country to think and pause over all the implications and possible results which might flow from the policy initiated by the agreement. Moreover, from the point of view of the Union's secondary industries which were already severely handicapped by many conditions such as high labour charges, etc., they could only deplore the agreement. What chance, he asked, would South African industries have with the door open to cheap goods from Japan, China and other Asiatic countries? He was doubtful whether the Government had considered all those matters and, indeed, it almost seemed that the agreement had been made in a fit of absent-mindedness.

It was right, said General Smuts in conclusion, that the country should understand that it was at the beginning of a new and grave departure from

cardinal principles, the results of which might be more far-reaching than anyone could foresee to-day.

General Hertzog Replies

General Hertzog said that all members of his Cabinet were unanimously agreed that the Bill was necessary and desirable, and he wondered whether hon. members opposite were equally unanimous in sharing the views of their leader, although, as usual, it was difficult to know what those views were.

General Smuts: I am definitely against the policy of the Government opening the door in this matter. I think it is a dangerous step.

General Hertzog, proceeding, said he could not see the point of General Smuts' remarks concerning the diverting of the trade stream from Europe. Why not, he asked? If South Africa sat still how could she hope to get markets in other parts of the world? It would be a most short-sighted policy to hesitate to take advantage of any opportunity to acquire fresh markets. If trade with the East was so dangerous it was curious that the European countries had always tried to capture it.

General Hertzog dwelt on the potentialities of the Japanese market for the Union's wool, and remarked that Australia and New Zealand did not hesitate to take advantage of that market. He felt that the Opposition were still animated by the short-sighted policy which in the past had made them decline any trade other than with the British Empire. (Opposition laughter).

Wholesale Traders

Replying to the point that wholesale traders in the Union would be adversely affected by the Bill, General Hertzog declared that such merchants were already doing business in Eastern goods under cover of a British name. As for our own industries they could be protected to-day against European industrial competition.

The Prime Minister waved aside the suggestion that Japanese would settle in the Union, and pointed out that they were not settling in such countries as Australia, New Zealand and Canada, which were doing business with Japan.

For many years, went on the Prime Minister, the Union had been so intent upon prohibiting Eastern immigration that she had foolishly neglected to foster her trade relations with Eastern countries. The Union to-day had a glut of unsaleable agricultural products. The position would become worse, and it was obvious that she needed more markets than Europe could supply. In the circumstances the Union was compelled to look elsewhere for markets, and he could only deplore the speech of General Smuts, which was tantamount to sticking his finger in the eye of a friendly people.

Against Quota Act

Colonel C. F. Stallard (S.A.P., Roodepoort) pointed out that in view of her colour problem South Africa was not in the same position as Canada or Australia. There was no reason why South Africa should not attempt to expand her trade with Japan, but he maintained that the Government should frankly have told Japan that the peculiar position of Japan as regards colour must be faced in all questions of trade relations.

Colonel Stallard went on to argue that the agreement was a flat contradiction to the provisions of the Quota Act, and that it could not be carried into effect without flouting that Act. From that point of view alone it stood condemned. The Government had not consulted Parliament, and were relying upon the prerogative of the Crown to override Parliament—an astonishing thing in the case of the

Ministry with General Hertzog at its head. The Bill opened the door to an influx of Eastern immigrants, and marked a fundamental departure from the line of treatment which the country had followed for 100 years. The Government had apparently not considered the effect of the agreement on the race relations in the Union between white and black, and he did not believe that trade expansion with the East could not take place without jettisoning fundamental principles and exposing South Africa to an undoubted menace.

Economic Dangers

Mr. M. Kentridge (Labour, N.O., Troyeville) described the Japanese agreement as contrary to all our immigration laws. It was fraught, he declared, with grave economic dangers to the welfare of South Africa, and had been adopted by the Government without reference to the House, the country, or, he ventured to say, even to the Nationalist caucus. It was profoundly significant that the Prime Minister had spoken amid a stony silence from his followers—a silence such as he (Mr. Kentridge) had never before known in all his experience in the House.

Mr. R. Stuttford (S.A.P., Newlands) contended that the Government were selling the people's birthright for a mess of pottage. They proposed to open the door to goods manufactured under conditions that would horrify the Minister of Labour, and according to the latest available figures all we were going to get in return was a paltry export trade of £87,000 a year—one-twelfth of the value of our present imports from Japan. The Prime Minister had said he had great expectations of a wool export trade with Japan, but as during the last few years Japan had taken practically no wool from us at all, simply because it did not suit her to buy our wool, there was very little reason to suppose she would buy any more of it because of this agreement.

"You are selling the people's rights for nothing," declared Mr. Stuttford.

The Prime Minister: What rights?

Mr. Stuttford: The rights to a decent living.

At this stage the sitting was suspended until eight o'clock.

After Object Lesson

Concluding his speech when the House resumed at eight o'clock Mr. Stuttford expressed surprise that, with the object lesson of the German Treaty before them, the Government should be optimistic to expect such startling results from the present agreement. It was amazing, too, that the Government should have entered into a gentleman's agreement with India with the object of getting Indians out of South Africa, and should now enter into a similar gentleman's agreement with another Asiatic country with the object of admitting Japanese citizens to the Union.

Mr. C. W. A. Coulter (S.A.P., Gardens) said that over and over again since the Government had been in office they had had illustration after illustration of its total lack of co-operation with the commercial community. This was one more example of that lack of co-operation which they had seen so clearly in the case of the Mozambique Treaty, the German Treaty, the first Customs Conference with Rhodesia, and in many other instances.

Mr. O. R. Nel (S.A.P., Newcastle) said that of £89,000 worth of goods purchased by Japan from the Union in 1929, £79,000 represented wattle bark and wattle extract. Japan bought wattle bark because she needed it, and she would buy our wool if she needed it, agreement or no agreement.

The agreement opened the door to the Japanese immigrant, and once opened it would remain an ever-open door. He could not see that South Africa would benefit in any way from a commercial point of view, and he challenged the Minister who had promised to rid the country of Asiatics to meet him on any platform in the Union and defend the agreement which he had concluded with Japan. The whole thing was utterly wrong, and in direct conflict with the Union's immigration laws and policy.

Colonel D. Reitz, Mr. W. A. Deane, Mr. H. P. Borlase, and Mr. Heaton Nicholls also spoke, and Mr. P. Wessels moved the adjournment of the debate until Wednesday.

The House rose at 11 o'clock.

Dr. Malan Makes His Position Clear

Capetown, March 4.—The Minister of the Interior, replying to the debate, assured General Smuts that the Bill made no encroachment on the privileges enjoyed by Indians under their registration certificates, and in any case the position was fully understood and approved by the Government of India. In regard to the Deportation Clause, the powers granted to the Minister were not peculiar to South Africa, but were possessed by the Government of almost every country in the world. He gave the House the assurance, however, that those powers would be administered with the utmost circumspection and that all the circumstances would be taken into very careful account before they were applied.

Going on to deal with the Japanese Agreement, the Minister said that the longer the debate had been in progress the more violent had become the speeches of Opposition members, until some of them had become almost incoherent and hysterical. He had at times felt ashamed that some of the utterances from the other side of the House should be read in other countries, for they had reflected little credit upon South Africa. (Nationalist "Hear, hears.")

In the first place, he wished to make it perfectly clear that this was not a Trade Treaty, but simply an administrative arrangement made by the Minister of the Interior at the discretion permitted him by the Immigration Act. The measure did not require its submission to Parliament, and indeed, although he had consulted his colleagues in the Cabinet about the matter, he need not even have done that. He was merely carrying out the powers reposed in him by the Immigration Act. (Nationalist cheers.)

Under the Agreement the Japanese would still rank as prohibited immigrants in this country, but they would be prohibited from entering the Union by their own Government, which had given us the assurance that it would exercise the same prohibitory functions as would otherwise be exercised by the Union Government.

Japan had for many years regarded it as a stigma that her citizens were not permitted to enter certain countries, of which South Africa was one, and it was for the purpose of removing that stigma, which had had a detrimental effect on the trade relations of the two countries, that the Agreement had been made.

It was specifically laid down that the Agreement did not in any way derogate from the rights of the Union under its existing immigration laws and was subject to review at any time after it had been in operation two months. Moreover, the period for which permits were to be granted to these Japanese wholesale merchants, tourists or scientists was one year, and this period could only be extended by a year at a time. If we wished at any time to get rid

of these people, they could be ordered to leave at the expiration of the period laid down in their permits.—Reuter.

Admission Of Japs To The Union

Terms Of Agreement

The Association of Chambers of Commerce supplies the text of the agreement reached between the Union Government and Japan as set forth in a letter dated October 16th, 1930, and signed "W. J. H. Farrel, Acting Secretary for External Affairs," which was dispatched to S. Yamasaki, Acting Consul for Japan in Capetown.

The following is a copy:

Sir,—With reference to the correspondence which has passed between us in connection with the temporary admission of Japanese students, tourists and merchants to the Union of South Africa, I have the honour to inform you that I am now authorised to confirm, on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the Union of South Africa the arrangement arrived at between that Government and the Japanese Government with regard thereto, which arrangement is fully set out hereunder:

1. In order to assist the Union Government in giving effect to the terms of this understanding the Japanese Government will arrange that passports for visiting the Union will not be issued to Japanese subjects other than those whose admission is recommended by the Japanese Government through the Consul for Japan under this understanding.

2. The Union Government will make provision that no Japanese subject whose admission is recommended by the Consul for Japan in terms of this understanding will be served on arrival at a Union port with a notice declaring him to be a prohibited immigrant.

Temporary Permit

3. The Union Government will cause to be issued to every person so recommended in terms of this understanding a temporary permit to enter the Union or one or more provinces thereof subject to such conditions, prescribed by regulations, as may be set out in the permit.

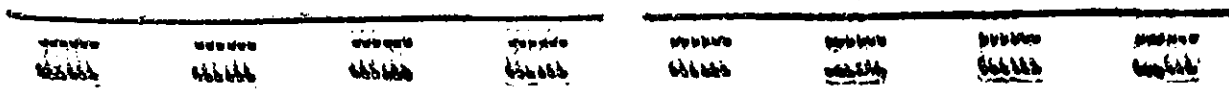
4. The Union Government will not insist upon a deposit being made by any such recommended person against the issue of a permit; the Union Government shall, however, continue to levy on every such person the fee charged to persons on the issue of temporary permits and which at present amounts to one pound.

5. The Consul for Japan will recommend for admission in the Union under this arrangement Japanese subjects belonging exclusively to the following classes: 1, tourists; 2, persons visiting the Union solely for the purpose of study or scientific investigation; 3, wholesale merchants and buyers of South African produce for export, as well as their respective staffs. It is understood that the number of persons recommended under this class will be restricted to a reasonable limit.

4. The wives and children of any person admitted under paragraphs 1, 2, and 3.

Valid For One Year

6. The permits issued under this understanding shall be for one year, renewable from time to time on the recommendation of the Consul for Japan for a further period or periods each not exceeding one year.



7. It is understood that: 1. Any person who enters the Union under a permit as contemplated in this understanding shall not be entitled in consequence to reside in the Free State or to settle in that province for the purpose of trading or farming. 2. Children born to any such person during such temporary domicile shall have no claim in consequence to Union Nationality, birthright or domicile. 3. No person falling under the provision of paragraphs (D), (E), (F), (G), or (H) of Sub-section (1) of section 4 of Act No. 22 of 1913 of the Union as amended, will either be recommended for admission or admitted to the Union. 4. Whenever any Japanese subject who has been admitted to the Union under this arrangement fails to comply with the conditions of his temporary permit, the Japanese Government will, upon request to that effect being made by the Union Government to the Japanese Consul, arrange for his maintenance and removal from the Union without cost to the Union Government. 5. This understanding should not be construed so as to derogate from the right of the Union to administer and carry into effect the Immigrants Regulations Act, 1913, the Quota Act, 1930, or any amendment of these measures and shall be subject to review at any time after two months' notice to that effect.

8. This arrangement will commence on and be of full force and effect from the date of this note.

The present note and your reply in a similar sense will be regarded as giving validity to, and placing on record, the understanding between the respective governments in the matter.—I have, etc.,
(Signed) W. J. H. FARRELL.

To this letter the Acting-Consul General for Japan replied:

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of this day's date with reference to the correspondence which has passed between us

in connection with the temporary admission of Japanese students, tourists and merchants to the Union for South Africa and to inform you that I am authorised to confirm, on behalf of the Japanese Government, as is contained in my letter of the 4th October, 1930, addressed to the Minister for External Affairs, the arrangement arrived at between that Government and the Government of the Union of South Africa with regard thereto, which arrangement is fully set out hereunder:

(Here follow provisions 1, to 8, word for word, as contained in the above letter signed "W. J. H. Farrell").—I have, etc., (Signed) S. YAMASKI.

The Indian Technical Education Committee (DURBAN)


EVENING COMMERCIAL CLASSES AT SASTRI COLLEGE

The following classes have now commenced: Book-keeping, Business Methods, Commercial Arithmetic, English, Afrikaans, Correspondence, Shorthand, Typewriting and Salesmanship.

Students who have not yet taken advantage of these classes are advised to join as soon as possible. Further information may be obtained from:

W. N. BUSS,
Sastri College, Durban.

P. R. PATHER }
S. M. MOODLEY } Joint Hon. Secretaries.
P.O. Box 670.
Little Grey St., Durban.



**A
GOOD
ALL ROUNDER**

..is invaluable
to his side

PEGASUS

THE PETROL FOR "ALL-ROUND" PERFORMANCE
—and with Pegasus, always use Mobiloil.

VACUUM OIL COMPANY OF SOUTH AFRICA, LIMITED

PEGASUS is South Africa's famous "all-round" performer. When you buy Pegasus you buy—
UNIFORMITY—QUICK-STARTING
NO KNOCK—ACCELERATION—
POWER—ECONOMY
all of which are essential to proper "all-round" petrol performance.