

THE PHARMA VIK

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN ENGLISH AND HINDI.

VOL 4.

P.O.Box 1180, Durban. Friday 4 July 1919.

No. 18

Mr. Tilak's Representation To The Peace Conference.

6. It must be admitted that opinion is not unanimous in India regarding the whole of the reforms proposed. Unanimity in detail is unattainable in a population of 250 millions in British India. During the brief occupation of Belgium by the Germans a few were found even there who were not ashamed to proclaim that they were content with German Government. Conflict of views, therefore, is inevitable in India. Nevertheless, such divergence of views as manifests itself is not due to any doubt of the capacity of Indians for full Self-Government, but rather to the various degrees of desire to proceed on the lines of least resistances, anxiety to enlist official sympathy and disarm official antagonism, arising from the natural reluctance of the bureaucracy to part with power or facilitate the democratisation of the Government of India. The capacity of Indians to adjust their differences is demonstrated by the Concord at between the Hindus and the Mohammedans announced in 1916 at Lucknow and alluded to in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (Report, para 27). Once the principle of Self-Determination is conceded, all conflict of opinion will vanish, and the people would formulate a scheme acceptable even to those who profess to differ at present. As matters stand, in spite of the official attitude, an overwhelming majority of the people are united in their demands—the dissentients being numerically negligible. They clamour for the principle of Self-Determination, and characterise the present proposals of Government as "disappointing and unsatisfactory," even as the first step towards the ultimate goal of representative and responsible Government.

7. I am loth to discuss the minima demands of the people and the maxima proposals of the Government. I feel, however, that a brief statement of the proposed official reforms and of the popular criticism and claims will reveal the fundamental defects of the proposals and the paramount necessity of Self-Determination

for an honest, true, and satisfactory solution of the great Indian problem.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

8. Under the various Acts of Parliament consolidated by the Government of India Act, 1915 (5&6 Geo. 5, ch. 61) British India is governed in the name of His Majesty the King Emperor of India by the Secretary of State for India as one of the many departments of British administration, with the assistance of the Council of India. Subject to the control of the Secretary of State, the Civil and Military Government of India is delegated to the Governor-General in Council in India. The Government of India consists of an excessively centralised system of administration exercised over a territory as extensive as Europe minus Russia and over a population numbering 250 millions, consisting of about twelve co-related sub-nationalities of Aryan and Dravidian descent. The functions of Government are divided into executive, legislative, and judicial departments. But the Executive is not responsible to the Legislature. The Legislative has power to criticise the Budget, to interpellate, and to pass resolutions which are not binding upon the Government. But it is in no sense the Grand Inquest of the nation. Moreover, the majority of the Legislative Councillors are officials. The Government of India is, theoretically, responsible to the Secretary of State, and he is responsible to the Parliament. But his independence and power are considerably fettered by the Council of India, which has the power of the purse under Section 21 of the Government of India Act, 1915. It is difficult to comprehend how the principle of ministerial responsibility can be enforced by parliament in the case of the Secretary of State, with the power of the purse assigned to the Council of India. The present Secretary of State has himself condemned the system in these terms: "The whole system of the House of Commons for fear there might be too advanced a Secretary of State," (Hansard, Vol. 95,

No. 93). The result is that we have an autocratic Government over an immense area governing one-fifth of the human race under an exceedingly centralised system. The whole system has been denounced as inefficient and paralysing even by Provincial Governors, and by none more emphatically than by the present Secretary of State for India, who stigmatised it as "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view. I do not believe that anybody could even support the Government of India from the point of view of modern requirements." (Hansard, Vol. 95, No. 93). After this denunciation it is surprising and lamentable to find that in the proposed reforms he contemplates no modification in the irresponsible powers of Government of India and actually recommends some relaxation of the control by Parliament. The principles he lays down run as follows:—

"Provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps towards progressive realisation of responsible Government should be taken." (Rep., para. 189). "The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament, and, saving such responsibility, its authority in essential matters must remain indisputable pending experience of the effect of the changes now to be introduced in the Provinces. In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged and made more representative and opportunities of influencing the Government increased." (Report, para. 190).

Some measure of decentralisation is proposed, and in the Provinces, under a system of "Diarchy," the partial control of the Executive is to be introduced; and for this reason he declares that:—

"In proportion as the foregoing changes take place, the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State over the Government of India and

Provincial Governments must be relaxed." (Rep., para. 191).

9. The net result of this change will unquestionably be to make the Government of India still more autocratic, for it is well known that officials have been impatient of the control of Parliament and of the Secretary of State and have been clamouring for emancipation from their control. But if the central Government remains autocratic and if the head is to be despotic it is hopeless to expect the body to be democratic. Whatever changes may be introduced, the Provincial Governments can never be really and effectively liberalised and democratised while the Central Government remains bureaucratic and irresponsible. The people of India are entirely dissatisfied with these measures of reform and have demanded partial responsibility in the Central Government immediately and full responsibility within fifteen years. The resolution of the Congress and Muslim League on the Government of India runs as follows:—

"That this Congress entirely disagrees with the formulae contained in the same report that the Provinces are the domain in which the earliest steps should be taken towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government, and that the authority of the Government of India in essential matters must remain indisputable pending experience of the effect of the changes proposed to be introduced in the Provinces, and the Congress is of opinion that simultaneous advance is indispensable in the Provinces and the Governments of India. The control of Parliament and the Secretary of State must only be modified as the responsibility of the India and the Provincial Governments to the electors is increased."

They also demand the entire abolition of the Secretary of State's Council of India.

(To be Continued)

THE DHARMA VIR.

Friday, July 4 1919

PEACE

While we hail with pleasure the victorious conclusion of Peace, we feel constrained to express regret at the non-fulfilment of the ideals for which the Allied Associated Governments went to War. While it is true that German Militarism has been destroyed for the time being and that certain portions of Europe, particularly parts of German Empire, have been given the right to self-determination, it is strange that this right to

self-determination in other parts of the world should be shamefully disregarded and ignored. We speak particularly of India which country unanimously desired, after mature and complete consideration, Home Rule within the Empire, and forwarded by cable and by other available means her heartfelt desire to high British officials and to the Peace Conference. The case of India was also ably placed before the Peace Conference, through M. Clemenceau, by our beloved and respected leader Lokmanya B. G. Tilak authorised by the whole of India. Should the claim of India, a nation of antiquity with an unsurpassable civilisation, fall on deaf ears, how is it possible to admit that those playing the part of chief actors in the Peace Conference are moved by high ideals and a spirit of humanity? The life blood and treasure this war cost India would have been poured in vain if the demand of the Indian peoples to Self-Rule does not materialize. And while half the world is rejoicing at their victorious emergence from the fate that threatened them, how is it possible for Indians to join in the celebrations when the spirit of barbarism is not vanquished so far as they are concerned? The Rowlatt Acts in India and the New Asiatic Amendment Bill in the Transvaal are evidences of the spirit of civilisation Indians have to contend with, and to their minds these acts are equal to the most abominable atrocity committed by the Hun. We pray God that our rulers may be made to feel the utter injustice and callousness of the policy they have adopted in regard to the Peoples of India.

An Unforgettable Day.

The Signing of The Treaty.

Historic Ceremony at Versailles.

BRILLIANT AND DIGNIFIED.

Order of Affixing Signatures.

A MOMENTOUS HALF HOUR.

London, June 28.—Reuter's correspondent at Versailles, telegraphing to-day, says:—

The glories of this old-time town are revived to-day on the occasion of the worldwide historic proceedings in connection with the signature of the Peace Treaty. The unforgettable day was invested with all befitting pomp.

The streets were alive at an early hour with triumphal music, marching men, tramping horses, and the stirring

sound of drums and bugles. Everywhere huge crowds poured in from Paris in order to see the comings and goings of the distinguished personages in the final act of the war drama.

The ceremony of the signature took place at the Chateau de Versailles, in the Salle des Glaces—a magnificent vaulted apartment of noble dimensions, with bomirrored wall, and no less magnificently decorated, and furnished with art treasures of unsurpassable splendour. The centre of this chamber was filled by a raised dais, where luxurious accommodation was prepared for the chief participants. One end of the apartment was reserved for 400 distinguished spectators, including members of the Diplomatic Corps, naval and military commanders, and some ladies, while at the other end there was an equal number of journalists.

The scene was no less brilliant than dignified. The Allied plenipotentiaries assembled first; then the two German plenipotentiaries, Herr Muller, Foreign Minister, and Herr Bell, Minister of Communications, who, others failing, had consented to represent the fallen country for the depressing duty.

The hall was filled to the uttermost, when, at five minutes past 3 o'clock, M. Clemenceau opened the sitting. The aged French Premier said, in a few brief sentences, that the Allied Associated Governments had agreed to the conditions of peace, the signature of which signified a solemn undertaking to abide loyally and faithfully by them.

Mr. Clemenceau then invited the German Republic to sign first. A curious interruption from the table at which the Germans were seated, was a cry, almost a shout: "Reich, reich." M. Clemenceau corrected himself, and said "Reich."

The Germans thereupon immediately rose and then affixed their signatures at 12 minutes past 3 o'clock, Herr Bell being the first to sign. Then President Wilson and the American delegation signed, followed by Mr. Lloyd George and the British delegation, composed of Mr. Bonar Law, Lord Milner, Mr. Barnes, and Mr. Balfour. Then came the French, Italian, and Japanese delegations. All the signatures were affixed by 25 minutes to 4 o'clock.

M. Clemenceau thereupon declared the proceedings terminated. A smile and a sigh of relief ran round the room as the German plenipotentiaries returned to their places after the signature.

Fountains in the park played and guns fired to announce the signature.

The British Dominions delegations were seated beside the British delegation, who were placed on M. Clemenceau's left. The delegations, after signing and sealing the main Treaty, signed the pro-

tool and the Rhine and Polish Conventions. The British Dominion delegates, who signed after the British delegation, included General Smuts, General Botha, Mr. Montagu, and the Maharaja of Bikanir. The ceremony was curiously unimpressive. The last to sign were the Czechoslovak delegates, and then cannon fired salvos and sirens shrieked.

M. Clemenceau, President Wilson, and Mr. Lloyd George departed together, hemmed in by cheering crowds, while the cannon continued to fire salvos and aeroplanes hummed overhead.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

When The News Came.

How Durban Celebrated.

The news of the signing of the Peace Treaty reached Durban on Saturday evening within half an hour of its dispatch from London. The fact that we here are two hours ahead of Greenwich time accounted for the fact that the cablegram was in the printer's hands by 6.30, and that very shortly after 7 p.m. "The Latest" was finding its way to the four quarters of the town. The unexpectedly early hour caught the majority of the people "napping," and, while apparently it did not at first awaken much interest, that was a state of affairs that did not prevail for long.

A considerable number of people were in the streets when the news was made known, and this number swelled to great proportions in an incredibly short time. The bells of Emmanuel Cathedral were pealed, and a general sense of quite satisfaction prevailed.

Railway hooters and the "time whistles" connected with factories were also set going.

Many Boy Scouts attended special parades to mark the occasion, and special thanksgiving services were held in all the churches yesterday, when the congregations were larger, generally speaking, than is usually the case.

Announcement at Pretoria.

Salute of 101 Guns To-day.

Pretoria, June 29 (Reuter).—The news of the signing of the Peace Treaty was publicly announced in places of amusement on Saturday evening, and was received with cheers and the singing of the National Anthem.

A salute of 101 guns will be fired at 8 o'clock on Monday morning by the S.A. M.R. batteries posted at Union Buildings and Swartskop.

The Afghan War.

Simla, June 22.—The Ameer's reply to the Viceroy's letter of June 3, which reached Simla on June 18, is couched in terms of studied friendliness.

It states that the Ameer is impressed with the peace-loving inclination of the British nation, where high functionaries made peace a principle of diplomacy in other parts of the world. He alludes to Afghanistan's passion for independence; also to the newly-awakened spirit of freedom in the world.

While characterising the British terms of the armistice as lenient, the Ameer points out certain practical difficulties in their liberal fulfilment. He maintains that the withdrawal of Afghan forces to a distance of 30 miles from the British forces involves the rooting up of thousands of villagers and tribesmen, as the Afghan forces consist of a levy en masse. He pleads that it is impossible to guarantee immunity for reconnoitering aeroplanes, whose presence in Afghanistan is regarded with bitterness.

The Ameer accepts the Viceroy's suggestion of Rawal Pindi as the meeting place for peace delegates, in order to secure the pleasure and safeguard the dignity and honour of the British Government. He announces the nomination of nine delegates, including Sandar Ali Khan, Minister of Home Affairs.

In conclusion the Ameer expressed the earnest hope for a bright future for both parties, and the establishment of friendly relations between the two Governments.

Replying to the above letter the Viceroy, while recognising some of the difficulties in the way of a liberal fulfilment of the armistice terms, emphasises that modification is impossible. The precise meaning of the first term is misunderstood, all that was demanded was the removal of the Afghan regular troops to a distance of 20 miles from our forces, which has been already done except in the vicinity of Chaman, whence the Afghan forces must be withdrawn the prescribed distance; also in the vicinity of Piewat Kotai, where the presence of the enemy is still reported.

The Viceroy says that so long as a single Afghan regular remains on our side of the frontier peace negotiations are impossible, and the only alternative is the resumption of hostilities.

He says the Ameer must prohibit tribal gatherings in the vicinity of our forces, which the British Generals have ordered must be forcibly dispersed.

The Viceroy is confident that the Ameer's stringent orders will ensure im-

munity for reconnoitering aeroplanes, which would retaliate if molested.

His Excellency emphasises the absolute necessity that the Ameer should warn frontier tribes to cease all hostilities if they have not already done so, as peace negotiations are impossible if the tribes are left in a state of doubt and excitement.

Understanding that the Ameer is prepared to accept the armistice terms fully in a spirit of friendliness the Viceroy would be glad to issue orders for the reception of the Afghan delegates at Rawal Pindi, and he announces the appointment of Mr. Hamilton Grant, Foreign Secretary, as chief of the British delegation. He endorses the Ameer's hope for a bright future and the re-establishment of friendly relations between the two Governments.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

London, June 21.—The Indian office has issued a communique to-night with reference to the reply of the Ameer of Afghanistan to the letter from the Viceroy of India proposing the armistice terms.

The communique says that while the Ameer's reply was thought to afford a basis of peace negotiations it raised points which required careful consideration of Indian and Imperial Governments, and the Viceroy was authorised, on June 19, to communicate further with the Ameer, agreeing, on certain conditions, to receive at Rawal Pindi the Afghan delegates whom the Ameer proposes to send when the fast of Ramadan is over.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

To Subscribers.

All subscribers whose subscriptions are in arrear are hereby requested to kindly forward same without further delay. It is unnecessary to state that by so doing they will enable us to continue our work without hindrance. In these days, when prices are ruling high in the market, it is no easy matter to run a journal; and with subscriptions being long overdue and unpaid one could well imagine the difficulties that have to be weekly overcome. We hope this intimation will not be overlooked.

Go to:

"THE DHARMA VIR."
PRINTING WORKS.

for . . .

GOOD PRINTING . . .

बांजे बज रहे थे कहीं ढोल और तुरही की आवाजसे उत्साह बढ़ रहा था। हर एक स्थान पर लोगोंके झुंड लायक मनुष्यों के देखनेके लिये पेरिस से आ-जा रहे हैं। सेले डेस गल्लेसज में चाटियु टी वारमेलीज पर हस्ताक्षर का रसम अदा की गयी। वह स्थान उत्तम रीति से सजाया गया था।

प्रथम मित्रों की ओर के संधि कर्ता एकत्र हुए और बाद में दो जर्मन संधि करता हर मुखर (फौरन मीनिस्टर), और हरबैल (मीनिस्टर ऑफ कम्प्यूनिकेशन) पधारे।

हाल खचा खच भर गया था। ३ बज कर ५ मिट गुजरने पर मि० क्लेन्सो ने शुरूमें व्याख्यानमें कहा कि मित्र मंडली गवर्नमेन्टने संधि की शर्तों को स्वीकार कर लिया है उनका हस्ताक्षर करना वफादारी जाहिर करता है।

मि० क्लेन्सोने पहले जर्मन रिपब्लिक को हस्ताक्षर करनेके लिये बोलाया इस पर जर्मन उठे और ३ बज कर १२ मिट गुजरे थे जब उन्होंने हस्ताक्षर किये। हस्ताक्षर करनेवालों में हरबैल पहला था। बादमें प्रे० विलसन और अमेरिकन प्रतिनिधियों ने फिर मि० लायड जोर्ज और ब्रिटिश प्रतिनिधियों ने तब फ्रेंच, इटली और जपान के प्रतिनिधियों ने हस्ताक्षर किये। उस वकत चार बजनेमें २५ मिट बाकी थे।

तोपोंकी आवाज से हस्ताक्षर का होना जतलाया गया।

सुलाह नामा पर हस्ताक्षर करने और मुहर लगाने के बाद प्रोटोकाल, रेनि और पोलिश कान्वेनशिन ने हस्ताक्षर किये। ब्रिटिश प्रतिनिधियों के हस्ताक्षर करने

के पश्चात् ब्रिटिश उपनिवेशों के प्रतिनिधियों (जनरल समटस, जनरल बोथा, मि० मां-टेगू और विकानेरके महागजा) ने हस्ताक्षर किये। अन्तमें सजेचों सलोवाक के प्रतिनिधियों ने हस्ताक्षर किये तब तोप चलई गई।

मि० क्लेन्सो, प्रे० विलसन और मि० लायड जोर्ज ने एक साथ हालसे प्रस्थान किया और लोगों के समूह जयजय ध्वनि कर रहे थे और तोपोंका चलना जारी था और हवाई वमान सिर पर चक्कर लगा रहे थे।

अमृतवाजार पत्रिका १० हजार और 'प्रताप' हजारकी जमानत देकर निकलने लगे 'प्रताप' का सब भार अब एक ट्रस्टको सौंप दिया गया जिसमें श्रीगणेश-शंकर विद्यार्थी और श्रीनारायण मिश्र सहित ५ सज्जन हैं।

—शोक—

यह हृदय विदारक घटना लिखते लेखनी कांपती है कि रायकोपिस विद्या प्रचारणी सभा का प्रतीक मंत्री खे० शिव पाल का धर्म पत्नी श्रीमती राजकु विगत स्पताह को परलोक गमन कर गई श्रीमती तिन छोटे छोटे बच्चे को बिलकिले छोड़ गई परमात्मा मृतात्मा को शांति और उनके पति तथा परीजनो को धैर्य प्रदान करे।

शेकार्त तुकारामवलदेव.

शहीदों की विदाई

करके खूरेजी खूने-वफा कर चुके,
हंक मुहब्बत का वह तो अदा कर चुके।
करके मुट्ठी में पेरों से मसला उसे,
दर्द-दिल की हमारे दवा कर चुके।
जिसको ताका, अजल का निशाना बना,
देखने वाले भी वाह वा कर चुके।
अब तो तर्जे-सितम कोई बाकी नहीं,
जुलम की इतनी वह इस्तहा कर चुके।
लेके उन के कदप नज़र सर कर दिया,
जितना करना था उससे सिवा कर चुके।

जान आफत में थी उस पै करके जफा,
और महशर में महशर बपा कर चुके।
हमको जिनकी जुदाई गवारा न थी,
सर हमारा वर तजमे जुदा कर चुके।
अपनी बग़्त की उदरों परवाह नहीं,
क्या वह सोचें कि हम हाथ क्या कर चुके।
मत उठाना ये मिट्टी हमारी, हमें,
हम सिपुर्दे-बनने ऐ सेवा कर चुके।
देख मेरी वफा और जाँपात्रियों
अब तो शाहिद तुझे ऐ खुदा कर चुके।
दम दिलावर नहीं लेते उस वक्त तक,
काम जबतक न, जो कुछ किया, कर चुके।
ऐ 'त्रिशूल' अब दो रुस्ततअता हो हमें,
अन्न कुल आप से माजरा कर चुके।

"त्रिशूल"

प्रताप

Indian Trading.

A Bokburg Protest.

Wholesale Merchants' Attitude.

Johannesburg, June 27 (Special).—At a meeting of the Bokburg and District Chamber of Commerce last night, a discussion took place concerning the protest signed by certain wholesale merchants in Johannesburg condemning public action that aimed at restricting Indian trading in certain areas in the Transvaal.

It was urged that the signatures to that protest were guilty of injustice in expressing views which favoured the Indian traders. It was also suggested that these protesting merchants should be boycotted, but this was thought to be too drastic a measure at present. It would be better to ventilate grievances at the annual congress.

It was urged that the signatories to enter with other Chambers of Commerce, and agree upon some form of united action.

Special stress was laid on the contention that the signatories had broken faith with regard to the resolution passed at Durban Congress, which favoured the restriction of Indian trade in the Transvaal.

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P.O.Box 1180, Durban. Friday 11 July 1919.

No. 19

Mr. Tilak's Representation To The Peace Conference.

10. Passing from the Executive to the Legislative, it is proposed in the Government scheme that the present Indian Legislative Assembly be enlarged to 100, of which two-thirds, are to be elected by the people. But the liberality of this alteration is nullified by the creation of a Second Chamber, denominated "the Council of State," consisting of fifty members, of whom twenty-nine are to be nominated by the Governor-General in Council. This looks like taking away with one hand what is given by the other. The creation of the Council of State as a Second Chamber is universally condemned.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES.

11. British India is divided into provinces for the purposes of administration. These provinces are the equivalent of the Constituent States of the United States of America, though they have not the same powers and independence. For all practical purposes there are nine provinces. The provinces of Bombay, Madras and Bengal are governed by a Governor and an Executive Council. The provinces of Behar and Orissa by a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, the provinces of Punjab and the United Provinces and Burmah by a Lieutenant-Governor without an Executive Council, and the provinces of Assam and Central Provinces by Chief Commissioners without an Executive Council. All the Provinces have Legislative Councils. In all these Legislatures the elected members are in a minority, except in Bengal, where the elected number is twenty-eight, against nineteen officials and four nominees. Although these Legislatures have various powers of criticism and interpellation and of passing resolutions which do not bind the Executive, they have no control over the Executive, which is in no way responsible to the members, nor have they any control over the provincial finance.

12. The report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy contemplates the grant of larger powers of administration,

taxation, and raising of loans to the provinces and some measure of emancipation from the legislative, financial, and administrative control of the Government of India. It also contemplates the creation of an Executive Council for every province, but it proposes to establish a new system of Government in the provinces designated a "Diarchy." It consists of an arbitrary separation of the functions of Provincial Government into reserved and transferred subjects. The reserved subjects are to be retained in charge of the Executive members, who are not to be responsible to, or removable by a vote of, the Legislature. The transferred subjects are to be at first limited in number and importance, and placed in charge of a minister responsible at first to his electors in the constituency, and after five years to the Legislative Assembly provided the Government of India so directs. It is claimed that this amounts to establishing the beginning of responsible Government in India. It is also proposed that Royal Commissions be periodically appointed to examine every decade what further subjects may be transferred from the reserved to the transferred branches till complete devolution and responsibility is attained. It also reserves the power of retransferring subjects from the transferred to the reserved subjects for maladministration. In this way an Executive is to be established which will be partly responsible and partly irresponsible; partly destructible and partly indestructible. The consensus of opinion, again, is that this Diarchy is unscientific, incomprehensible, and unworkable. It postulates the division of functions of Government, whereas experienced Anglo-Indians declare them indivisible under the existing system of Indian administration. It is difficult to imagine how harmonious working can be anticipated with conflicting political principles at work in one and the same Executive. It would be very easy to devise a system more workable and scientific than this

new-fangled Diarchy. But whatever the merits or demerits of this Diarchy, the people resent the implication of their unfitness, on which the so-called progressive stages are founded. When this resentment manifested itself, a responsible statesman and one of the colleagues of the Secretary of State on his mission to India hastened to explain that these cautious steps were not due to any distrust of the capacity of Indians, but merely to deficient acquaintance with Parliamentary procedure. This is obviously a very inadequate reason. The People, in Congress assembled, demanded immediate and full provincial autonomy and ministerial responsibility without any reserved subjects and without any periodical inquisition and examination into the capacity.

13. So far as the Provincial Legislatures are concerned, Government propose to enlarge them and make them predominantly elective; but here also they contemplate the creation of a separate Grand Committee for legislating upon the reserved subjects. The Committee likewise takes away with one hand what it gives with the other. So far as Bengal is concerned it is actually retrogressive, for Bengal has at present a small elective majority for all subjects without any reservation whatever. The net result of the enlarged Provincial Councils and Grand Committee is that there is little appreciable advance. The Grand Committees have been universally condemned throughout India.

14. I have dwelt upon the official and popular proposals not for comparing their merits, but for the purpose of pointing out that the Government do not realise that the most indispensable and fundamental reform is Liberty—Liberty for the people to work out their own salvation and fashion their own forms of government on assured democratic basis. The prolonged period of probation and decennial inquisition are intolerable in modern civilisation. What is wanted is power for the people in the Central Government.

With this power the people would be in a position to decide under the principle of Self-Determination how many provinces there should be, what should be their boundaries, what measures would prove efficient and sufficient as the first step, what speed would be safe for advancing towards full autonomy and responsible Self-Government without foreign control in internal affairs and without periodical examination into their capacity. In order to assure the British people that the Indians do not desire separation from or disruption of the Empire they would consent that questions of war or peace, foreign affairs, the Army or Navy and Military Government be excluded from the Indian purview, provided commissions in the Army and Navy are open to all Indians upon equal terms with Englishmen. These are limitations the people of India are willing to submit to for a brief period in order to assure the British Government of their *bona fides*, in the hope that within fifteen years they would be placed on a status of political equality with the Oversea-Dominions in all respects.

15. Under the circumstances, in discharge of the duty devolving upon me, as the elected representative of all the British India under the above resolution of the Congress, I earnestly appeal to the Peace Conference, *firstly* to concede to India the same right of representation on the League of Nations that is accorded to the British Dominions, and *secondly* to declare that Indians are quite capable of governing themselves, that as a progressive nation they are entitled to the application of the principle of Self-Determination, and that in the exercise of the principle they are also entitled to determine the form of Government, founded upon accepted democratic lines, which they deem most suitable for Self-development according to the genius of the people. The immortal principles of justice and the rule of right against might justify such a declaration. I beg to assure the Conference through you, Sir, as its President that such a declaration will not only excite the warmest enthusiasm and the deepest gratitude throughout India, with its 315 millions of people, but that its enforcement by the British Parliament would ensure the peace of the world, the prosperity of India, and the continuance of a beneficial British connection with our own great empire of Hindustan.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) B. G. TILAK.

(Concluded)

THE DHARMA VIR.

Friday, July 11 1919

GENERAL SMUTS AND PEACE TREATY.

The statement issued by General Smuts in which he expresses dissatisfaction with the so-called Peace Treaty is a document of far reaching effect and considerable importance. Coming, as it does, from one who has been taking a very important part during the war and in the Peace Conference the statement will carry the great weight and value it deserves. As we said last week, General Smuts says, that the objects for which some of the Allies went to war have not been fulfilled. He says: "The promise of the new life and the victory of great human ideals and the fulfilment of their aspirations towards the new international order, and a fairer and better world are not written in the Treaty, and will not be written in treaties." Thus the dreadful waste of lives, etc. has only been for purposes of Selfishness. In spite of the bombastic speeches of some statesmen the Peace Treaty discloses only one thing, the down-fall of Germany, without the world in general having gained the benefits which they were promised. Yes, the Treaty establishes the League of Nations but it has yet to be proved that the League will be a workable body. We are afraid that the disarmament of enemy countries alone will not serve to create faith in the League of Nations. In order that the League may be successful it is necessary that the weaker and stronger powers should possess equal influence at the deliberations of the League which is impossible under present conditions. We are therefore not surprised that General Smuts, who appears to have broadened his mind considerably during his stay in Europe has condemned the Peace Treaty in most scathing terms. He says distinctly that the statesmen have failed to produce to the world a Treaty of high human ideals and that such a treaty can only be brought about by the people. On the whole therefore the advantage arising out of this war has not been very great. President Wilson has seen a complete failure. His great principle of Self-determination only served to throw dust in the eyes of many peoples. Far from having established real peace the Treaty, we are sure, will bring a bloodier war in its train. The solution only lies in alterations on the lines suggested by General Smuts.

The Peace Treaty.

General Smuts Dissatisfied

Real Peace Yet to be Made.

Must be Work of the People.

London, June 29.—General Smuts has issued a statement in which he explains that he signed the Peace Treaty, not because it is a satisfactory document, but because it is imperatively necessary to close the war and the world needs peace above all, and nothing could be more fatal than a continuance of the state of suspense between war and peace.

He considers that the six months since the armistice have perhaps been as upsetting, unsettling, and ruinous to Europe as the previous four years of war. He regards the Treaty as the close of the chapters of war and armistice, but he feels that in the Treaty we have not achieved the real peace for which our peoples are longing, and believes that the real work of making peace will only begin after the Treaty has been signed. The Treaty is simply the liquidation of the war situation.

The promise of the new life and the victory of great human ideals and the fulfilment of their aspirations towards the new international order, and a fairer and better world are not written in the Treaty, and will not be written in treaties. A new spirit of the generosity of humanity born in the hearts of the peoples can alone solve the problems which the statesmen of the Conference found too hard.

General Smuts urges that the territorial settlements and guarantees, and the foreshadowed punishments and stipulated indemnities need revision, modification, or expungement, and that a real peace of the people ought to amend a peace of the statesmen.

General Smuts asserts that two achievements of far-reaching world importance are definitely recorded in the Treaty, namely, the destruction of Prussian militarism and the institution of the League of Nations. He is confident that the latter will yet prove an escape for Europe from the ruin created by the war. He regrets that the abolition of militarism in the Treaty is confined to the enemy. According to his view the enemy peoples should have been enabled to join the League as early as possible, and permitted to collaborate with the Allies in practising the great lesson of the war, and that the true path of national progress was in common service for great human causes.

Besides resulting in the enemy's utter defeat, the war has caused the collapse of the whole political and economic fabric of

Central and Eastern Europe. Unless the victors can effectively help the defeated and broken peoples, a large part of Europe is threatened with exhaustion and decay. Russia has already walked into the night, and the risk that the rest may follow is very grave indeed.

The effects of this disaster will not be confined to Central Europe, for civilisation is one body, and we are all members of one another.

General Smuts specially appeals to the peoples of the United States and the British Empire, who have been exceptionally blessed with the good things of life to exert themselves to the uttermost to the saving of the wreckage of life and industry on the Continent.

All this General Smuts regards as possible of accomplishment on two conditions. In the first place, Germany must convince our peoples of her good faith and complete sincerity, through a real and honest effort to fulfil the Treaty obligations as far as possible. They will find the British people disposed to meet them half way in their unexampled difficulties and perplexities, but any resort to subterfuges or to under hand means to defeat or evade the Peace Treaty will only revive the old suspicions, arouse anger, and prove fatal to a good understanding. Secondly, the Allies must remember that God gave them an overwhelming and undreamt of victory for the attainment of great human ideals, for which the heroes gave their lives, and which are the real victors in this war of ideals.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

THE PEACE TREATY.

ITS MAIN POINTS.

Germany shall be bound to accept any agreement reached with her former allies.

League of Nations promulgated.

Germany restores Alsace-Lorraine to France.

Germany accepts internationalisation of the Saar basin temporarily.

Danzig permanently internationalised.

Germany agrees to territorial changes toward Belgium and Denmark and in East Prussia.

Germany cedes most of upper Silesia to Poland.

Germany renounces all her territorial and political rights outside of Europe.

Germany recognises total independence of German Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

German army reduced to 100,000 men, including officers.

Conscription within German territories abolished.

All German forts for 50 kilometers east of the Rhine razed.

All importation, exportation and nearly all production of war materials stopped.

Allied occupation of parts of Germany to continue until reparation is made.

Any German violation of conditions pertaining to the Rhine zone constitutes an act of war.

Germany navy personnel to consist of not over 15,000.

All other war vessels must be surrendered or destroyed.

Germany forbidden to build forts controlling the Baltic.

All Helgoland fortifications must be demolished.

Kiel Canal to be open to all nations.

Germany must surrender her 14 submarine cables.

Germany's naval and military forces abolished after October 1.

Germany to accept full responsibility for all damages to Allied and Associated Governments and Nationals.

Germany must reimburse all civilian damages, beginning with an initial payment of 20,000,000,000 marks.

Subsequent payments in reparation to be secured by a bond issue approved by the Reparation Commission.

Germany must pay shipping damages, ton for ton.

Germany must devote her economic resources to rebuilding devastated regions.

Germany must revert to pre-war "most favoured Nations" tariffs without discrimination.

Germany must allow freedom of transit through her territories to Allied Nationals.

Germany must accept highly detailed provisions as to pre-war debts, unfair competition and other economic and financial matters.

Germany must accept highly detailed provisions for internationalisation of roads and rivers.

The ex-Kaiser to be tried by an International High Court.

Other violators of laws of war to be tried.

Holland to be asked to extradite the ex-Kaiser.

Germany is responsible for delivering other violators of International Law.

Germany to accept League of Nations in principle but without membership.

International Labour Body created. Various International bodies to examine provisions of the Treaty.

Commission created to govern the Saar Basin pending a plebiscite 15 years hence.

France gains permanent possession of Saar coal mines regardless of result of future plebiscites.

Commissions created for plebiscites in Malmedy, Schleswig and East Prussia.

Details of disposition of German Fleet and cables left to Allied Powers.

Disposition of former German Colonies also left to Allies.

Germany cedes to Belgium 382 square miles of territory between Luxembourg and Holland.

Germany's cession to Poland isolates East Prussia from the remainder of Germany.

Germany's cessions to Poland comprise 27,678 square miles, to France 5,600 square miles (Alsace-Lorraine).

Germany consents to the treaty establishing Belgium as a Neutral State.

Luxembourg ceases to be a member of the German Tariff Union.

Commissions to supervise the Saar Valley, Danzig and overseas plebiscites will act under direction of the League of Nations.

All Hohenzollern property in Alsace-Lorraine goes to France without payment.

Besides Upper Silesia, Germany cedes the greater part of Posen and West Prussia to Poland.

Germany cedes Memel to the Associated Powers.

Free use of Danzig's waterways and port facilities is assured to Poland.

Germany accepts abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk treaty.

Allies reserve right for Russia to obtain reparation from Germany.

Germany renounces to China remainder of Boxer indemnities.

Germany renounces to China all public property and concessions in China except Kiao-chau.

Germany renounces all rights in Morocco.

Germany recognises British protectorate over Egypt.

Germany cedes to Japan all rights in Shantung Peninsula.

German army must demobilise within two months after peace is signed.

All German munitions establishments must be closed within three months after peace is signed, except where otherwise specified by Allies.

No militaristic societies shall be permitted in Germany.

German warships may be replaced only at expiration of 20 years for battleships and 15 for destroyers.

Allies will retain German hostages until persons accused of war crimes are surrendered.

Reciprocal exchange of information regarding dead prisoners and places of burial provided for.

Total of German indemnities to be determined by an Interallied Commission.

(Continued on Page 8)

विवाह संस्कार

गत ७ जुनको क्रैस्टेड विवाही श्रियुत परमानन्द सिंहके द्वितीय पुत्र चि० जंगबहादुर सिंहका विवाह संस्कार केशी निवासी श्रियुत बलदेव सिंहकी छोटी कन्या के साथ समारोहसे हो गया। परमात्मा इस दम्पतिको दीर्घायु करके गृहश्रमका सुख भोगावे।

क्रैस्टेड हिन्दी आर्य आश्रमका वार्षिकाधिवेशन

गत ता० २९ जून रविवारको उक्त आश्रमका वार्षिकाधिवेशन आश्रम पर हुआ था जिसमें मेसर्स आर० जी० भल्ला, भवाना तयाल, मेहरचन्द प्रबुदयाल, जी० मेहर्द, एस० रघुवीर, भगवानदीन, हरीप्रसाद, डी० लक्ष्मण, बालकिशोर शर्मा, हीरा वर्मा बोध सिंह आदि कतिपय सदस्य सम्मिलित हुए थे। प्रथम संस्कार विधिके अनुसार पं० बालकिशोर शर्मा, म० मेहरचन्द प्रबुदयाल, म० भगवानदीन, म० डी० लक्ष्मण और म० बोध सिंहने हवन किया। तत्पश्चात् संयुक्त मंत्री म० मेहरचन्दने बोलनेका विज्ञापन तथा गत वार्षिकाधिवेशन का विवरण पढ़ सुनाया जो सर्व समतिसे स्वीकृत हुआ। इसके बाद बहुत कुछ चर्चा होने पर निम्न महाशय अगामी वर्षके लिये मनेजिंग कमेटी के सदस्य निर्वाचित हुए— (१) जी० मेहर्द (२) एस० रघुवीर (३) बालकिशोर शर्मा (४) हीरा वर्मा (५) भगवानदीन (६) डी० लक्ष्मण (७) एस० डी० घीराज (८) रोमहरी। उक्त निर्वाचित महाशयोमेसे म० भगवानदीन और

म० एस० रघुवीर संयुक्त मंत्री चुने गये तथा म० भगवानदीन और म० डी० लक्ष्मण को यह अधिकार दिया गया कि आश्रमके समस्त साधुश्रियोंकी यथोचित देख बालकर मेसर्स आर० जी० भल्ला और मेहरचन्द प्रबुदयाल ने उपोक्त निर्वाचन में भाग लेने से इनकार कर दिया। इसके बाद आश्रमके भविष्य कार्यक्रम पर कतिपय महाशयोके व्याख्यान हुए। फिर आश्रमके कर्ज अदा करनेके लिये जो चन्दा हुआ था उसके हिसाब पर विचार किया गया जिसका व्यौरा यह है:—

दानियोका नाम पौ० शि० पे०

१६ शुभस्य १९१८ के धर्म-			
वीरमें प्रकाशित	"	१०	१
द्विषावका अवाशिष्ट	"	५	"
डी० गुदर	"	५	६
बुन्दू भोला	"	५	"
जे० भैरव	"	५	"
रक्षपाल	"	५	६
आर० डी० प्रसाद	१	५	"
जी० मेहर्द	१	१०	"
रूप सिंह	"	१०	६
सी० जीवन	"	१०	६
बालकिशोर शर्मा	१	"	"
	८	१०	९

अब आश्रमके उपर केवल ४ पौन्ड १० शिलिंग ९ पेनी कर्ज रह गया है जिन लोगोंने इस कार्यमें भाग लेनेका अभिवचन दिया है आशा है कि वे यथा संभव शीघ्र ही प्रतिज्ञात धन भेज कर कृतार्थ करेंगे। अन्तमें आरतीका गायन करके समा विसर्जन किया गया।

before May 1, 1921, after a fair hearing. Schedule will be fixed for discharge of German indemnity obligations within 30 years.

Germany irrevocably recognises the Interallied Reparations Commission.

Germany's initial indemnity payment (20,000,000,000-marks) shall be made in gold, goods and ships.

Germany must pay civilians for acts of cruelty ordered by her representatives.

Germany must pay for maltreatment of prisoners.

Germany must pay damages for enforced labour by civilians for levies or fines imposed.

To discharge her indemnity obligations, Germany's domestic taxation system must be proportionately as great as that in any Allied countries.

Germany must agree to build 200,000 tons of shipping annually for the account of the Allies for five years.

Germany must restore French flags taken in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870.

Germany must pay entire cost of armies of occupation from date of armistice.

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THE PHARMA VIL

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN ENGLISH AND HINDI.

VOL. 4.

P.O.Box 1180, Durban. Friday 18 July 1919.

No. 20

PETITION OF FIJI INDIANS.

To the Hon. Viscount MILNER,

His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies,

Downing Street, London, England.

Sir,—We the undersigned Indian Colonists of Fiji representing Indian public opinion under the auspices of The Indian Imperial Association of Fiji hereby beg to lay the following few lines for favour of consideration:—

1. We have heard that there are movements on foot amongst the European residents of this Colony to propose the annexation of Fiji with New Zealand or Australia. And we also read a third proposal, namely, the idea of a federation of Fiji with the surrounding groups of Islands in Australasia.

2. We do not see our way to agree to the former two proposals as put forward by the white residents. We as Indians distinctly realize that Fiji is one of those Colonies where the future mainly if not entirely depends upon the Indian element. And therefore we sincerely believe that such Colonies should, in a scheme for re-arrangement of the British Empire, be connected rather with India which is our Mother Country than with any other portion of the British Empire. The white population can never expect to be in the majority as regards numbers in tropical climates, and they cannot retain their commercial and social superiority for ever. Time will come when the Indian section will be fully educated and brought up to realize its self-respect, dignity and responsibilities so as to take a place on terms of equality with the European section, and then numerically being in the majority they will be the main factor to consider in matters of government. We therefore definitely pray that Fiji be connected naturally with India rather than with any other Country under the British Flag. We do not for a moment forget our Fijian fellow subjects and we hope and trust that they will not suffer by the Indian connection herein proposed.

3. If, as Prof. Seely has observed, "Colonies depend upon the Mother Country as fruit upon the tree," we certainly feel that our destinies can more naturally be nursed by India, our home, than from the home of a minority of this Colony's population.

4. In the alternative we submit that Fiji should be allowed to remain under the British Crown and governed from Downing Street as it is to-day.

5. After the foregoing proposals on our part we are quite ready to consider the third idea mentioned in paragraph 1 hereof. And in case any of the local agitators for annexation of Fiji with Australia or New Zealand succeed in persuading the home government to favourably consider their schemes, we hope that the annexation should by preference be with a Country like New Zealand than with Australia, whose policy towards non-whites is different stricter than that of the Dominion of New Zealand. In any case it will, we submit, be absolutely necessary to safeguard the integrity and the national development of the Indian Colonists and of the Fijians by provision for proportionate, adequate and efficient representation of these communities in the councils of Government responsible for the administration of Fiji.

Hoping that this letter will receive due weight and proper consideration.

We beg to remain,
Sir,

Yours most obediently.

D. M. Manilal, B. Ram Singh, Pingaldas, Ramrakkha Maharaj, Jagannath, Girdhar Kalidas, S. Abdul Razzeem, George Suchit, Ramroop, Umrao, Apabhai Patel, Rambunch, Karpal Singh, George Nanco, Deoki, Dalbahadur Singh, Yakub, Naneh Khan, Abubakhar Khan, Nakhdhed, Budhn Misri, Subhakaran, Jannaprasad, Deonandan, Jagroop, Ramji, Ujagis,

G.P.O. Box 171,

Suva, Fiji Islands.

1st. March, 1919.

**Mahatma Shradddhanand
and Gandhi.**

Gandhi fights shy of Government

Swami Shradddhanand writes to Mr. Gandhi as follows:

"I am...with you in condemning all excesses and atrocities committed at Ahmedabad, Virangam, Amritsar, Qasur etc., by misguided, perverted people. I further express my sense of horror at the burning of public and other buildings, especially that of Christian churches at Amritsar and Gujranwala. The killing of Indian Christian religious men and the unprovoked brutal attack on ladies has given me the greatest shock, and I hope the Hindus and Mahomedans of Amritsar and other places will make some amends by helping in the re-building of the churches and in showing practical sympathy with the families of our European and Indian brethren who were thus murdered. But I cannot join with you in your silence about the wilful provocation which Government officials gave at Delhi and some other places and of the horrors perpetrated in the name of law and order, in the Punjab. If I have not been able to raise my voice against the excesses of the people and the tyrannical doings of Government officials it is on account of the gagging of the public press at Delhi at the instance of the Punjab Government and the indiscriminate censorship of all telegrams and letters which are sent from Delhi.

Now as regards the occasion of my writing the letter to you, I have the highest regard for your person and your saintly character and, it gives me great pain to differ from you on any material point. But if I conscientiously differ from you I would be untrue to myself if I did not speak out and take the consequences."

THE DHARMA VIR.

Friday, July 18 1919

RICE AND INDIAN DEPUTATION

It is to be considerably regretted, that the Indian Deputation, which met the Hon. Mr. Orr last Monday, should have placed before him figures and statements full of glaring inaccuracies. Had the advocacy of the cause depended upon the members of the deputation, it could be well perceived in what plight the Indian community would have been placed. The kindness of the Minister of Finance constrained him to rebuke the spokesman of the deputation in the mildest possible terms. Nevertheless, we are sure, that Mr. Orr has left Durban with such an impression of the capability of Indians that it will take long to remove. The community is to be greatly blamed for permitting a state of chaos of such a nature to exist in its political life as to give rise to numerous mushroom deputations, which, though ostensibly got together either for the furtherance of the cause of Indians or for the relief of certain hardships, are in reality part of a gigantic scheme to serve the interests of a certain clique or party. This will appear very clear when the fact is taken into consideration of the existence of Rice Committees at the head of which Mr. P. S. Aiyar had already done yeoman service. If either personal aggrandisement or the furtherance of party interests had not instigated the formation of the deputation, the services of existing committees ought to have been utilised for the purpose of placing before the authorities the present rice position. The adoption of such a sane and reasonable course was impossible on account of the spirit of selfishness that impel our actions during these days. Is our communal intelligence so benumbed, that it cannot perceive the stupid folly of ever constituting new deputations and new representatives again and again to meet the authorities? Can we not weigh the adverse effect such actions will produce on the mind of the Government? The appointment of the present deputation did not satisfy also, and we unfortunately have to behold the sorry sight of the Indian workers and the *Swaraj* rushing in feeling it a disgrace to be left out. What a shame! We hope the leaders, whom our community has the misfortune to possess in hundreds, will learn the foolishness and futility of their present proclivities towards placing their interests before the communal welfare. The sooner this lesson is learnt the better it would be

for all concerned. In his speech, the Minister pointed out that he had placed the actual position with regard to rice before a deputation that he received in Cape Town, and expressed his confidence that what he said to it was conveyed to the Indian public. This was a mild reminder that the present deputation was unnecessary. The disgrace attending this mild rebuke is great, and what are we to think of Mr. V. S. C. Pather, who went as a delegate to Cape Town, and must, therefore, have been aware of these facts, coolly becoming the secretary to the deputation without informing his constituents? The minister will probably be surprised to learn that what he said to the deputation was never conveyed to the public. It remains with the public to remember this when they next meet the 'delicates' that went to Cape Town. That notwithstanding the advice of the Chief Magistrate such indifference should have been exhibited to the facts and figures to be placed before the Minister is unthinkable, and the neglect, gross as it is, demonstrates the need for careful nomination in future Committees and deputations. We must thank the Minister and the Chief Magistrate for any thing good resulting from the interview.

THE RICE POSITION

The reply of Mr. Orr to the Indian Deputation discloses that the rice position is very grave. This disclosure will take the community by surprise. From January to June, the Indian Government permitted only 6,000 bags of rice to be exported to this country and after much persuasion from our Government, they have consented to the exportation of another 3,000 bags of rice for the months of July, August and September. There being no prospect of getting a larger quantity the Minister asks our co-operation in finding a substitute. The community, we hope, will readily respond to the request. We suggest that mealie meal and flour could be turned into an acceptable substitute. Experiments have shown that a most tasty *rotli* can be made out of such a mixture. The *rotli* is an Indian dish and no danger need therefore be anticipated from its adoption to one's health.

S. A. INDIAN EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

We are informed that an emergency committee has been formed in the Transvaal, for the purpose of calling a South

African National Indian Emergency Conference during the early part of August, to consider the new situation that has arisen in the position of our community in this country. The announcement in Parliament, that a commission is to be appointed to inquire into the Indian Question, is taken as a warning, not unwarranted in view of the present mood of parliamentarians, that a dark shadow overhangs the future security of our rights and interests in South Africa. There is hardly room for doubt that the aim of Europeans is our communal ruin, destruction and final extermination in this country. To avoid the coming catastrophe, it is imperative, that our forces and resources should be so consolidated and regulated, that we may emerge from the coming struggle, at least, with our communal dignity, honor and self-respect untarnished. With this object in view and in order to avoid the mistakes of past struggles, this Conference is called. The duty of rendering the Conference a success is plain, and, we hope, the response would be hearty. The Conference will be held during 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th August in Johannesburg.

Rice and Indian Deputation

Serious Shortage.

INACCURACY OF FACTS

Substitute Wanted.

As a result of the interview the Indian Rice Deputation had with the Chief Magistrate recently, the deputation met the Chief Magistrate again, on Saturday last, at the Court House at 9.30 a.m. In addition to the members of the deputation there were present Messrs K. R. Nayanah, M. C. Anglia and P. S. Aiyar at the invitation of the Chief Magistrate. Addressing the deputation, the Chief Magistrate said that the Minister of Finance (Mr. Orr) would receive the deputation in the Chamber of Commerce on the following Monday morning at 11 a.m. He asked the members to discuss the question well among themselves and pointed out that if the prices had either risen or fallen in the market since they had supplied him with written statement, they were to alter it accordingly and submit it

BEFORE THE MINISTER

On Monday morning, the Honourable Mr. Orr M. L. A. Minister of Finance, received deputations consisting of Messrs Leo R. Gopaul, R. M. Naidoo,

O. V. Pillay, V. S. O. Pather, B. L. E. Sigamoney (Indian workers) and John L. Roberts (representing the *Swaraj*). There were also present the Chief Magistrate, the Collector of Customs, the Protector of Indian Immigrants, Mr. Farrell (Secretary, Rice Committee) Mr. K. R. Nayanah and Mr. P. S. Aiyar. Mr. C. P. Robinson introducing the deputation said that Mr. Gopaul would be the spokesman.

Mr. GOPAUL rising said, the inflation in the price of rice caused widespread discontent among Indians and proceeded to refer to papers from which he quoted figures and made statements. He said a European firm had imported 80,000 bags of rice. Mr. ORR intervening pointed out that the statement was not correct. He had information from the Customs Department on the question. He asked Mr. Gopaul to go on to the next item.

Mr. GOPAUL proceeding, said, that 36,000 bags of rice, which was surplus stock from the War Department, was brought down from Delagoa Bay and sold by public auction. The merchants had bought the whole of it at seven and six pence per bag and were now selling it at twenty-one shillings.

The MINISTER intervening said the merchants had not bought the whole quantity but that European planters had bought the bulk of it to ration their Indians. The Government had also bought a quantity to distribute to people up-country. They were in pockets and not bags. A small quantity, however, was bought by merchants. The Minister asked Mr. Gopaul, if he knew what a bag of rice costs in India to-day and not receiving a reply pointed out that it cost forty five shillings.

Mr. GOPAUL resuming said that the average consumption was 30,000 bags per month.

The MINISTER asked how he had arrived at the figure since the Government have arrived at a figure exceeding 40,000 bags per month?

Mr. GOPAUL said the stock of Rice held in Durban —

The MINISTER asked where he got this information from. He had a return showing figures which was nothing like it. He remarked the whole of the figures submitted by Mr. Gopaul was diametrically opposed to the information possessed by the Government.

At this stage Mr. Robinson pointed out to the Minister that he has been told (by Sigamoney) that rice could be imported from China and Japan. The Minister proceeding said, the Government had tapped all the rice resources throughout the world. The Indian Government have said that there is a deficiency of 12,000,000 bags of rice in India. I ex-

plained the position clearly to an Indian Deputation that met me at Cape Town who I daresay conveyed it all to you. What the Government was anxious to know was whether the Indian Community will help to find a substitute for rice for another six months to come?

Mr. GOPAUL interrupted and queried whether the Government could not take over the rice.

The MINISTER asked whether he suggested that Government should import rice?

MR GOPAUL said that was not what he intended but he asked the government to regulate the price.

THE MINISTER said, when I did that before the merchants threatened that they would not import rice because it did not pay them to sell at the fixed price. And thereupon with the hope that the price would go down, I yielded to remove the control of the price of rice. Unfortunately, the famine in India came and it has proved an insuperable obstacle in our way. However, as the Sugar Association that morning suggested that the Government should fix the price of rice, he would put the matter before his colleagues in Pretoria. He said that it was the wish of the Government that the public must cooperate in wading through the present crisis by reducing the ration of rice finding some other substitute. In all probability a Government notice will be published to that effect. He said, the Viceroy had agreed to supply 1000 bags per month for 6 months that was from January to June. But after much persuasion had agreed to another 3000 bags for July, August and September.

MR GOPAUL asked why the Viceroy should not give us all the rice we require?

Why should they, said the minister, they have to supply all the Dominions where there are Indians and the interest of the grower in India has to be first protected.

MR GOPAUL said rice was the staple food of the Indians.

THE MINISTER said we cannot help a famine. There have been famine in other countries when they have had to find substitutes. For instance, in Ireland they had to give up potatoes and eat maize.

When the deputation was about to leave Mr. C. V. Pillai rose and asked the minister why do these merchants sell rice at such high prices.

The minister replied they do it all over the world. The fact is that the merchant has got the bag of rice and you have not.

Swaraj's Indiscretion.

The most ludicrous portion of the proceedings was the appearance of the

representative of the "Swaraj" before the minister, in no more appropriate garb than, in riding breeches, gaiters and cane in hand.

Asiatics in Transvaal.

Legislator's Denunciation.

Johannesburg, July 14 (Reuter).—Speaking at Troyville to-night, Capt. Leslie Blackwell, M.L.A., urged that the time had come for the Europeans of the Rand to deal with the Asiatic menace.

After giving figures designed to show the extent of Asiatic trading in the Transvaal, the speaker said he was convinced the Asiatic was a parasite, and did not add one penny to the wealth of the community. In crime the Asiatic specialised in illicit gold dealing, liquor dealing, and insolvency. The solution of the problem lay in confining the Asiatic to tropical East and Central Africa. He came to the Transvaal unwanted and uninvited.

Continuing, the speaker said that during the war Indians took advantage of the position to break the letter and spirit of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1916. The dribbling of Indians across the border had to be stopped. (Applause.) Both English and Dutch should join hands to decide their own destiny in regard to Asiatics.

Happenings in India.

Bombay, May 12.

Bhavangar correspondent says that Harilal Kavelram Bhatt Raval, proprietor and editor of the weekly paper "Kashiwar Samachar" who were arrested on charge of treason have been sentenced to undergo ten years' rigorous imprisonment by the Rajkote State.

Madras, May 12.

Lala Govarphandas of Lahore, Member of the All India Congress Committee while returning from Pondicherry was arrested this morning by C. I. D. Sub Inspector and taken before the Commissioner of Police. The arrest is said to be under orders of Military commandant of Lahore.

Delhi, May 14. to Mr. C. F. Andrews at Simla on the 12th May. He was allowed to see the Viceroy there and gathered from this talk with the Viceroy that he could go to the Punjab but when he left and reached Amritsar at about 9 a.m., on the 13th (Tuesday), he was arrested.

and sent back to Delhi, where he reached this morning.

Lucknow, May 17.

Day before yesterday orders were served by the Punjab Government prohibiting entry of the "Akhuwat" in the Punjab. To-day the police raided the "Akhuwat" office and arrested the editor and publisher releasing them on bail. The paper will continue.

Muzaffarnagar,

Early in the morning of the 12th instant the news of the arrest of Mr. Chandra Kavi spread like wild fire in the city. He was arrested at 2 in the night under the orders of the Punjab Government, handcuffed and taken to the police station. Mr. Chandra Kavi is a man of much repute in Arya Samaj circles and is an ardent Home Ruler. He took part in the present agitation against the Black Act and always figured prominently in the local Satyagraha meetings. The public came to know that he was to be taken to the Punjab by the 6 o'clock train in the evening. So, long before the time of the train, people were seen making their way to the Railway Station. Meanwhile, Mr. Chandra Kavi under the escort of the police, arrived and took his seat on a bench lying on the platform, and the people sat on the bare ground around him. He, at the request of the public, recited a few stirring poems in his sweet voice, exhorting them to remain firm and not to be dismayed in the least.

A HEART-RENDING SCENE.

His aged mother, together with his wife, also arrived on the station to bless him and to have his "Darshan." They asked him only to be allowed to touch his feet. He stood up. The ladies touched his feet and wished him God-speed. Hitherto the people had controlled their feelings, but at this stage they could not but give vent to their great grief. Everybody, young or old, except Mr. Chandra Kavi, was seen shedding tears. He asked the audience not to lose courage and to behave like men. Shortly after, the ladies were sent away. Mr. Chandra Kavi was then garlanded on behalf of the public and the train steamed out of the platform amidst shouts of "Banda Mataram."

Gandhi and South Africa.

Bombay, July 4.—Mr. Gandhi, in a letter to the Press, urges the Englishmen in India to create such emphatic public opinion as to shame Europeans in South Africa into doing the right thing by the people of India.

The writer also urges a united protest to strengthen the hands of the Government of India to protect Indian cit-

izens in the Transvaal from impending extinction.

The "Bombay Chronicle" expresses the hope that the Viceroy will put himself at the head of a movement to let the Europeans in South Africa know that India cannot tolerate the proposed wrong.—Reuter's Special Service.

HINDI ARYA ASHRAM.

The annual meeting of the members of the Hindi Arya Ashram, Clare Estate, was held on the 29th June 1919, in the Ashram at 2 p.m.

The minutes being confirmed the annual election of officers took place. The following were elected for the ensuing year:—Managing Committee; Messrs G. Merhoye, S. Rughbeer, Balkishor Sharma, Hira Varma, Bugwandeem, D. Lutchman, S. D. Geriou, Ramhorry; joint, Secretaries; Bugwandeem and S. Rughbeer; Caretakers; Bugwandeem and D. Lutchman.

Messrs R. G. Bhatta and Meharchand Prabdayal declined to stand for re-election.

Arti terminated the meeting.

Messrs B. B. Matho, Bugwandeem and D. Lutchman have taken charge of the properties on the 6th inst.

S. A. Indian National Emergency Conference

The following telegram was sent us by the Johannesburg S. A. Conference Committee:—

In view government declaration commission enquiry Indian question throughout Union convened emergency Conference here from third to sixth August please notify all Indians circulars posted exert utmost making conference successful send large number delegates.

The Afghan War.

Simla, July 9.—A letter from the Amir of Afghanistan, dated June 20, was received here yesterday, in which he protests against the one-sided character of the armistice terms, which he declares

are impossible of literal observance.

He urges the withdrawal of our troops in the Spin, Baldac, and Hakka areas, and demands that there be no aeroplane movement which would provoke attack by the the Afghans and result in a breach of the negotiations.

In conclusion, the Ameer asks the Viceroy to fix a date for a meeting with the Afghan delegates.

The Viceroy, in a reply to-day, observes that the Ameer has forgotten that his Government began the war and is now anxious to see for peace. His Majesty's Government is gravely affronted by events, and the British public are indignant at Britain being wantonly attacked.

His Excellency holds that modifications of the armistice terms is impossible and it is unnecessary to prolong the correspondence. He directs the Afghan delegates to present themselves before our lines on the morning of July 22 when they will be escorted to Rawal Pindi.

The British delegates consist of Sir Hamilton Grant (Foreign Secretary to the Indian Government), Mr. Maffey (Private Secretary to the Viceroy), General Moberly, and two Indians.—(Reuter's Special Service.

To Fight The Afghans.

Maharajah of Bikanir's Offer.

An indication of the serious possibilities of the Afghan situation is afforded by the action of the Maharajah of Bikanir during his three days' visit to London from the Peace Conference. With characteristic devotion and patriotism he has placed his personal services and those of all his troops, as well as the resources of his State, unreservedly at the disposal of the King-Emperor in connexion with the Afghan violation of British territory.

It may be recalled that he was the first Indian Prince to make a similar offer to the King-Emperor, through the Viceroy, at the beginning of August, 1914.

THE DHARMA VIK

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN ENGLISH AND HINDI.

VOL. 4.

P.O. Box 1180, Durban. Friday 25 July 1919.

No. 21

S. A. INDIAN EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

In view of the critical situation facing the entire Indian Community in the Union at this hour by reason of recent developments arising out of the recommendations of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Indian Trade and Commerce, and in view of the declaration of the Government that a Commission is to be appointed forthwith to enquire into the whole Indian question within the Union it has been felt that so serious and important movement on the part of the Government ought and can only be answered by the combined South African Indian Community, as it will be readily seen that no particular section of the Indian Community can undertake the responsibility of speaking and answering for the entire Indian Community in the Union. More over the extreme importance of the matter to be considered by the Commission makes it imperatively necessary that for once in the history of this sub-continent the whole Indian population should rise to a man and act with one heart, voice, and mind.

With this all important motive it has been decided that an emergency Conference be held forthwith at Johannesburg. It is extremely fortunate and augurs well for the success of the proposed Conference that it will be held on the four days announced by our government as public holidays i.e., from the 3rd to the 6th August, 1919. It is hoped representatives and delegates from all existing bodies or otherwise throughout the Union will respond to this urgent call of duty. Immediately on receipt here of the number of representatives and delegates attending from the various provinces, which information must reach the Joint Secretaries not later than the 26th inst., the necessary arrangements will be made for their reception and accommodation.

Adverting to the importance of the Conference, it cannot be too forcibly emphasised that the Indian community as a whole stands at this hour on the brink of

final destruction unless concerted action is immediately taken to combat the evil. This is the most momentous hour in the life and history of the Indians in the Union. One national demonstration of the nature proposed might with the help of Providence, be the means of turning the balance in favour of the community, while a moment of thoughtlessness, inertness and lack of initiative might doom the fate of our voiceless people for ever. This appeal therefore goes to every intelligent and self-respecting Indian throughout the Union to rise equal to the occasion, if only once in his life to assert and stand by the many Imperial Proclamations and assurances that have in the past been made to the Indian nation, and recently repeated and reaffirmed in connection with the Indian Empire's glorious participation in the present war, which was waged for the sake of freedom and liberty of the world at large, and ended in supreme victory for the Allied arms. It is hoped by means of this Conference to safeguard the rights and privileges that have been so dearly won for us by the fallen heroes of Mother Hind. If we do not rise to this momentous occasion, then indeed will have those heroes laid down their lives in vain.

A sincere and hearty response is expected from all the provinces, as it is hoped that this Conference will be the means of our national consolidation and progress within the Union.

We beg to remain,

Your obediently,

E. I. PATEL,

Chairman.

N. A. CAMAY,

P. K. NAIDOO,

Joint Secretaries.

Emergency Conference Committee.

The rice shortage

Position Very Serious

HALF RATIONS ONLY MEANTIME

Government Appointing a Committee.

Pretoria, July 19 (Reuter).—Reuter is officially informed by the Controller of Imports and Exports that the Government is arranging for the appointment of a committee in Durban to deal with the present question of the shortage of rice. The Committee referred to will do everything possible to assist in distributing the small supplies available. In the meantime, all employers of Indian labour and Indians themselves are warned that the rice position is serious, as present supplies will only last for a very limited period. Everything possible has been done by the Union Government to induce the Indian Government to increase the ration of this country, but, unfortunately, the position in India is also serious. If calamity is to be avoided, all Indians must submit to a reduced ration, and must assist their employers in this respect by reducing the ration by 50 per cent, and substituting mealie meal or other food. It is hoped that the present supplies may last until further supplies are forthcoming. The Government hopes that Indians will realise the seriousness of the position by whole heartedly supporting the endeavours which are being made to alleviate the position.

The Committee being appointed will advise the Government on the advisability of pooling the existing stocks and of fixing a price wholesale and retail, and on the best means of effecting distribution of available supplies.

THE DHARMA VIR.

Friday, July 25 1919

INDIAN REFORM.

During the early part of June, a bill proposing changes in the Government of India, was introduced in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for India. Though, we have not the entire provisions of the bill before us, yet, we are in a position to state that the bill does not redeem the promises contained in the solemn announcement of 20th August 1917. There is good reason to believe, that the promises held out in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report have also been changed for the worse, being whittled down by the Government of India in subsequent dispatches. The bill, therefore, is a negation of the promises so solemnly made in the name of the British people and approved by the members of the House of Commons. The brief summary of the proceedings in the House of Commons, which we publish elsewhere, indicate wide diversity of opinion on the contents of the bill. Some are of opinion that the bill does not go far enough, while others, seem inclined to feel that further advance in the proposals would be dangerous. Of course, it is too early to express what the bill will finally contain. This much, however, is certain, that Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy have not fulfilled the hopes they had raised. The reference, made by General Smuts in his valedictory statement to the necessity of granting a certain form of free Government to India, leads to the inference, since the statement was made only a few days ago, that the bill does not go far enough. That it has evoked disapproval even from such an unexpected quarter is some evidence of this fact. Mr. Smuts has done a real service to humanity by thus boldly declaring his view. In our mother country, also, the attempts, of the Viceroy and his satraps, to whittle down the proposed reforms has met with strong opposition from the community. Sir Sankaran Nair, a member of the Indian Executive, has tendered his resignation as a protest and both Moderates and Nationalists are leagued against the new proposals. Unless the pledge of August 20th is faithfully redeemed, we are afraid, discontent of an unsurpassed nature would be the sure result.

Home Rule for India.

Bill introduced in Commons.

The Bill "to make further provision with respect to the Government of India," introduced in the House of Commons early in June, by Mr. Montagu, has been published. Its purpose is to give effect, with certain modifications, to the scheme of constitutional reforms recommended by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their historic report published last July, as supplemented by the two recently published reports of the Southborough Committees.

The preamble embodies the policy announced on August 20, 1917, by the statement that "with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India, as an integral part of the Empire, it is expedient gradually to develop self-governing institutions in that country." It also embodies the policy laid down in one of the four formulas of the Joint Report—namely, that it is expedient to give to the Provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities.

In a memorandum explanatory of the provisions of the Bill the Secretary of State gives reasons for outlining the main features of the constitutional changes in the Bill, while leaving them to be worked out in detail in the form of rules. The Bill provides for the introduction of new constitutional forms expressly devised to fit the conditions of a transitional stage.

WESTMINSTER, JUNE 5.

The Chief business of the House was the second reading of the Government of India Bill, proposed by Mr. MONTAGU, who said he recognized that there were difficulties in the way, but did not regard them as arguments against the giving of representative institutions to India. Two he specially mentioned. One was that while a very small fraction of the population was highly educated, a very large proportion was not educated at all. The other was what he called "the harsh customs and precepts of caste." "But," he said, "there is no greater stimulus to education; no better way of promoting community of action and thus overcoming the acerbities of caste than by setting the population a common task to do together—that of working out the prosperity of the country."

The essence of the problem, Mr. Montagu thought, was the training of the electorate. Preparations were being made for putting 5,000,000 voters on the register. But they must be made to understand what a vote means and to appreci-

ate the results of the vote. The only way to do that was by giving the vote some real value.

There is so much general agreement on all sides, both in India and here, said Mr. Montagu, as to the provisions of the Bill, and also such important points of difference, side by side, that I do not believe there is any way of getting on until we examine the details in a Joint Committee of both Houses.

Although I believe, from the bottom of my heart, that we dare not, and ought not to, do less than is proposed in this Bill, the Government would be glad to take the advice of the Committee on any alternative method which really accomplishes at least as much.

The only way to achieve their end, pursued the Secretary for India, was to reserve for the present, and for the present only, certain functions of government under the control of the agents of the Imperial Government in India, and to transfer other functions to the representatives of the people.

POLITICAL KEENNESS IN INDIA.

SIR D. MACLEAN hoped the House would endorse the fundamental principles of the Bill so that the Joint Committee would have the support of the House in their arduous task of forming an agreed measure. SIR H. CRAIK said that reform must be generous, according to the letter and spirit of the Montagu-Chelmsford declaration of August, 1917, and must be prompt. COLONEL WEDGWOOD said that unless agitation on sound constitutional lines was transferred to the proposed new Parliament, India, in his opinion, would not obtain a satisfactory form of government.

The concern of the people of India with politics was shown by Mr. FISHER, the President of the Board of Education, from personal experiences. When he was in India, as a member of the Public Service Commission, during the two years preceding the war, a young Englishman, teaching in a missionary college in the Punjab, told him that the students hardly talked of anything else but politics. Daily and nightly they were occupied with the career of the right hon. and learned member for a division of Belfast. A friend recently home from India was chairman at a debate in a girls' school in Madras, on the subject, "Is it expedient that Indian education should remain under Western control?" A young Indian, educated at Oxford, also told him that when he left his native village, in the United Provinces, it belonged, in civilization and ideas, to the time of Abraham, concerned only with the ordinary humdrum cares of Indian rural life, but on his re-

born, after three years' absence he found a flaming people, listening with avidity to the reading of the vernacular newspaper talking about, politics, thinking about politics, and aspiring to take their own part in political life.

"These are circumstances," said Mr. Fisher, "which show that our old image of India, silent, stationary, unperplexed and unmoved by all the agitations of political life—if it was ever true—has now long ceased to correspond with the realities of to-day."

The motion was withdrawn, and after some further debate the Bill was read a second time.

In accordance with the intimation given by Mr. Montagu in the Indian Budget debate a Blue-book has been issued giving the opinions of the Government of India and the local Governments on the reform proposals made in the Montagu-Chelmsford report published last July.

The majority of the local Governments are opposed to the dyarchical form of provincial government and have submitted an alternative scheme; but the dispatch of the Government of India defends the principle of bifurcation in the provincial administrations, while proposing various modifications, some of them of great importance, in the scheme of the joint report.

A long dissentient minute was attached by the Indian member of the Governor-General's Council, Sir C. Sankaran Nair (since resigned).

The major dispatch of the Government of India, dated March 5 last, begins with a survey of the reception of the Montagu-Chelmsford report. This extreme Indian party desires to give the Legislature complete control over the Budget and to make the Governor a purely constitutional Governor in relation to his Indian Ministers. On the other hand, the moderates accept the principle of dualism in government, while pressing for changes in detail, carrying the new plan somewhat further than the original report.

Official opinion is generally critical of the scheme, and the Governor-General in Council characterizes as unfair the suggestion that such criticism proceeds from a purely selfish point of view, or that it implies opposition to the underlying policy. The Government of India describe their own purpose as neither to whittle down the scheme nor to expand it.

In all essentials the scheme has the full adherence of the Government of India, whose sole aim has been to translate it into a working plan which, while free from obvious defects, will be in accord with the policy of the British Government.

The dispatch observes that by common consent the pivot of the Report scheme is the type of government proposed for the provinces. Perusal of the opinions of the local governments show what all except two (those of Bengal and Bihar and Orissa) declared for the maintenance of a unified system. Thereafter the heads of provinces were invited to Delhi for conference with the Government of India. The Viceroy invited the seven heads of provinces present to put forward constructive proposals which would be free from the objections they took to dyarchy.

They proposed a Governor with a council composed of an equal number of official and non-official members, the latter selected by the Governor from among the members of the Legislature. The Government of India held these proposals to be inconsistent with the intentions of the declaration of August, 1917.

Starting with the postulate that a responsible share in the work of Government must be given to the non-officials who are the chosen representatives of the people, the Government of India seek by their proposals "such modifications of dualism as will introduce the necessary elasticity and get rid of its worst inconveniences without confusing or disguising the responsibilities of the two parts of the Government."

To this end the dispatch proposes the abandonment of the device of allowing the Governor to appoint one or two additional members of his Government, without portfolios or votes, for the purpose of consultation and advice.

It is held that ministers must be assumed from the outset to be amenable to the legislature, rather than to constituents. It follows that they would not be appointed for the life time of the legislative council, but at pleasure; they would (in the absence of definite reasons to the contrary) be removable by an adverse vote of the legislative council; and the Governor would have power to dismiss them if he finds the situation required such a course.

Notes and News.

"The presence of Indians," said Mr. Teilman Ross, a Republican leader, in the course of a speech at the National Party Club, Johannesburg, "was the price they paid for Imperialism and they would not get rid of them unless South Africa became a republic." No wonder, that the South African Natives would have none of their republican nonsense.

It is rumoured that Indians at Cape Town are preparing a carriage of Indian design for conveying General Smuts during his reception when he returns from Eng-

land. It is averred that General Smuts' permission was obtained before hand.

At a well attended meeting held in Rawat's Bio on Wednesday night, a large number of delegates were nominated to attend the forthcoming South African Indian Emergency Conference at Johannesburg.

The following appears in a report of the presidential address of the 2nd South African Planters Union:—

The planting community are large employers of Indian labour, and are highly incensed at the enormous rise in the price of rice. It is difficult to see anything else but rank profiteering. We have been in continual communication with the Government on the matter, and have failed to elicit a satisfactory reply. The position is an unfair one. We are tied down by restrictions for the commodity. We produce, whilst merchants are allowed to bleed us white. During the last two months prices have risen 100 per cent on what was then an unheard of price. The position is a serious one for all concerned, because the high cost of rationing the Indian is more than the planter can afford, and will naturally throw a lot of free Indians from the farms who will migrate to the towns.

RICE SCARCITY.

ONLY 500 TONS A MONTH.

The quantity of rice allowed to be exported to this country from India is 500 tons per month and not 1000 bags as stated last week.

OBITUARY

MRS. Goolab Singh

There passed away at 163 Gale Street Durban, on Sunday 13th July 1919, beloved wife of Goolab Singh one of the prominent Indian of this Town. The deceased lady whose age was 47, had been ill for the last six months and every hopes of her recovery had been entertained and her death came as a surprise to many of her friends. The funeral took place on Sunday at Stella Wood Cemetery and was attended by a large number of friends. She leaves behind, her husband and small children to mourn their loss.

Mr. W. Clemenshaw had the funeral arrangements in hand.