

1947
57-48
Our Countrymen Abroad

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE PROBLEM
OF INDIANS IN FOREIGN LAND

V.

No. 4-15

By

DHARAM YASH DEV

Secretary, Department of Indians Overseas, A. I. C. C.

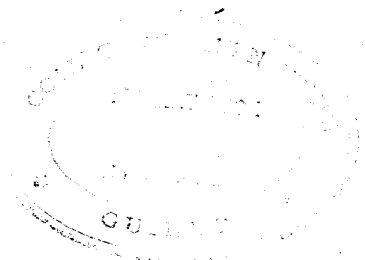
FOREWORD BY

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Date

This
date

1/12



Edited by J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary
All India Congress Committee
Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad

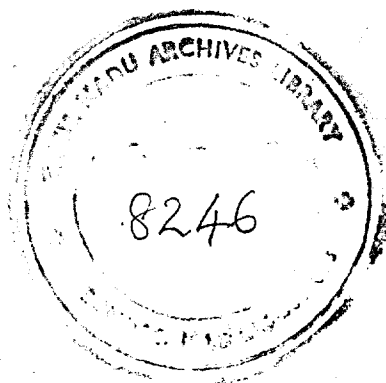
1940

Y73 (V2)

N40

CONTENTS

	PAGES
FOREWORD	5
AN EXPLANATION	9
CHAPTER I—Early days—Unhappy Lot—Successors to Slaves—Iniquitous System—Its Features—All Over the World	11—18
CHAPTER II—Little Indias—Industrious Stalwarts—“Like an Earthquake”—South Africa—Finger Prints—Four-fold Mischief—Another Commission	19—26
CHAPTER III—East Africa—Latest Blow—Kenya—Fiji	27—34
CHAPTER IV—West Indies—“Moral Degradation”—The Tyson Report—British Guiana—Trinidad—Colonial Policy	35—44
CHAPTER V—Nearer Home—Kangani System—Man-Merchants—Anti-Indian Jihad—Pandit Nehru’s Mission—Emigration Ban—In Malaya—Docile Beings	45—54
CHAPTER VI—Epilogue	55—61
APPENDIX A—Total number of Indians in Foreign lands	63—65
APPENDIX B—Dates etc. of large scale Emigration	66—69
APPENDIX C—Some of the earlier resolutions of the Indian National Congress on Indians Abroad	70—78



PAGES

APPENDIX D—Congress Resolutions on Indians Abroad after Gandhiji's return from South Africa	79—89
APPENDIX E—Some of the recent Resolutions of the Indian National Congress on Indians Abroad	90—98
BIBLIOGRAPHY	99

FOREWORD

Ever since the National movement took shape in India the problem of our countrymen abroad has been with us, as indeed it must be. And so it will remain till that movement triumphs and brings freedom and independence to India. For the two are inseparably connected and the status of an Indian abroad must ultimately depend on his status at home. On many an occasion we have been deeply hurt by indignities heaped on our countrymen abroad and for a while India has been roused to a widespread agitation and sometimes even to action. Occasionally some results have been obtained, more often these results have been transitory and the attack on the human rights of Indians overseas has been maintained. Our agitations have waned and we have lapsed into inactivity. Yet all the while our people have had to face the continuous pressure and humiliation of an aggressive racial imperialism or of newly awakened national consciousness in other countries, which was easily diverted by this imperialism into anti-Indian channels.

It is true that India has never forgotten her children abroad, but it is also true that she might have taken greater interest in them than she has done. With the notable exception of Mahatma Gandhi, many of our prominent leaders have little personal knowledge of Indians overseas, and even when they go abroad, they visit the countries of Europe and America. With this lack of knowledge there is inevitably an unconscious limitation of outlook. And yet it is perfectly true to say that if you would know India well, you must go out of India. Not only is this true

about the plight of Indians abroad and of our international relations, but it applies with even greater force to a study of our past culture. Some of the finest examples of true Indian sculpture are outside India.

The status of Indians abroad depends on their position in their homeland. This question is however tied up with the continuance of the Imperialistic system, for imperialism inevitably leads to the domination of one country by another and one people by another. It is usually closely allied to racialism. We cannot therefore expect a satisfactory solution of this problem till the liquidation of imperialism. It is surprising that some people should still think in terms of any freedom for India, or betterment of the condition of Indians abroad within the orbit of Empire. It is within this Empire that they have been treated worst and racialism has been most rampant.

But Empires fade away, and whatever of good or evil the future may hold for us, the present empires will not survive. The old age passes away, the new one is still hidden from us. It is in terms of the new age that we must think of the problems of our countrymen abroad.

It is clear that there must be perfect racial equality and an equality in all the privileges and obligations of citizenship. If an Indian cannot have this in any country, or otherwise cannot live honourably there, it is far better for him not to go to that country.

The free India of the future will not be an imperialist or an aggressive country, nor will she desire to thrust her children where they are not wanted. She will not plan emigration as empire countries have done, but she will only send her people to countries where they are welcomed and treated honourably as friends and comrades.

The old order changes giving place to new. Let us prepare ourselves for this new order by learning some-

thing about our numerous countrymen abroad. That new order, so far as we are concerned, must include them. And so I commend this book by Dharam Yash Dev to all who are interested not only in Indians overseas but in the new order towards which we are rushing ahead.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Allahabad
June 14, 1940

AN EXPLANATION

Although the problem of our overseas compatriots is one of the most difficult that faces us today there are not many people who have any clear idea of either its historic background or its present-day complications. Almost every newspaper reader and political worker in India has heard of it and knows something about it in a vague sort of way. When something happens in Africa or Malaya or Zanzibar that hurts and hits our nationals, a few articles appear here and there, a few meetings are held and a few angry speeches are made. But that is not enough.

In order to render the maximum possible help to our overseas compatriots in their fight for justice and fairplay and to make our protests effective and India-wide—it is essential that the largest possible number of people at home should know more about the problem and the disabilities and the injustices that Indians abroad suffer from. In the following few pages an attempt has been made to survey the problem of our overseas compatriots, however briefly. It is only a compilation of facts scattered here and there in official reports and bigger publications and not always available to man in the street. It is a bare outline but it is hoped that it will help our countrymen to take greater interest in the joys and sorrows of these self-exiled children of Mother India.

This is the first of a series of pamphlets that the "Indians Overseas" Department of the A. I. C. C. proposes to bring out. In the subsequent publications each country will be dealt with separately and in greater detail.

June 10, 1940

D. Y. D.

CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS

Centuries ago, many years before Vasco da Gama brought his ships to the East, a number of our countrymen, brave pioneers in search of adventure and trade, had sailed their ships to many far-off lands. Their presence in Mombasa, East Africa, during the fifteenth century, has been described by the Portuguese. Many historians believe that it was an Indian who had piloted Vasco da Gama's ship from the African coast to the shores of Hindustan. Our associations with Java, Sumatra and other islands in the Far East are much older. There are indications that with the East Indies our commercial and cultural contacts are at least fifteen hundred years old and some Indian historians have written that the people of Java and Bali "live and have their being in *Mahabharata* and other ancient Hindu books." To-day, after centuries of ups and downs, they still represent the Hindu and Buddhist culture. In the British Malaya of to-day the culture, religion and literature of Hindustan had penetrated as early as 400 B. C. In those far off days our countrymen had colonised Kenya and carried a flourishing trade both in the East and in the West where Indian merchandise was in demand. Nearer home, Ceylon which to-day treats our compatriots as foreigners, has been linked with India through age-old cultural, religious, geographic and ethnological ties. Centuries before Christ, merchants, Buddhist preachers and missionaries from India went to settle in Ceylon. There are traces of Gupta architecture in the temples of Ceylon and the seventeen-centuries-old Indian influence is still

visible in the rocks and ruins of Lanka Desh. But all these age-old associations are now but a few romantic episodes in our history.

UNHAPPY LOT

Long and eventful centuries and soul-stirring chapters of history now separate us from this glorious past. To-day our compatriots although found in every part and in almost every country of the world their problem is one of the most difficult confronting us. There are more than three millions of them scattered in the Eastern and Western hemispheres and to the north and south of the equator. Every year hundreds and thousands of them sail across the seven seas—some in search of adventure and pleasure, others duty bound, as Lascars and sailors, struggling and suffering untold sorrows and hardships. Every week cargo boats and luxury liners weigh anchor from Karachi and Calcutta, and from Bombay and Madras and many other lesser known ports of India. Every week, hundreds of Hindus and Muslims and people of all classes and communities, some as first class passengers and others crowded together on the dark, sticky, stuffy, smelly decks, sail away for distant lands. They still follow in the footsteps of the brave pioneers who had colonised Kenya long before any "whiteman" had set foot on that soil, they still follow in the footsteps of those who, hundreds of years ago, had gone to Java, Bali and the kingdom of Sri Vijaya. Every week hundreds of them, after long periods of voluntary and semi-voluntary exile, come back to take shelter under the protecting arms of Mother India. But to-day their lot is not as happy as that of the early pioneers. Even their sailings to and from foreign lands are not quite like those of the early pioneers. To-day over 75 per cent of our overseas compatriots and thousands of our sailors

and lascars are working and living under conditions where they have to endure untold indignities and injustices. Legally and otherwise, insults and humiliations are imposed upon them and in some parts of the world, especially within the bounds of the so-called "British Commonwealth of Nations" they are treated no better than the Spartan slaves.

SUCCESSORS TO SLAVES

The sad story of our overseas compatriots is closely linked with the growth and expansion of British Imperialism and France's Overseas Empire. For years before 1832 these two countries had exploited and developed their overseas tropical and semi-tropical possessions with the help of slave labour from the Black continent. The year 1833 saw the abolition of slavery within the British Empire, and fifteen years later, in 1848, slavery was also abolished in the French Colonies. This sudden release from bondage of the hundreds of thousands of Negro slaves dislocated the work in the rubber and sugar plantations in the East Indies and in the West Indies. Free people would rather bask in the sunshine than sweat and struggle! This sudden dislocation of work is alleged to have ruined many rubber barons and a number of trading concerns are said to have gone bankrupt. A kind of general trade and industrial depression followed. From every part of the Empire came a cry for cheap and docile labour, because the whiteman could not do or would not do what the Negro had done for decades. Workers from China were imported into many parts but the experiment did not yield very satisfactory results. And so to India they came and begged for cheap labour and even before the Government of India could give their formal sanction, recruitment of Indian labour had already begun in some parts of the

country. From French possessions in this country illegal export of labour had commenced before the slave-trade was abolished. Thousands of labourers left the country between the years 1830 and 1833 and French merchants did well out of this trade. The year 1834 saw the beginning of a large scale organised emigration and within three or four years over eight thousand workers had left their mother country to earn their livelihood in such far off places as Mauritius and British Guiana. Thus began the Indenture system, which worked for over eighty years and which heaped upon our compatriots in India and abroad, insults, hardships, sufferings and humiliations "that could ever have been conceived by the most fertile imagination."

INIQUITOUS SYSTEM

Under the Indenture system a set of co-ordinating agencies was established whose main purpose was to meet the ever-increasing demand for labour and eliminate competition. Further, these agencies made themselves responsible for a regulated distribution of this labour in different colonies and in various plantations and professions. Under this system professional recruiters, who were paid a certain fixed sum per head for the labour they supplied, roamed in different parts of the country. By fraud and by force and by unscrupulous misrepresentation, they gathered together men and women as if they were sheep and cattle and packed them off to far-off lands. Of course the emigrants had to enter into a contract with the recruiting party and legally speaking they left this country more or less of their own free will. But these could not be "fair contracts" as the Government of India used to describe them in those days. The two parties were unequally matched

—a powerful organised group of mostly unscrupulous people with plenty of money, pitched against absolutely ignorant, helpless, simple rural folks.

This iniquitous system had a chequered life. Within three years of its birth its injustices and its abuses became so obvious that it attracted the attention of Parliament and in a stormy debate that took place on this question it was denounced in no ambiguous words and an inquiry was ordered into its nature and working. The majority report of this committee was in favour of its abolition. But there was a minority report of one member, which, strange as it may read, was adopted by Parliament. And so once again, after five years, in 1840, the system was allowed to be revived. But neither this particular discontinuation nor this revival was the last such act of Parliament. The whole system was so inhuman that everybody concerned was uneasy about it. It never had a smooth sailing. Its many suspensions and resumptions which were interspaced by frequent investigations and inquiries did not make its working less inhuman. "This system," said Mr. Gokhale in 1912, "though it cannot be called actual slavery, is really not far removed from it." Since 1834, for 85 years, the people of India had to suffer all this and it could not have been possible without the countenance of Government of India.

ITS FEATURES

Perhaps during the long period of 85 years when this practice was in force nobody in this country attacked it more bitterly than Gopal Krishna Gokhale. In one of his historic utterances in the Imperial Legislative Council he described its principal features in the following words: "Under this system, those who are recruited bind themselves, first, to go to a distant and unknown land, the

language, usage and customs of which they do not know, and where they have no friends or relatives. Secondly, they bind themselves to work there for any employer to whom they may be allotted, whom they do not know and who does not know them, and in whose choice they have no voice. Thirdly, they bind themselves to live there on the estate of the employer, must not go anywhere without a special permit, and must do whatever tasks are assigned to them, no matter how irksome those tasks may be. Fourthly, the binding is for a certain fixed period, usually five years, during which time they cannot voluntarily withdraw from the contract and have no means of escaping from its hardships, however intolerable. Fifthly, they bind themselves to work during the period for a fixed wage, which invariably is lower, and in some cases very much lower, than the wage paid to free labour around them. And sixthly, and lastly, and this to my mind is the worst feature of the system, they are placed under a special law, never explained to them before they left the country, which is in a language which they do not understand and which imposes on them a criminal liability for the most trivial breaches of the contracts, in place of the civil liability which usually attaches to such breaches. Thus they are liable under this law to imprisonment with hard labour, which may extend to two and in some cases to three months, not only for fraud, not only for deception, but for negligence, for carelessness and—will the Council believe it?—for even an impertinent word or gesture to the manager or his overseers.”

ALL OVER THE WORLD

Such was this Indenture system under which thousands of Indians left their country. After the first large scale rush to Mauritius and British Guiana in 1834, emig-

ration to other countries commenced at different dates and under slightly varying conditions. For long years ship-loads of Indians left for far-off lands. Perhaps no part of the far-flung British Empire was left without them. Even the French and Dutch colonies received a fairly large number of Indian labourers. By 1873, only forty years after slavery was abolished, Indian workers had reached Natal and Surinam, Jamaica and Fiji, Trinidad and Reunion, and the small Islands of St. Lucia, St. Croix, Grenada and Gaudeloupe. They had crossed the seven seas! To some of these places they had, no doubt, gone of their own free will and as free men under no contract whatever. But sooner or later contracts and conditions came in and under these terms, as already stated, men and women had to slave for long unbroken periods of five years and ten years.

Theirs was not a happy lot. Stories of high mortality, murders, moral and physical wreckage both on the boats on the high seas and on the plantations and in the mines, were retailed to India by those who were lucky enough to return. Official and non-official delegations were sent abroad to study the conditions on the spot. Uneasiness grew; uneasiness led to agitation and a long-drawn struggle for abolishing this system. Gandhiji's early struggle in this connection in South Africa is much too well known. Mr. Gokhale fought his battles in the Imperial Legislative Council. Mr. C. F. Andrews and Hy. S. L. Polak fought their battles on other fronts. At last the authorities had to do something about it. This system of recruitment of Indian labour for different countries ceased at different dates. Natal came under this ban as early as 1910. Conditions in Mauritius also made a similar ban necessary. Recruitment for Fiji was discontinued in 1916. But it was not till January 1, 1920

when the Indenture system was finally abolished. On that day the system had ended but it had left a legacy behind.

CHAPTER II

LITTLE INDIAS

In the wake of Indentured slaves followed an army of petty contractors, merchants, bankers, shop-keepers and pedlars. Even doctors and lawyers followed them—all hoping to earn a livelihood by serving their own nationals. Thus grew up in various countries fairly large self-contained colonies of Indians—little Indias in far-off lands. These people, though most of them had defied orthodoxy and crossed the seven seas, had carried with them their culture, their various religious rituals and festivals and ceremonies and customs of their respective classes and clans. The Indentured slaves and petty merchants, all, in course of time, married and multiplied. Some of the labourers returned to India on completing their terms of service. Others remained where they were. A few settled on the land. A few became artisans and carpenters. A new generation grew up. With the rise of the new generation and free labourers there arose new problems. These were fundamentally political and economic, which later on got entangled with other questions—religious and racial. Hatred and animosities and frequent clashes with their employers increased all round. Although poverty and want were their constant companions all over the world, our compatriots' political rights and privileges varied from country to country. As a general rule, their difficulties in the non-Empire countries have been, and still are, always less than their difficulties in the regions within the British Empire. And within the Empire countries their sufferings have been, more or

less, proportionate to the degree of the representative government enjoyed by the particular country. On their part they gave their best to the countries of their adoption. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that to the development of various colonies and dominions our countrymen have contributed more than any other community. Even die-hards like Winston Churchill have acknowledged this.

INDUSTRIOUS STALWARTS

"It was the Sikh soldier," wrote Mr. Churchill in *My African Journey*, "who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African countries. It is the Indian trader, who penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no whiteman would go or in which no whiteman could earn a living, has more than anyone else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication. It was by Indian labour that one vital railway on which everything else depends was constructed...." This much about Kenya. About Zanzibar the testimony is more outspoken. Sir John Kirk, India's first Counsel General at Zanzibar who went there in 1866, in his evidence before the Indian Emigration Committee of 1910 said: "But for Indians we should not be there now. It was entirely through gaining possessions of these Indian merchants that we were enabled to build up the influence that resulted in our present position." There is similar evidence about their work in South Africa, British West Indies and other parts of the Empire. In Fiji they have been called the saviours of the Island. Rather more, as has been observed by some authorities, "but for the presence, in the island, of our upcountry stalwarts and the industrious Tamils, Fiji could never have existed at all as the Land of Promise." In South Africa their work was

no less noteworthy. Immigrants were even granted free gifts of land if only they could be induced to stay in the country. "The condition of the Colony," said Sir Liege Hulett, M.L.A., addressing a meeting of the South African Legislative Assembly on July 15, 1908, "before the importation of Indian labour was one of gloom, it was one that then and there threatened to extinguish the vitality of the country and it was only by the Indian labour that the country began at once to revive. The coast had been turned into one of the most prosperous parts of South Africa. They could not find in the whole of the Cape and the Transvaal what could be found in the Coast of Natal—10,000 acres of land in one plot and in one crop—and that was entirely due to the importation of Indians. Durban was absolutely built up on the Indian population...."

"LIKE AN EARTHQUAKE"

In spite of all this, from various parts of the world where Indians have settled, there comes to-day a cry of anguish and pain. Attempts are being made to turn them out of most countries. This hounding and hunting is even more violent in those countries where our people have helped most. They toiled to make the Garden Cities of South Africa and of East Africa. Not only Natal and Kenya but the small islands of Atlantic and the Pacific, and the various British and French possessions owe their early prosperity to the laborious work of our countrymen. For one reason or another their services are no longer wanted and every legal and illegal device is being used to make their existence in these places impossible. "After years of unparalleled thrift, arduous toil, intense self-sacrifice, they have seen their all snatched from them in the twinkling of an eye—as though an earthquake had suddenly come upon them, the earth had yawned, and had swallowed

up the results of all their labours." To-day the cry comes from every corner, but it comes the loudest from South Africa, from Natal and from Durban, the city which owes its very existence to Indians. There are other storm centres, Zanzibar, Fiji and Kenya, and nearer home Ceylon and Malaya. The problem in Ceylon and in Malaya though quite difficult is of a slightly different nature. The White Lords of South Africa were the pioneers in this world-wide anti-Indian and anti-Asiatic *Jihad*. They raised the battle-cry. They started passing anti-Indian legislation and enforcing discriminatory measures long before anybody else thought of them. And even to this day they have been the strongest in their determination to harass the Indian population out of the country.

SOUTH AFRICA

The first shipment of Indian contract labour reached Natal on November 16, 1860. And within six years, by 1866, about five thousand indentured slaves had been introduced into the country. From Natal they slowly spread throughout the sub-continent, though their most important centre remained Natal, which even to-day contains the bulk of the South African Indian population. Of the general sufferings and sorrows of indentured labourer enough has been said, but the sufferings and the sorrows of Natal Indians were more acute than those of any other labourer anywhere else. However, till 1894, the "free" Indians suffered from no legal disabilities. With the Europeans they enjoyed equal franchise under the general franchise law of the Colony. But, because of the peculiar franchise requirements, even though the number of Indians and Europeans was approximately the same, the European vote in that year was 38 times as strong as the Indian vote. But in that year, by an Act of

the Assembly all Asiatics were disfranchised. The Republican Government of the Transvaal by an Act of 1885 had imposed a tax on all Asiatics who proposed to settle there. In Natal the famous £3 tax came into force in 1895 by virtue of which every ex-Indentured male and female had to make this annual payment as price for his or her freedom from slavery. The tax was, of course, imposed to compel the ex-Indentured either to return to India or re-Indenture. Natal abhorred the idea of having any free Indian.

In the field of Education the measures have been no less ruthless. There never was any provision for the education of the children of the Indentured Indians. Only rich parents could afford to send their children to the Public Schools of the Colony which were open to Europeans and non-Europeans without any racial distinction. In 1899, this was stopped and a separate school for Indians was opened. But even here there were restrictions and its doors were open only to "those Indian children, belonging to the *better class*, whose parents were able and willing to pay the required school fees and conform to European habits and customs." Again and again, every two or three years, petty restrictions and regulations were imposed to harass the teachers and the taught in the Indian school, till at last in 1908 the grant given for this school was reduced from £675 to £150!

FINGER-PRINTS

As if the poll-tax and other petty restrictions were not humiliating enough the Transvaal Government, under the Asiatic Registration Act, made it binding on each Asiatic male to give his finger-prints separately and eight finger-prints collectively before he could be permitted to reside in the Transvaal. In 1914, as a result of the

Passive Resistance struggle, launched under Gandhiji's leadership, the £3 tax was abolished though the "finger-print" Act is still in existence. After 1914 the South African story is one of betrayal, of broken promises and pledges and vindictive revenge. The Indian Relief Act of 1914, in spite of its many limitations was hailed by the community as a Magna Carta. But their jubilations were short-lived. The anti-Indian War in South Africa broke out soon after the Armistice in Europe. Indians in the Transvaal were deprived of their right to own immoveable property. In Natal, they were deprived even of their municipal franchise and their trading rights very much restricted. After all these restrictions had been imposed upon the Indian community, the segregation of Indians, confining them to small restricted areas of their own and not allowing them even to live in close proximity with the white lords of South Africa, was the next move. Since a Bill of this nature was first proposed in the South African Assembly, various party governments have come and gone and Ministers and Cabinets have been made and unmade, but the segregation idea has not been killed. Various measures under different names have come before the Assembly. But because our countrymen in South Africa have put up a bold fight and opposed every such measure, the segregation schemes have not yet become the law of the land.

FOUR-FOLD MISCHIEF

South African Indians are to-day faced with four-fold difficulties. They cannot own land. They have to live and trade in restricted areas, segregated from Europeans. They have to take out trade licences before they can do any business and in this they are at the mercy of the white officers. They have no franchise, either muni-

cipal or political. But these are only the "main-difficulties". Their daily life is an endless story of restrictions and insults. There are petty restrictions on the railroads, in the tramcars and even on the foot-paths. Hotels and restaurants are closed to them. Even to-day (May 1940) efforts are being made to drive the screw deeper. Of course the Government of the day does its best to keep up appearances. Committees and Commissions are promised or appointed—all mere eyewash—only to endorse and approve the designs and schemes of anti-Indian and anti-Asiatic groups and parties to degrade the Indian and "to keep him for ever as hewer of wood and drawer of water."

ANOTHER COMMISSION

The latest of these "eyewash" enquiry committees was appointed only a few weeks back. This perhaps will be the final phase of that tussle and tug of war that has been going on over the "Penetration" question for almost a quarter of a century. An Asiatic Inquiry Commission was appointed in 1920 which toured throughout the Union and heard evidence from local authorities, members of Parliament, and European organisations. The Commission came to the conclusion that the allegations made against Indians were baseless. They wrote:

"We find ourselves wholly unable to support the policy of repression which was advocated by some of the witnesses. Indiscriminate segregation of Asiatics in locations and similar restrictive measures would result in eventually reducing them to helotry. Such measures apart from their injustice and inhumanity, would degrade the Asiatic and react upon the European."

But there was no end to the agitation. In 1924, the Union Government introduced the Class Areas Bill, a

measure to segregate Indians within specified areas. This bill had to be shelved as the government of the day had to resign. But two years later came up the "Areas Reservation Bill". Long discussions and debates followed and in 1927, the two parties, the Union Government and the Indian Community, concluded the Cape Town Agreement which was hailed by our nationals as their "Magna Carta". It marked, or at least it was supposed to mark, a new era of friendship between the two communities. By this Agreement, the Union Government treated as a part of its permanent population the Indian who had so far been deemed as an alien. But these hopes were never fulfilled. It was all a short-lived make-belief. The years 1938 and 1939 witnessed a repetition of the old threats. Dr. Malan and Mr. Stuttaford were once again on warpath. The present Minister of Interior, Mr. Lawrence, has announced the appointment of a Commission which will examine the facts and investigate if the allegations of the European community,—if Indians have penetrated into areas of predominantly European occupation—are true or not. What the outcome of this particular enquiry will be, remains to be seen. The case as stated by our nationals is clear and conclusive. But these pin-pricks, these humiliating proposals and dangerous tactics have become cyclic, and our nationals are again and again reminded of their inferior status.

CHAPTER III

EAST AFRICA

"It does not take a very learned student to realize that naturally and inevitably East Africa is one of the earliest legitimate territories of the Indian Nation going so far back as the first century of the Christian Era, going back so far as even hundreds of years before that. East Africa is, therefore, the legitimate colony of the surplus of the Great Indian Nation, whether they went forth to colonize these unknown lands from an economic point of view or to satisfy their desire for venture . . .," thus spoke Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in the course of her Presidential address at the 1924 session of the East African Indian National Congress at Mombasa. But to-day, the children and grand-children of those early non-official ambassadors of Hindustan have been denied even the right to purchase or occupy agricultural land in the Highlands of Kenya.

In the Tanganyika Territory, which was a German possession before 1916, where Indian businessmen and traders had flourished for so long, the situation to-day is far less satisfactory than it was before the War (1914-1918). To-day, it is one of the British Mandates. It has a mixed population. There are English, Germans, and Indians besides the Africans. By its present rulers, though slowly, attempts are being made at squeezing Indians out of this territory. By various marketing legislations since 1932, severe blows are being dealt to their commercial activities. The traders are being removed from their old centres and forced to establish at new "central marketing places". Before Tanganyika passed into British

hands the Indian trader had enjoyed full freedom to trade as he pleased, everywhere and in every commodity. The Indian trader is supposed to have controlled in those days, as much as 90 per cent of the total trade of the territory. Now the Government have deprived him of these rights and facilities and they only grant monopolies for buying produce in certain areas *to whomsoever they like and please*. This always works against our countrymen.

LATEST BLOW

The Indian pioneer in these parts, as elsewhere in East Africa, had penetrated into the farthest recesses of the country and as a trader had established contacts with the native producer of agricultural goods and buyer of various imported trade commodities. To serve his needs the Indian pioneer had also developed the transport of the country, and buses and vehicles, owned and run by Indians, used to traverse the length and breadth of the colony. Tanganiyka is a big country with an area of 340,000 sq. miles and only 1,400 miles of railway. Indian auto-bus had come to play an important part in the general economy of the territory. In 1931, for the first time efforts were made by the authorities to impose heavy licensing fees on Indian transport. By another act of 1933 further restrictions were imposed on him and all highways running parallel to the railway lines were declared closed to him. But he was permitted the full freedom of the feeder routes. In 1937 another attempt was made at further restrictions. And now in 1940 the Southern Highlands of Tanganiyka, a richly developed agricultural region, abounding in tea, coffee, wheat and rice is being declared closed to the Indian bus owner and driver. This is not an isolated attack. It is a part of a planned, pre-conceived policy, by which

gradually Indians are being squeezed out of various districts and professions.

Over five thousand Indians who have been employed as clerks etc., in various government departments have now very little chance of any promotion. As if this was not enough their scales of pay too have been lowered. In theory, Indians enjoy the same political status as other British subjects. In actual practice this is not so. Indians are represented on Advisory Committees and Legislative Council. But their representation is not in proportion to their numbers. Indians have only three members in the Legislative Council of 13 official and 10 non-official nominated members.

In spite of all this, with hard work and perseverance, they still control more than twenty-five per cent. of the country's production of *Sisal*. And the cocoanut plantations, with a few exceptions, belong to Indians. They own a number of rice and flour mills and the majority of cotton ginning factories belong to them. Even in mining they have played their part well, and several reefs are owned and operated by Indians.

KENYA

The passing of the Kenya Highland Order-in-Council in 1939 was the climax of the anti-Indian campaign,—the anti-Indian War that had been waged in Kenya Colony for over thirty years. It has already been described how the early pioneers from India had entered this part of the world. For long unbroken decades and centuries they had lived and traded in peace. But early in the present century efforts were made to reserve the best parts of the territory for the white settlers from Great Britain, and by an official pronouncement, the Earl of Elgin, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies,

laid down the definite policy of the reservation of the Highlands for Europeans in 1908. It was this question, the question of the ownership of land in the Highlands which first brought Indian and European interests into conflict. Since then there has been a sort of tug of war. Various proposals and counter proposals have been made and rejected. But Indians refused to give in and accept this lower status and "second rate citizenship," as it has been called.

(The total area of Kenya colony is about 220,000 sq. miles. The northern portion of this is barren. The eastern portion between Nairobi and the Coast is fertile. Of the total area over two-thirds, that is about 185,000 sq. miles lies below an altitude of 4,000 feet. This, the Europeans do not find quite suitable for their requirements. The remaining area, which contains extensive tracts of great fertility and natural beauty is known as "Highlands" because it is situated on a higher level than the rest of the territory. It has good game reserves and produces a good crop of coffee, maize, wheat and tea.)

The Earl of Elgin's pronouncement was later confirmed by Lord Milner in one of his despatches to the Governor of Kenya in 1920. But at the Imperial Conference of 1921 the question was again taken up and the Conference expressed itself in the following terms: "that in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth it is desirable that the rights of such Indians (lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire) to citizenship should be recognized." This was followed by a series of Commissions, Reports and Whitepapers from Whitehall. In 1934, the Carter Commission which had been appointed two years earlier reported in favour of a "geographical definition of the privileged areas and the grant of a guarantee to European settlers similar to

those existing for native reserves". It also proposed to reserve the Highlands for Europeans by an Order-in-Council. As a result of various protests made here in India and in Kenya the Colonial office stayed their hands and did not pass any such Orders-in-Council. The Government of India, in reply to the anxious enquiries and protests, stated that their watchfulness would not be relaxed. But, at last, in spite of this "watchfulness", the dreaded Order became a reality. It confirmed the fears expressed by the East African Indian National Congress in 1938 when their deputation visited India. "We, Indians in Kenya", declared the Deputation, "maintain that the draft Order-in-Council puts the seal of law on a position which is both humiliating and harmful to Indians in Kenya and we want the Government of India to prevent the promulgation of the draft Order and also to make representation for the discontinuance of the present vicious and unjust practice of excluding Indians from the Highlands reserved for Europeans of every nationality."

But the Government of India either could not or did not want to do anything or make any representations about it. Perhaps it could not influence or "fight" the Colonial office in London which was, at the same time, being "bullied and intimidated" by the white settlers of Kenya who had made no secret of their determination to hound out the Indian Community. They had even gone to the length of giving open and public warnings to the Colonial office that they (the white settlers) would consider it their duty even to resist the administration if the Colonial office agreed to the claims of the Indians—claims for treatment of equality with the white! They did not stop at that. They even went to the extent of sending a deputation to South Africa and Australia to

influence the public opinion of these places against giving equal rights to Indians in their midst. The Order-in-Council of 1939 perpetuates the policy of racial discrimination and is a betrayal of all the promises and pledges given by the colonial office or other Ministers and Secretaries of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. But Indians in Kenya are still fighting these most unjust and humiliating measures.

Fiji

The fortunes of nearly 90,000 Indians in Fiji are closely linked with the Sugar plantations of these Islands, which is a group of nearly two hundred bits of land, big and small, scattered in the South Pacific about a thousand miles north of New Zealand. Indians came here as early as 1800 but there was no large scale immigration till 1832 when the slave trade was abolished. The Indenture system of recruitment was undertaken by the Fijian government in 1879 when labourers were engaged directly by the Government and allotted under government supervision. The Government of the Colony paid all costs and recouped itself of two-thirds of such charges from the employers, the balance being regarded as grants-in-aid. A sudden expansion of the sugar industry in the year 1900 and onwards was responsible for a further large scale rush of Indian labour. The Indenture system was abolished in 1916 but even after that a large number of free labourers as well as people belonging to other trades and professions have gone to Fiji. Side by side with this emigration there has been a regular and systematic repatriation of one time indentured slaves.

But not many labourers entitled to a free return passage to India have cared to take advantage of this. Most of them, in spite of their apparent "pitiabie plight"

seem to be satisfied with their lot. Here in Fiji, it seems, perhaps more than anywhere else where Indians had gone as Indentured slaves, our compatriots have taken full advantage of their new-found freedom. The remarkably healthy and equable climate has been conducive to hard work. Luxuriant vegetation and wooded countryside and the country's chief products such as cocoanut, sugar, cane, pea nuts, maize and rice have provided enough openings for Indians who were enterprising and who wanted to work hard. The bulk of Fiji's Indian population is engaged in agriculture while cultivation of sugar cane claims the largest number of farmers. Although a strict adherence to their centuries old religious customs and conventions has handicapped a large section of the population and retarded their progress in various ways, it has not altogether prevented the Fiji Indians from making their contribution to the prosperity and economic growth of the colony.

Unfortunately, this very progressive and go-ahead attitude has been responsible for a number of their recent misfortunes and difficulties. For years the white sugar Barons and owners of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, (which is the biggest combine of its kind), and their other European friends had enjoyed an unchallenged supremacy in every walk of life. The Europeans in Fiji number less than seven thousand which is not even one-twelfth of the Indian population of the country. Yet they had enjoyed an absolute majority in the Legislative Council and other departments of the Colonial government. Even now, after years of agitation and protests, over 85,000 Indians have the same number of seats as the 6,000 Europeans! Even in such professions as that of Law, the Europeans had controlled the market.

Now the Indian competitor, in spite of all these

obstacles, is coming into his own. This has given rise to jealousies and racial antagonism. New devices are being introduced to oust the weaker and the poorer Indians. Most of whom were born and have lived all their life in Fiji. Imposing of poll-tax and cutting down of wages have been other devices used for this purpose. Advantage is now being taken of unsettled conditions in war-torn China and the introduction of cheaper and unorganised labour has been one of the chief weapons with which the sugar barons of Fiji have decided to fight the Indian. For our compatriots it is a tough fight. The education of their children is neglected by the government who have no intention of making Indian Education a charge upon the general revenue. Even the Indians demand for the imposition of a special tax upon themselves for the education of their children has been ignored by the authorities. There are only 75 or 80 schools of all kinds, including the Government, the Mission and aided and unaided Indian managed schools. And the latest figures of the school-going children represent little over half the number of children who should be at school.

CHAPTER IV

WEST INDIES

To these far-off little Islands situated between the North and the South Americas our countrymen had gone as early as 1832 and 1833, about the time of the abolition of slavery. The Indenture system of labour which was introduced for different islands on different dates was finally abolished in the year 1917. To-day the economic and social condition of Indians in the West Indies varies from island to island, though politically (in theory at least) they enjoy same rights in Jamaica, Trinidad, Grenada and British Guiana. Unlike our countrymen in some other possessions of the British Empire, Indians in the West Indies suffer from no statutory disabilities and they enjoy equal political rights with other elements of the non-white population. Everywhere, in Trinidad, in Jamaica and in British Guiana Indians enjoy both municipal and political franchise. But as things are, very few Indians enjoy complete equality, social and economic with other groups of the people there. In some places they are quite well off. In smaller islands the majority of Indians own at least a small home and a slice of agricultural land. There are some bigger landlords and well established professional men, doctors and barristers. But in other places, there are hundreds of destitute Indians roaming in abject misery and poverty.

Their geographical remoteness from the Mother-country has been, perhaps, the chief cause of the present-day helplessness of Indians in these parts. For long unbroken years they seldom received any attention

or care from the Government of India. The demoralising and evil effects of over 80 years of indentured struggle have in some cases produced strange hybrids who, though members of the Indian community, neither know anything of India, her history and culture, nor are able to speak any of the Indian languages. Perhaps in some cases, this remoteness from the Mother-country has worked to their advantage. The small Indian community of Grenada, for instance, has by now broken the age-old shackles of castes and creeds and the five thousand Indians who comprise about one-fifteenth of the total population of this little island are no longer Hindus or Muslims, but Indians and quite well to do.

The same thing is seen in Trinidad too. Mrs. Narissa P. Singh who is a Trinidad born Indian writing about Indians in Trinidad in the "Modern Review" of March 1932 stated: "Literally speaking they are not East Indians as they are known, for they have adopted the ways, manners and dress of their western compatriots. The physiognomy and general features remain unaltered but happily they know no castes or creeds. The Hindu is an East Indian as much as the Moslem. Inter-racial marriages are very rare indeed, but marriages between Hindus and Moslems are quite common. In fact if one were to be picked out by name and traced to his ancestor's community and told that he was either a Hindu or a Moslem, he might wonder at the distinction. Even the names do not matter, for instance, my parents are Hindus and one of my brothers is named "Yusuf". Until I came to India I never knew that Yusuf was a Moslem name"!

"MORAL DEGRADATION"

On the other hand much has been said and written of the "moral degradation" in which our nationals are

now steeped. Various religious missionaries and priests who have gone to the West Indies to preach their particular cults and creeds have come back with strange stories of "lax morals"; "rum drinking" and "illegitimate offsprings". Then, except for certain hardships caused by the peculiar marriage laws of these colonies, thousands of Indian labourers in Trinidad, Jamaica, or British Guiana are no more "immoral" than any other race of working class people placed in similar circumstances. The main problem is economic, acute and grinding poverty, and due to unemployment, inadequate housing and illiteracy. Stories of excessive rum drinking and "lax-moral" have come from the slums and poverty-stricken areas where human beings have to live like sheep and cattle, where the surroundings breed crime, unnatural sex-relations and "lax-morals".

THE TYSON REPORT

About two years back, on June 14, 1938, the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London announced the appointment of the West Indies Royal Commission to enquire into the social and economic conditions in British Guiana and other British possessions in this part of the world. With a view to securing that the Indian case as regards the three colonies of British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica, where Indians have settled in substantial numbers, should be adequately presented to and considered by the Royal Commission, the Government of India obtained concurrence of His Majesty's Government to the deputation of a representative to the three colonies named. And for this purpose the Government of India appointed Mr. J. D. Tyson to proceed to the West Indies and give evidence before the Commission on behalf of the Government of India and also to offer assistance to the Indian

residents in the presentation of their evidence if they should so desire. Mr. Tyson presented his Report to the Government of India on the 30th of April 1939. Up-to-date, it is perhaps the most accurate and complete survey of the condition of our nationals in Jamaica, British Guiana and Trinidad.

The picture as painted by Mr. Tyson is not a very bright one, but his account of about 18,000 Indians in Jamaica is more saddening than that of our nationals in other parts of the West Indies. They form about 1.5 per cent of the total population of the island and "though he (the Indian) keeps very much to himself, is regarded as an almost negligible, if distinct, fraction of the population and there is a marked disposition among the members of the other races to think of him as an outsider and inter-loper. The complaint was absolutely universal of race prejudice against them in the Legislature, in the Local Bodies (which administer poor Relief) and in the labour market wherever the "Jamaican" controlled either the engaging of labour or distribution of work". Mr. Tyson's general impressions of his twelve days' stay in Jamaica, are very vivid. "Compared with the East Indian community in British Guiana and Trinidad", writes Mr. Tyson "I found the East Indians of Jamaica backward as a community and very helpless, numbering among them barely a dozen professional men and merchants, practically no civil servants or even teachers, and having outside Kingston no organisation and no acknowledged leaders."

Except for a few scattered store-keepers, the community is still mainly agricultural and labour and as such is suffering along with the rest of the islands population from the general wave of unemployment. There is an ever-growing competition and the "Headmen" on the estates are mainly drawn from other races who are apt to

favour their own people in the distribution of piece work, especially when there is not enough to go round. On many estates (sugar and banana) Indians do not get more than two days work a week. At the same time local conditions peculiar to Kingston area—the metering of the Kingston water supply and a recent statutory prohibition of house to house vegetable hawking—have thrown out of employment a large number of families which were earning their livelihood by the cultivation and sale of green vegetables. Although primary education is free and compulsory in fourteen "centres of population", there are nearly 60 per cent of the Indian children of school going age who are not attending school. "Inability to provide books and suitable clothings," writes Mr. Tyson, "was a reason commonly given to me by poor Indian parents for not sending their children to school." "I do not doubt its validity in many cases" adds Mr. Tyson. Legally speaking Indians in Jamaica suffer from no political disabilities and those who have been ten years in the Island possess the same political rights as the Jamaicans. But of the 18,000 Indians the number registered as voters in 1932 was less than six hundred. In no area of the Island are the Indian voters or potential voters numerous enough to make their influence felt and secure the return of a pro-Indian if not an Indian candidate. Hence they have no voice in the Legislative Council either. Although the plight of all Indians in Jamaica is sad, there are over 750 cases of known destitutes spread throughout the island who are in a state of great poverty, have practically no clothes to cover them, starvation is rife in their midst and they are living in mud-huts.

BRITISH GUIANA

Conditions in British Guiana, where Indians number

42 per cent of the total population are comparatively better. Here the community is fairly well organised. Although the Colony produces cocoanut, coffee and rice, the sugar industry is its mainstay. Almost the entire labour force, and particularly the Indian community, leans on sugar estates, and the prosperity of the community is directly linked with the prosperity or otherwise of this industry. Of late the sugar industry has seen many ups and downs. The attitude of labourers on sugar estates has been for some time one of considerable discontent and unrest. The principal reasons offered by labour itself, writes Mr. Tyson, is insufficiency of wages by which is meant not only the alleged insufficiency of the rates of pay offered but also the insufficiency of work at these rates. A second reason offered for the feeling of dissatisfaction with conditions of the estates is the unapproachability of the management and the fear that if the discontentment is expressed or legitimate requests put forward advantage will be taken by the management of the existing, almost universal, plethora of labour to turn the dissatisfied off the estate; more especially is there a wide-spread fear that victimisation will be the lot of those who take any part in voicing complaints or organising labour for the defence of its interests. Besides these there is a general complaint about the gravely insanitary housing conditions and inadequate arrangements for the supply of drinking water. But more than anything else, an important, though an indirect, cause of this discontent is the insecurity of the tenure of labour, even when the labourer has built his own house on estate land.

In spite of all these restrictions and obstacles the Indian community is boldly fighting for its rights and privileges. The East Indian Association with its head offices at Georgetown, claims to represent Indians over the

whole field of political, social and economic activities. It runs a monthly paper which, besides interesting itself in the general social and political activities of the community, makes a determined effort to ameliorate labour conditions on the sugar estates. Trade Union movement, though yet a babe in British Guiana has come to stay, and the Man Power Citizenship Association, though not specifically an Indian organization claims a membership of over 10,000 of which more than 90 per cent are our nationals. Though their political representation is not what it should be, there are three Indians out of the fourteen members of the Legislative Council. Two other members, a Chinese and an European, are said to hold their seats by Indian support. One of the three Indian M. L. C's is also a member of the Governor's Executive Council. But much more remains to be done and our nationals have to go a long way before they can have their full weight felt.

TRINIDAD

"If an extension of the franchise were granted in Trinidad, Indians would rule this country. Trinidad is unfit for any extension of franchise, at present. There is solidarity only among Indians. The Indian supports an Indian for election and the Negro likewise a Negro, not because of his particular qualifications for a seat but just because he happens to be Indian or Negro." This statement made by F. A. Robinson of the Sugar Manufacturers Association of Trinidad before the West Indies Royal Commission sums up the attitude of the planting community to the Indian question in Trinidad, and perhaps in the whole of West Indies. Indians form about one-third of the total population of Trinidad. The Legislative Council of the island is composed of twenty-five members, excluding the Governor who presides. Of these, twelve

are officials and six are nominated members. There are no Indians among these. Of the remaining seven elected members, there are three Indians. There is no Indian in the Governor's Executive Council which consists of four members. "Indians neither desire nor demand preferential treatment," said the United Body of Indians in Trinidad in their memorandum to the Royal Commission. "All they ask for is to be treated by Government with that consideration which their numbers and the important part they have played and continue to play in the Colony's history, entitle them to expect." Unfortunately at the present time they are not being dealt with in this way. They are discriminated against, and the present slump in agriculture makes their position worse.

Their grievances are real and material. As in other parts of the West Indies the housing problem of Indian estate labourers is quite acute. Again and again protests have been made against the "Barrack System." There are numerous instances of grave discrimination against qualified Indians of both sexes to civil service appointments. It is the largest tax-paying section of the population and although more than one-third of the total population, they hardly occupy one post out of every twenty. Even when matters are manipulated in such a manner the white masters have talked of Indians ruling Trinidad! In another statement which Mr. Robinson of the Planters Association had made, he had expressed the subconscious fears of his community which had long exploited the Indian and the native labour. "Thirty-five years ago", said Mr. Robinson, "there was not an Indian solicitor or barrister. There was not one representative in the Legislative Council, there was not a doctor; in fact the Indian was a drawer of water and the hewer of wood. But now to the great surprise and dismay of his people, the Indian is met in every single

profession." These remarks about the progress and success of the Indian were not intended to run him down, continued Mr. Robinson, but that is all to his credit. He was not, he said against that, "but it shows that the Indian is going to rule this country." Such are the fears of the ruling class and the capitalists masters of Trinidad that make them devise ways and means of keeping the Indian as the eternal drawer of water and hewer of wood. To this must be added the instinctive hostility of the colonial authorities towards the "coloured man."

COLONIAL POLICY

Early this year (on February 21, 1940) a part of the findings and recommendations of the West Indies Royal Commission were placed before the House of Commons. The indirect way in which it was done and the immediate decision of His Majesty's Government to give a sum of five million sterling for developing health, welfare, housing and other services, gave rise to doubts and suspicions in England and throughout India which were expressed by the nationalist press of this country. "That the Colonial Secretary should have decided not to publish the Report", wrote *National Herald*, "clearly indicates that it must be a document honest enough to have revealed glaring shortcomings, if not moral turpitude on the part of those who have been ruling and looting the Islands as they please."

"So far as Indians living in the Colonies are concerned", wrote the *Hindustan Times*, "the Commission is reported to have recommended that some officers especially in the Labour Department should specialise in East Indian questions, and if suitable candidates are forthcoming East Indians should be appointed to posts in Governmental services. Marriages performed under Indian rites are to be

placed on the same footing as other marriages. The complaints about Hindus not being allowed to cremate the dead are said to be due to a misunderstanding, and the Government have been asked to make the legal position plain. While these recommendations will go some way towards removing the more acute social grievances of our countrymen in the Colonies it must be clear that they are not going to effect any improvement in their economic position."

This unpublished report was similarly criticised in England by various political parties and individuals. "The recommendations which we are now permitted to know", wrote Mr. Creed Jones, M. P. in the *London Tribune*, "reveal that a big constructive piece of work is desperately necessary and vitally urgent. Yet we are not to know whether the cure is adequate for the disease, whether some of the proposals are suitable for the disorder, whether in certain instances a more drastic thorough-going policy should be operated. What is not appreciated by the British Government is that the greatest safeguards to the Colonial people is publicity—a wide knowledge of conditions and facts so that public criticism and opinion can compel action by those who stand indicted of official negligence, indifference and inefficiency." In spite of these and other protests the Colonial Office has refused to publish the report, and perhaps the public will never know anything of this "semi-official" indictment of the deeds and misdeeds of John Bull's Colonial administrators.

CHAPTER V

NEARER HOME

"It was clear to me that there was no real ill-will so far as the masses of the people were concerned. But some sections of the Ceylonese, had been worked up to a pitch of racial and national antagonism. It seems to me that the background of this was not so much economic as political, not political in so far as India was concerned, but political in regard to local affairs. Unfortunately Indians have to some extent become pawns in local politics"—thus summed up Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru his impressions of Ceylon and the condition of Indians there on his return on July 28, 1939 from his peace and goodwill mission to Lanka where he had gone as the representative of the Indian National Congress.

The present-day estrangement between our two countries, between India and Ceylon, and the anti-Indian campaign there is a development of recent years. From times immemorial the two neighbours have lived in peace and concord. Geographically and culturally, the two countries are parts of the same indivisible whole. Even the flora and fauna of Ceylon and southern parts of India are the same and go to prove the existence of ancient links that have united the two countries. Historically the ties are no less strong. From the days of Vijaya, a prince from Bengal who founded the Singhalese race, through the reigns of King Devanampiya and King Asoka, through Gupta dynasty in India in A. D. 320, religious and social intercourse between the two countries has been intimate and has always tended to grow more intimate with the

passing of decades and centuries.

Till the year 1802, Ceylon was under the administrative control of the Madras presidency before it was made a separate crown colony. For nearly a hundred years, since the beginning of economic exploitation of Ceylon by European rulers and capitalists, thousands of Indian labourers from South India have annually migrated to Ceylon to work on the Coffee, Tea and rubber plantations there. This migration has been in ever increasing numbers and the total strength of the Indian population in Ceylon has increased with the expansion of the staple products of Ceylon. In 1827 there were about 10,000 Indian labourers in Ceylon. Twenty years later, in 1847, the number grew about five times and in 1877 the total stood at about one and a half lacs. To-day there are nearly seven lacs of Indian labourers out of a total population of nearly eight lacs of Indians, who form about one sixth of the Island's total population. What these labourers have done for Ceylon is too well known. If Ceylon today is a "smiling tea-garden in the tropical zone of Asia," it is but due to the tireless efforts of our nationals. It has become "a paradise of the East" by the ungrudging toil of thousands of Indians, many of whom have worked all their lives, and others for two or three generations and contributed to the wealth and prosperity of the country.

KANGANI SYSTEM

But the hard-working Indians who have converted the Island from a succession of marshes and malarial jungles, swamps infested by wild animals and wilder tribesmen, into a smiling garden, have never received any other reward but an unending series of sufferings, disabilities and privations. "Far from their becoming even fairly rich", wrote a correspondent in the *Hindu* not very long ago, "their

position has gradually deteriorated. Economic bondage and political disfranchisement have been their lot. Weak, voiceless and suppressed, the poor workers have lost all initiative, thinking faculty and indeed all capacity for action. They go on like dumb-driven cattle at the mercy of the *Kanganies* and *Kanakupillais* of the estates."

This *Kangani* system of recruitment has been the chief feature of labour recruitment for the neighbouring countries of Ceylon and Malaya. It is carried on by *Kangani* or *Sirdar*, a headman, who has already worked in an estate and who later induces his relatives, his friends and his kith and kin to take up employment in estates in Ceylon and in Malaya. This system is of a purely patriarchal character in its origin and principles, wrote the Ceylon Labour Commission of 1908. The *Kangani* or the labour headman, was in the beginning and still is, in a large number of the older and more solidly established estates, the senior member of a family group composed of his personal relatives, to whom may be added other families drawn from villages in Southern India from the vicinity of which he and his relations come. The labour force thus formed is sub-divided into a number of smaller groups, each under its patriarch, the subordinate *Silara-Kangani*; and the family principle is further manifested in the groups which are under these minor headmen, a man with his wife and children and, it may be one or more close relations, assuming joint responsibility for advances made to them and holding their earnings in some way in common.

MAN-MERCHANTS

But this does not tell the whole tale of a *Kangani's* control over his subordinates, and his tyranny and oppression. "Those accomplished man-merchants", as they

have been described, "who make profit by collecting and transporting human material from place to place", are the chief functionaries in the very many processes that make up all the activity on the tea and other estates, and they are the chief agents employed by the estate owner not merely for recruitment of labour but also for "keeping it in good behaviour". His is the final voice which determines if a coolie has done a full day's work or not. The collection of tea leaf is no easy job. The leaves have to be gathered as they have sprouted and before the tenderness is gone and the bud and stalk open out fully. The Tamil workers, male and female, display an amazing nimbleness of finger in picking up the proper leaf. But at the end of the day, they do not get credit for a full day's work. The work chit is returned to them and until they make up the deficiency, they never get the "full name" or credit for a whole day's work. Sometimes a labourer has to put in three days picking before he or she is given "full name". The *Kangani* and the *Kankapullai* form the chief burden of the labourers tale of woe.

Added to these sufferings is the wretched housing that is provided for these labourers. Medical attention is anything but adequate and sometimes altogether unavailable. The educational facilities for the children of these labourers are inadequate and unsatisfactory. The wages are hardly enough to enable a husband and wife to make the two ends meet. They can neither own land nor vote, a right which though granted to them by the Donoughmore Constitution has been denied them by the careful and clever manipulation of politicians.

ANTI-INDIAN JIHAD

Yet the docile Indian, for decades, gave his best to

Ceylon. His own country functioned as Ceylon's labour-supplying reservoir. Over and over again, in the past, during periods of slump, India has taken back into her fold her sons and daughters not wanted in Ceylon and again willingly supplied same to Ceylon when a period of prosperity has returned. No other country in the world has been so fortunate with her supply of labour. But about ten years back when Ceylon received her first dose of constitutional reforms and first instalment of her freedom, her politicians began using Indians as pawns in their little game of checkmating each other. The general agricultural and industrial depression of the early thirties gave these politicians a new argument and the battle cry rang out throughout Ceylon "Away with the Indian", "Away with Tamils", and "Ceylon for Singhalese". Measures after measures have been adopted to discriminate not only against "the bloated Chettiers", but the voiceless labourers who have been the chief bread winners of the island. The list of discriminatory measures passed against Indians in Ceylon is a long one. A barrier is erected against Indians aspiring to enter the Ceylon Civil Service, though India has so far kept her doors wide open to the Ceylonese. Medical degrees and diplomas granted by Indian Universities are not recognised in Ceylon with the avowed object of shutting out Indians aspiring either to Government Medical service or private practice. Unemployed Indians are not entitled to any unemployment relief. A special Income Tax law was devised to penalize the Indian trader. The Village Communities Ordinance of 1934 is another of these many measures that hit the Indian hardest. But this is not the end of the long chain of anti-Indian legislation.

The climax came in 1939 when the Ceylon Government issued orders to a large number of Indians in Gov-

ernment services, and it was proposed to dismiss all those who had been employed since 1934 and repatriate them to India. Besides this there was another scheme of "voluntary" repatriation of all other daily paid Indians in Government services. But the voluntary part of it was vitiated by a hint of threat that those, who did not take advantage, might be dismissed next year without any gratuity. This made the people of India and the Government of India sit up and take notice. The Working Committee of the Congress sent Jawaharlal Nehru as its special emissary and messenger of peace and goodwill. Pandit Nehru spent ten very busy and crowded days in Ceylon meeting hundreds and thousands of people, addressing innumerable meetings and discussing the main problem with the Board of Ministers. He made it clear to the Ceylon Government that India did not wish to come in the way of Ceylon's policy of employing Ceylonese and they were perfectly justified in stopping if they so chose the future employment of Indians. But in regard to others the position was entirely different. They should be treated fairly, not only because international standards required it, but also because of the intimate relations between India and Ceylon. Secondly, he made it clear to them that India was not opposed to any real voluntary and fair scheme of repatriation, provided there was no element of threat in it.

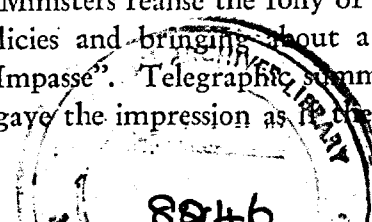
PANDIT NEHRU'S MISSION

"Our own policy" said Pandit Nehru, "was not and would not be one of exploiting Ceylon and her people must certainly be given priority, but Indian labour had built up the prosperity of Ceylon. They had added to her wealth tremendously and, therefore, they deserved particular consideration. It was true that a large part

of wealth created by Indian labour had gone out of the country in the shape of dividends and profits. But it did not come to India. It had gone to planters. Further, we were perfectly prepared to discuss all the matters between India and Ceylon, but we objected to the unilateral action being taken by any one party alone regardless of the other". Discussing the results of his visit with the pressmen at Bombay, Pandit Nehru said: "The development of a better atmosphere as a result of my visit is to the good, but the problem remains unsolved and it will be necessary for us in India to review the situation carefully and to keep a watch. What action should be taken on behalf of India is a matter for the consideration of the Congress Working Committee and the Government of India. Quite apart from any other steps that may be considered and even apart from the present situation it seems to be desirable that the whole question of future migration from India be reconsidered. We cannot afford to send our nationals abroad as urban or rural workers if they are not assured of security and honourable conditions of living and status".

EMIGRATION BAN

Consequently, the Government of India, on the 1st of August 1939, decided to stop both the assisted and unassisted emigration of unskilled labour to Ceylon. This announcement of the Government had very favourable reactions in the Nationalist circles and the country's press. Newspaper correspondents in Delhi and Simla talked of the Government's decision "having the effect of making the Ceylon Board of Ministers realise the folly of pursuing their anti-Indian policies and bringing about a solution of the Indo-Ceylon-impasse". Telegraphic summaries of reactions in Ceylon gave the impression as if the ban had



773 (V2)

seriously perturbed the Planting Community and the Ministers. The Ministers and the Governor held emergent meetings but in their speeches and official pronouncements they showed no concern and declared that the embargo was not likely to have any immediate effect on the labour situation and other fields as there was an excess of labour in the plantations. That was about nine months ago. Since then various parties in Ceylon have expressed their concern about the labour situation. But the condition of Indians in Ceylon has not improved. After a brief respite since Pandit Nehru's return, Ceylon's anti-Indian campaign today is no less intense than it was a year ago. Every day new and discriminating measures are proposed and passed and the already pitiable plight of our countrymen is becoming yet more pathetic.

IN MALAYA

The tragic tale of Malaya Indians follows almost the same pattern as in Ceylon. There too the two peoples and the two countries have been connected with each other through the age-old cultural, historical and religious ties. But to-day the lot of Malaya Indians is not much better than the lot of their compatriots in Ceylon. Perhaps there is one difference. The anti-Indian war in Malaya has never been waged with same ruthlessness as the anti-Indian drive in Ceylon. And it was because of this condition of Indians in Malaya that the public opinion both in India and in Malaya forced the Government of India to impose a ban on emigration of Indian labour to Malaya. This ban came into force on June 15, 1938 almost two years back. Since then appeals have been made to the Government of India for removal of this ban. Should this ban be lifted or not? Is this ban not really detrimental and does it not work to the disadvantage of our 700,000

compatriots now residing in Malaya as has been alleged by various individuals and parties both in India and in Malaya? This step was taken because the public opinion both in India and Malaya had demanded it. And this was done because Indians in Malaya were not getting a square deal and various discriminatory and anti-Indian measures had been enforced there.

During these two years very little has happened to justify any move towards lifting this ban on Indian emigrants to Malaya. The political and economic conditions of Indian worker today are no better than they were in June 1938. The war, though it has meant prosperity for the rubber barons of Malaya, has meant dearer food for the workers. In consequence of the increase in the cost of living which took place owing to the war conditions, the Malayan Government had announced some increase in allowances and wages. A number of private employers too had announced similar increases. But the net result of all this has been hardly appreciable. The present wages are too inadequate to meet the minimum requirements of the estate labourers, and by most observers who have recently returned from Malaya these have been characterized as starvation wages. The wealth and physical condition of the entire labour population are much below par. In a recent enquiry conducted by two eminent doctors of F. M. S. it was found that sub-nutrition of a serious degree was quite common among the young Tamils on the plantations. Malaria and helminthiasis are contributory causes of their usually low vitality. The planters, fully aware of all these have allowed things to drift for years and decades. Indians have no municipal or political franchise. There is one nominated non-official Indian member on the Federal Council and another non-official Indian member on the Straits Settlements

Legislative Council. Our countrymen have contributed more towards the development of that Colony than any other community. To-day they form about one-sixth of the total population. Yet their educational and medical facilities are very inadequate. Most of the schools on the Estates are under private management and the majority of these are neither registered nor do they receive any aid from the authorities. There are very few qualified teachers attached to these schools and consequently the standard is not up to the mark.

DOCILE BEINGS

The plight of labourers in general is pitiable. Indebtedness is quite common and, as a writer once said, it is no exaggeration to say that the labourer is born in debt, he lives in debt, and he dies in debt. He is a docile being. He seldom complains. He goes to his work in the morning and comes home at night with a mechanical clockwise regularity. Others in similar jobs have fought and struggled for better living conditions and higher wages. They have got them, but our Indian friend remains meek and submissive as ever. Though he gets the standard minimum wages fixed by law he gets no more if the cost of living goes up. Even in normal times, the cost of living in Malaya is necessarily high as Malaya is mostly dependent on foreign countries for its food stuffs. The standard of living in Malaya is higher than in India and the fifty or sixty cents that an Indian labourer gets though equivalent to a rupee or so the sum does not go very far in Malaya. The peculiar climatic conditions necessitate clothing, nourishment and other comforts on a scale higher than that to which Indian labourers are accustomed in India. And the few cents a day he earns do not take him very far.

CHAPTER VI

EPILOGUE

It is a dismal story. The tragic tale of our overseas compatriots is one of long and ceaseless sufferings. Insults here, insults there and insults everywhere. Exploitation, penalisation, prejudices and discrimination,—they all follow an unending cycle. Doubtless it is a depressing and disheartening picture. And such is the lot and such is the life of these thirty-five lacs of self-exiled Indians. Here and there, there are a few bright spots, an occasional ray of light and hope comes through the dark clouds. Now and then come back to Mother India's lap a few of her children, men who have made a mark, who have earned fame and distinguished themselves in some far-off land. They return, rich and prosperous. In distant California and Columbia, in New York Jersey, in Chicago and Iowa there are sons of Mother India, who by sheer hard work have built up an America-wide reputation as merchants, traders, philosophers, journalists and teachers. There are Indian chemists and scientists working in famous universities and executive in big industrial plants in Pittsburg, Philadelphia, and Buffalo. In the Union of Soviet Socialist Russia, an Indian is employed as the head of the famous Research Institute of the Automobile and Tractor Industry (NATI) just outside the city limits of Moscow. In England and in Ireland, dozens of Indian Medical practitioners have befriended countless English and Irish families by acting as their family physicians, by giving them the proverbial oriental affection and sympathy.

But these are exceptions—exceptions that prove the

general rule, exceptions that show that our nationals are as good as any other people of any other race or nationality and that if given an equal opportunity and an equal chance in any open market of the world, in any walk of life, they can make their presence felt and can easily pull their own weight. If their life in Africa, or Jamaica or Malaya, or the slums of London and Brooklyn, of Hoboken or New Jersey, presents a depressing and distressing picture it is because they never had a chance in life. The circumstances under which they had left this country, the conditions under which they were made to work, their environments and their surroundings were always inhuman, oppressive and soul-crushing. Added to these are a hundred and one legal disabilities that make their lot positively unenduring.

But the picture is not yet complete. If Indians in Pietermaritzburg and Durban are hounded out from buses and restaurants, if the white lords of East Africa do not even let them live anywhere near the reserved "Highlands", there are other parts of the world, (even though these are a few isolated spots here and there on the globe) where they are treated with so much regard and courtesy. Pre-Nazi Germany was one of these few places on the continent of Europe where our nationals were welcomed and received with utmost courtesy, without any racial distinction or colour prejudice. In the far-off little islands of the Philippines to-day there are over a thousand Indians trading and working and there our nationals are happy as they could be anywhere in India.*

* (With the Philippines our ties are very old. Ancient India was one of the cultural tutors of the early Filipinos. Early colonizers from South India had made it part of their far-flung Empire. But then came the

These are cheering and comforting little Oases in the desert that our nationals find all around. But the picture is still not complete. In the foregoing pages we have had a peep at the sad state of affairs in Ceylon, Malaya, South Africa, East Africa, Fiji, East Indies and West Indies. There are other parts of the world where there are large colonies of Indians—in Mauritius and Zanzibar which demand our attention and a closer exami-

Spaniards and later the Dutch and the Americans. The complete isolation of the Philippines from the cultural and commercial influence of India came about the establishment of the Spanish regime, when, slowly, the Indo-Aryan influence declined. Today, after hundreds of years, once again, the Filipinos, after having won their partial freedom from Uncle Sam, are thinking of their centuries' old contacts with India. They are analysing their ancient languages and dialects in search of Sanskrit words. Their newspapers and magazines are devoting a good deal of space to Indian news and views. Their writers and journalists are busy tracing the early Indo-Philippine relations. Names of Gandhiji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and Poet Tagore are as well-known in the Philippines to-day as in any other part of the world. But these names are not only "well-known". The Filipinos, in their press and in private, mention these names with as much reverence and respect as the name of their own great Leader, President Manuel L. Quezon, who has worked and fought for the freedom of his people and his country and on whose shoulders rests the future of the Philippines. So much for the Indo-Philippine relations in general. The local Indian community though not very big, is united, well to do, and experienced no hostility whatever from the natives of the islands.)

nation. These have been omitted not because the three or four lacs of Indians there have no complaints but firstly because the Zanzibar question was before us only a couple of years ago when it was fully discussed and debated throughout the country. The relief granted to our nationals in Zanzibar as a result of the boycott of Zanzibar cloves so wonderfully organized by the Indian National Congress has brought about a state of affairs which need not be disturbed for the time being. In Mauritius where our nationals form more than 7% of the population the problem is two-fold. The Indians there, illiterate, ignorant and disunited, who took with them from here, the barriers of language and province, have to organise themselves and fight on two fronts—economic and political.

It is the same old, old story. The problem revolves eternally from country to country. The crisis develops in Natal to-day and in Kenya tomorrow. One day the cry comes from Jamaica and the next day it comes from Java and Japan. Trinidad and Transvaal follow Mozambique and Madagascar. Our nationals have suffered so long but one day it all must end. One day the worm will turn! But till that happens, till our overseas compatriots are strong enough to stand on their own legs, strong enough to demand and receive just and fair treatment in the lands of their adoption they need all the help and sympathy we can give them. They need our moral support more than any material help.

"In our present stage of development", said Pandit Nehru once, "we are sensitive about the honour of our people, especially outside the shores of India. I do not want Indians to go where they were not wanted, but wherever they go they should have the goodwill of the country to which they go and not suffer ill treatment."

Some cases offer solution which are comparatively simple. In the case of Malaya for instance, the decision to impose a ban on Indian migration was a move in the right direction. That was nearly two years ago. Today repeated requests are reaching this country for lifting this ban. But very little has happened to justify such a move on the part of the Government of India. The rubber planters of Malaya are now reaping a rich harvest. They must now share some of their profits with the meek and submissive worker. But the problem of Indians in Malaya is not merely relating to labour questions and wages. There are bigger political issues which affect our compatriots. Unless all these are settled to our entire satisfaction, until they get the recognition that is due to them, we must not supply the rubber barons the labour they have so long exploited. This is a weapon in her hand which India can use successfully. The Zanzibar dispute was settled to the satisfaction of our nationals there because they had the Mother-country's united support. If and when we can use such methods to protect the legitimate rights of our nationals, India should apply such methods rigidly and forcefully. But for such far-off places as Jamaica and Trinidad we have no such weapon at our command. It is strange that in these remote places where there are so many thousands of Indians, and even in Mauritius where there are $2\frac{3}{4}$ lacs of them, there is no official or semi-official agency, no representative of the Government of India, to look after their interests. Here our task is a little more complicated. As has been stated in an earlier section their geographical aloofness from home has been one of the chief causes of their present day helplessness. India should send out trained and qualified teachers to help them fight the twin evils of illiteracy and ignorance. And above all they should be made conscious of

Mother India's ever-growing strength. It is hoped that in future the Congress would arrange to send to some of these colonies, occasionally, some of her outstanding and trusted workers and leaders to convey to those helpless people our message of hope and sympathy. One visit of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Malaya in May 1937 did more to unite and awaken the Indian community there than many thousands of books, brochures and bulletins sent to them. It proved "a shake-up to the security of British imperialism as also the torpor of colonial labour as never before. . . . Tens of thousands sat listening with eager and expectant faces. . . . The crowds were intoxicated with excitement, pent up, emotional nearly to the pitch of hysteria. . . . Not only Indians, but the Malayan and the Chinese were greatly enthused and they saw in President Nehru the symbol of the unity of the anti-imperialist and oppressed peoples of the world". Such are the effects of these visits. The same thing happened in Ceylon last year. There is no reason why such contacts between Mother India and Indians Overseas should not be more frequent.

Mother India must do, and will do, all these things and much more for her children overseas. But more than this she expects them to stand on their own legs, to unite and to organise. Everywhere, in every colony and in every territory there are two worlds,—the world of the rich and the world of the poor, the world of the exploited and the world of the exploiter, the world of the oppressed and the world of the oppressor, and the "twain never meet". There are rich Indians in London who seldom care about the sufferings and sorrows of the hundreds, nay thousands of wretched and ragged lascars and Indian sailors who visit the docks of London and Liverpool. In New York and New Jersey the two or three dozen well-

to-do Indians with their cars and 'pent-house' apartments never give a moment's thought to the starving Indians in the slums of Brooklyn and Hoboken. Even from South Africa we have often received similar complaints. In Malaya and in other colonies "there is also the problem of a few very rich Indians who cannot dissociate themselves from imperialist policies". And our overseas compatriots will have to take notice of these and unite and work to get all that is due to them, whether it is from the Brown Barons or the White Lords. They must live with honour and dignity and every act of theirs must be performed in honour of Mother India and her dear name. India is weak to-day and cannot do much for her children abroad, but she does not forget them and every insult to them is humiliation and sorrow for her. A day will come when her long arm will shelter and protect them and her strength will compel justice to them.

But, as Pandit Nehru once said: "if they wish to share in the honour and privilege of being India's children, they must be prepared to shoulder the responsibilities that always accompany privileges. Wherever in this wide world there goes an Indian, there also goes a bit of India with him, and he may not forget this or ignore it. By his actions India will be judged. He has it in his power to some extent to bring credit or discredit to his country, honour or dishonour. Let him keep this in mind always and let him bear himself with dignity in good fortune and ill fortune alike. India wants freedom and friendship with the world, and for that we labour; we are no humble suppliants for anybody's favour. We are no citizens of a mean country, but of a noble land with a great past and, let us hope, with a greater future. That future beckons to all of us. Who will not answer that call?"

APPENDIX A

Total number of Indians in foreign lands. Latest available figures:

	Indian Population	Date of Estimate
Abyssinia	2,100*	1930
Aden	8,168	1937
Afghanistan	150*	1933
Australia	2,404	1933
Burma	10,17,825	1931
Bahrein	500*	1931
Belgian Congo	372	1932
Brazil	2,000*	1931
British Malaya	7,54,849	1937
British North Borneo	1,294	1931
British Guiana	1,42,978	1937
British Somaliland	520*	1931
British Honduras	497	1931
Ceylon	8,00,000*	1938
Celebes (see Dutch Indies)	—	—
China	unknown	—
Cape Colony	10,962	1936
Canada	1,509	1931
Dutch East Indies (Java, Sumatra and Celebes)	27,638	1930
Dutch Guiana (Surinam)	37,933	1932
Egypt (and Sudan)	1,025	1931
European countries (various)	1,000*	1937

* Approximate

	Indian Population	Date of Estimate
French Indo-China	6,000*	1931
Fiji	89,333	1937
Great Britain	8,000*	1936
Gibraltar	80	1932
Grenada	5,000*	1932
Hejaz	unknown	—
Hong Kong	4,745	1931
Iran (Persia)	—	—
Iraq	2,596	1932
Italian Somaliland	320	1932
Java (Dutch Indies)	—	—
Jamaica	18,669	1936
Japan	300*	1931
Kenya	42,368	1931
Maldives	550	1936
Mauritius	269,701	1937
Muscat	441	1933
Malta	41	1933
Morocco (Spanish)	20	1932
Madagascar	7,945	1931
Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa)	5,000*	1931
Natal	183,646	1936
Northern Rhodesia	420*	1937
Nyasaland	1,631	1937
New Zealand	1,166	1932
Nigeria	32	1937
Orange River Colony	29	1936
Phillipines	1,000*	1939
Panama	300	1931

* Approximate

	Indian Population	Date of Estimate
Palestine	60	1931
Persia	500	1933
Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) —	—	—
Reunion	1,533	1933
Sumatra (Dutch Indies)	—	—
St. Lucia	2,189	1921
Siam	5,000*	1931
Seychelles	503	1931
Southern Rhodesia	2,184	1936
Tanganayika Territory	23,422	1931
Transvaal	25,561	1936
Turkey	37	1933
Tripoly	20	1931
Trinidad	154,085	1937
United States of America	5,850	1930
Uganda	18,800	1937
Zanzibar	14,242	1931
Total	37,17,043	

* Approximate

APPENDIX B

Approximate dates etc. of large scale Indian Emigration

Name of country	Political Status and Form of Govt.	Total population	Indian population	European population	Date of early Emigration	Remarks
British Guiana	..	337,039	142,978	..	1835	Indians enjoy both political and municipal franchise.
British Malaya	..	4,395,346	754,849	..	..	No political or municipal franchise—Voluntary and Kangani system of recruitment, which has been now stopped.
Canada	British Dom.	10,400,000	1,599	9,000,000	1905	Though a few soldiers came here before the Boxer War, first large scale emigration came in 1905. No franchise.
Cayene (French Guiana). Grenada (British).		.. 75,000	.. 5,000*		1860 1858-65	
Fiji (British)	..	200,000	89,355	6,028	1879	Although the indenture system for Fiji was not introduced till 1879, workers from India had gone to these islands as early as 1800. Abolition of slave-trade in 1832 was responsible for the first large scale rush. The indenture system was abolished in 1916. A kind of restricted and "racial" franchise is enjoyed by the Indians.
Guadeloupe	French Colony	270,000	..	..	1873	
Mauritius	British	400,000	269,701	..	1834	For five years (1833-38) labourers from India came under a free system. Indentured system was introduced in 1839.
Natal } Transvaal } Cape Colony }	British Dominion	.. 9,600,000 (Union of South Africa total)	183,646 25,561 10,692	190,549 820,756 751,574	1860 1860 1860	Indentured labour introduced in 1860. No political or municipal franchise.

*Approximate

Name of country	Political Status and Form of Govt.	Total population	Indian population	European population	Date of early Emigration	Remarks
Kenya	British Protectorate	3,334,191	42,368	19,211	1895	Though Indians have traded with East Africa for over five hundred years, it was not till 1895, when, in order to construct the Kenya Uganda Railway, the Imperial British East Africa Company appealed to the Government of India for help. This work was completed mainly by workers from the Punjab.
Tanganika	British Mandate	5,100,000	23,422	9,000*	1895	
Uganda	British Protectorate	3,666,777	188,000	2,000*	1895	
Zanzibar	British Protectorate	138,000	14,242	..	..	Indians came here as indentured labourers in 1845. They enjoy full political and municipal franchise. All Indians who can read and write Hindi are registered as voters.
Trinidad	British Crown Colony	412,783	154,085	..	1845	
Jamaica	"	858,118	18,669	14,476	1845	Early, in about 1845 over 1000 labourers came here

who were under no contract. Indenture system was introduced a few years later. Indians who have been ten years in Jamaica possess the same political rights as natives.

Surinam	Dutch Colony	165,000	37,933	..	1873	Majority of Indians are engaged in rice cultivation. Their general economic condition is satisfactory. They enjoy both municipal and political franchise and there are Indian members of the Legislative Council. Hindustani is widely read and spoken by most Indians in this Dutch Colony.
St. Lucia	British	67,404	..	..	1857	Agriculture is the main occupation of Indian labourers.
St. Croix	Dutch	..	..	..	1862	
Reunion	French Colony	200,000	1,553	..	1860	

*Approximate

APPENDIX C

Some of the earlier resolutions of the Indian Nation Congress on Indians Abroad.

Eleventh Congress—1895—Poona

INDIAN DISABILITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

That the Congress deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities sought to be imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and it earnestly hopes that the British Government and the Government of India will come forward to guard the interests of these settlers in the same spirit in which they have always interfered, whenever the interests of their British-born subjects have been at stake.

Twelfth Congress—1896—Calcutta

INDIAN SETTLERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

That this Congress once again deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between them and European settlers, and appeals to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers and to relieve them of the disabilities to which they are subjected.

Fourteenth Congress—1898—Madras

GRIEVANCES OF INDIAN SETTLERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

That this Congress deplores the invidious and

humiliating distinctions made between Indian and European Settlers in South Africa, a prominent instance of which is afforded by the recent decision of the Transvaal High Court restricting Indians to "locations", and appeals to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers, and to relieve them of the disabilities imposed on them.

Nineteenth Congress—1903—Madras

INDIAN EMIGRANTS

That this Congress views with grave concern and regret the hard lot of His Majesty's Indian subjects living in British colonies in South Africa, Australia and elsewhere, the great hardships and disabilities to which they are subjected by the Colonial Governments, and the consequent degradation of their status and rights as subjects of the King, and protests against the treatment of Indians by the Colonies as backward and uncivilised races; and it prays that, in view of the great part the Indian settlers have played in the development of the Colonies and the economic advantage which have resulted both to India and to the Colonies from their emigration to and stay in the latter, the Government of India will be pleased to ensure to them all the rights and privileges of British citizenship in common with the European subjects of His Majesty, by enforcing, if necessary, such measures as will render it impossible for the Colonies to secure Indian immigrants except on fair, equitable and honourable terms; and that in view to the great importance of the principle of the equal treatment to all His Majesty's subjects, His Majesty's Government should devise adequate measures to ensure that position to Indian emigrants in all the British Colonies.

Twenty-first Congress—1905—Benares

INDIANS IN BRITISH COLONIES

(a) That this Congress, while expressing its sense of satisfaction at the passing by the Australian House of Representatives, of a Bill to amend the Law of Immigration so as to avoid hurting the susceptibilities of the people of India, again places on record its sense of deep regret that British Indians should continue to be subjected to harassing and degrading restrictions and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty's Colonies. The Congress particularly protests against the enforcement by the British Government of disabilities on the Indian settlers in the Transvaal and Orange River Crown Colonies, which were not enforced even under the old Boer rule, in spite of declarations by His Majesty's Minister that the treatment of the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor by the Boer Government was one of the causes of the late war:

(b) In view of the important part the Indian settlers have played in the development of the Colonies, their admitted loyalty and peaceful and industrious habits, their useful and self-sacrificing services during the recent war, and above all, the great constitutional importance of the principle of equal treatment of all citizens of the Empire anywhere in the King's Dominions, this Congress respectfully, but strongly, urges the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to insist, by prohibiting, if necessary, the emigration of indentured labour and adopting other retaliatory measures, on the recognition of the status of Indian emigrants as British citizens in all the Colonies.

Twenty-second Congress—1906—Calcutta

INDIANS IN TRANSVAAL

This Congress, while noting with satisfaction the action of the Imperial Government in disallowing, for the present, the proposed Ordinance against British Indians in the Transvaal, desires to give expression to its grave apprehension that unless the Imperial Government continues to extend its firm protection to the British Indian community, the policy of the Ordinance is almost certain to be enforced as soon as arrangements under the constitution recently granted are completed.

This Congress also places on record its sense of deep regret and indignation that the people of this country should be subjected to harassing and degrading restrictions, and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty's Colonies, and the Congress expresses its firm conviction that such a policy is fraught with serious danger to the best interests of the Empire.

Twenty-fourth Congress—1908—Madras

INDIANS IN COLONIES

This Congress views with the greatest indignation the harsh, humiliating and cruel treatment to which British Indians, even of the highest respectability and position, have been subjected by the British Colonies in South Africa, and expresses its alarm at the likelihood of such treatment resulting in far-reaching consequences of a mischievous character calculated to cause great injury to the best interests of the British Empire, and trusts that the Imperial Parliament when granting the new Constitution to South Africa will secure the interests of the Indian Inhabitants of South Africa.

This Congress begs earnestly to press upon the British Parliament and the Government of India, the desirability of dealing with the self-governing Colonies in the same manner in which the latter ruthlessly deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise, and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

This Congress, while aware of the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the self-governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements, deems it but right to point out that the policy of shutting the door and denying the rights of full British citizenship to all subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy in Asia and other parts of the world, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous.

Twenty-fifth Congress—1909—Labore

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

That this Congress expresses its great admiration of intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal, Muhammadan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—who, heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their country, are carrying on their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civil rights against heavy and overwhelming odds.

That this Congress offers its warmest encouragement to Mr. M. K. Gandhi and his brave and faithful associates and calls upon all Indians of whatever race or creed to help them unstintedly with funds; and in this connection the Congress begs to convey to Mr. R. J. Tata its high appre-

ciation of the patriotic instincts, which have inspired his munificent donation of Rs. 25,000 to his suffering countrymen in South Africa in their hour of need and trial.

That this Congress begs earnestly to press upon the Government of India the necessity of prohibiting the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for any portion of the South African Union, and of dealing with the authorities there in the same manner in which the latter deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy, which they proclaim and practise, and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

That this Congress protests against the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the Self-Governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlement, and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories and denying the rights of full British citizenship to all Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous.

Twenty-sixth Congress—1911—Calcutta

INDIANS IN THE COLONIES

(a) That this Congress, anticipating the forthcoming legislation of the Provincial Settlement recently arrived at, cordially congratulates Mr. Gandhi and the Transvaal Indian community upon the repeal of the anti-Asiatic Legislation of the Province regarding registration and immigration, and expresses its high admiration of the

intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice with which they—Muhammadan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—have suffered persecution in the interests of their countrymen, during their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civil rights against overwhelming odds.

(b) Whilst appreciating the endeavours that have been made from time to time to secure the redress of the grievances of the Indians of South Africa and other British Colonies, this Congress urges that, in view of the avowed inability of His Majesty's Government to adopt a *firm and decisive* attitude in this matter, the Government of India should take such retaliatory measures as may be calculated to protect Indians' self-respect and the interests of Indian residents in those parts of the Empire, and thus remove a great source of discontent among the people of this country.

(c) This Congress further protests against the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the Self-Governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements, and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories against, and denying the rights of full British citizenship to all Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous.

(d) Whilst thanking the Government of India for the prohibition to the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for South Africa, this Congress is strongly of opinion that in the highest National interests, the system of indentured labour is undesirable and should be abolished, and respectfully urges the Government to prohibit the further recruitment of Indian labour under contract of

indenture, whether for service at home or abroad.

Twenty-eighth Congress—1913—Karachi

INDIANS IN CANADA

That this Congress strongly protests against prohibition of immigration, resulting from the operation of the Canadian Privy Council Order No. 920, generally known as the "Continuous Journey Clause," as the order in question has practically the effect of preventing any Indian, not already settled there, from going to Canada, inasmuch as there is no direct steamship service between the two countries, and the Steamship Companies refuse through booking, and further subjects the present Indian settler in Canada to great hardship by precluding them from bringing over their wives and children. This Congress, therefore, urges upon the Imperial Government the necessity of securing the repeal of the said Continuous Journey Regulation.

Twenty-ninth Congress—1914—Madras

INDENTURED LABOUR

That owing to the scarcity of labour in India and the grave consequences resulting from the system of Indentured Labour which reduces the labourers, during the period of their indenture, practically to the position of slaves, this Congress strongly urges the total prohibition of recruitment of labour under indenture, either for work in India or elsewhere.

SOUTH AFRICA

(a) That this Congress begs to offer to H. E. the Viceroy, its respectful thanks for the noble and courageous stand made by him in the cause of our people in South

Africa; and while expressing its grateful appreciation of the efforts of the Government of India, in obtaining relief in respect of some of the most pressing grievances of our Indian fellow subjects and of the firm advocacy in the cause of India of Sir Benjamin Robertson, this Congress begs to place on record that no settlement can be wholly satisfactory or be deemed final, which does not secure equality of treatment between His Majesty's Indian and other subjects in South Africa, and respectfully urges on the Government of India that steps may be taken as early as circumstances will permit to bring about such equality of treatment.

(b) That this Congress places on record its warm appreciation of, and admiration for, the heroic endeavours of Mr. Gandhi and his followers, and their unparalleled sacrifice in their struggle for the maintenance of the self-respect of India and the redress of Indian grievances.

(c) That this Congress further expresses its gratitude to Messrs. Polak and Kellenbach for their voluntary sacrifices and suffering in the cause of India, and to the Rev. Mr. Andrews for his help under circumstances of great difficulty.

(d) And, lastly, that this Congress records its appreciation of the invaluable services of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale throughout the struggle in bringing about the present settlement.

APPENDIX D

Congress resolution on Indians Abroad after Gandhi's return from South Africa:

Thirtieth National Congress, Bombay, 1915

INDIA AND COLONIES

Gandhiji moved the following resolution:

This Congress regrets that the existing laws affecting Indians in South Africa and Canada have not, in spite of the liberal and imperialistic declarations of Colonial Statesmen, been justly and equally administered and this Congress trusts that the Self-Governing Colonies will extend to the Indian emigrants equal rights with European emigrants and that the Imperial Government will use all possible means to secure the rights which have been hitherto unjustly withheld from them, thus causing widespread dissatisfaction and discontent.

Thirty-first National Congress, Lucknow, 1916

INDENTURED LABOUR

Gandhiji moved the following resolution:

- (a) This Congress strongly urges that indentured emigration should be stopped by prohibiting the recruitment of such labour within the ensuing year.
- (b) In the opinion of this Congress, it is highly desirable that at least one representative Indian selected after consultation with associations voicing Indian public opinion, be appointed

by the Government of India to take part in the forthcoming inter-departmental Conference to be held in London for the consideration of this question.

- (c) This Congress earnestly requests that the reports of Mr. Marjoribanks and Hon'ble Mr. Thambi Marakkyar and of the inter-departmental committee be published for general information and discussion before any action is taken thereupon.

INDIANS IN COLONIES

Mr. H. S. L. Polak from South Africa moved the following resolution:

That this Congress reiterating the resolution passed at the previous sessions of the Congress on the subject of the treatment and status of British Indians in the self-governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies of the Empire, once more places on record the ever-growing sense of dissatisfaction at the continued ill-treatment of Indian settlers in those Dominions and Colonies, and expresses the earnest hope that, as a result of the growing feeling of cohesion among the constituent parts of the Empire due to the present world-wide war, the statesmen and people of Greater Britain will take a more liberal and Imperial view of the status of the Indian settlers in those parts.

Thirty-second National Congress, Calcutta, 1917

INDIANS IN THE COLONIES

Mahatma Gandhi moved the following resolution:

This Congress re-expresses its regret that the British Indians of South Africa still labour under disabilities which materially affect their trade and render their residence

difficult, and unjustly and unduly restrict their movement to and in these parts of the Empire, and hopes that the local authorities will realise their responsibility to the Indians who have, in spite of disabilities, taken their full share in the war by raising corps and otherwise remove the disabilities complained of, and authorises the President to cable the substance of the resolution to the respective authorities.

INDENTURED LABOUR

This Congress is of opinion that the report of the Inter-departmental Committee which recently sat in London to consider the question of Indentured Labour is not calculated to deal with the evils of indentured labour. This Congress is further of opinion that nothing short of complete abolition of indentured labour, whether described as such or otherwise, can effectively meet the evils which have been admitted by all concerned to have done irreparable harm to the labourers; and this Congress records its grateful appreciation of the services rendered to the cause by Mr. C. F. Andrews, who, at considerable risk to health, journeyed to the Fiji Isles and is still labouring for the welfare of the Indians residing in those Isles.

Thirty-fourth National Congress, Amritsar, 1919-20

Mahatma Gandhi moved the following resolution:

- (a) This Congress protests against the attempt being made in South Africa and particularly the Transvaal to deprive the Indian settlers of the right of property and trade hitherto enjoyed by them and trusts that the Government of India will secure the repeal of the recently enacted legislation and otherwise ensure the protection of the status of the Indian settlers in South Africa.

(b) This Congress is of opinion that the anti-Indian agitation now going on in East Africa is utterly unscrupulous and trusts that the Government of India will safeguard the right of free and unrestricted emigration from India to East Africa and the full civic and political rights of the Indian settlers in East Africa including the East African territory conquered from Germany.

FIJI INDENTURES

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved the following resolution:

(a) This Congress views with grateful satisfaction the Viceregal declaration that the existing indentures in Fiji are likely to be cancelled at the end of the current year and hopes that a final declaration to that effect will be made by the Government of India before the end of the year and this Congress further hopes that indentured emigration in any form whatsoever whether under the same or another name will never be renewed.

(b) This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable and selfless services rendered by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the afflicted in the Punjab, to the cause of indentured Indians in Fiji and elsewhere and the services being rendered to the Indian settlers in East and South Africa.

Thirty-eighth Indian National Congress, Cocanada, 1924

The President, Maulana Mohamed Ali, moved the following resolution from the Chair:—

This Congress sends the greetings and sympathy of the Nation to the Indian Community in Kenya and while adhering to the opinion that unless Swarajya is won for India, the sufferings and grievances of Indians abroad

cannot be properly remedied, it authorises Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. George Joseph to attend the forthcoming Indian Congress in Kenya and study the situation and advise the Indian community there, as to what steps they should take in carrying on their struggle against the insults and injustices imposed upon them.

INDIANS ABROAD

The following resolution was also put from the Chair:—

In view of the humiliating treatment accorded to Indian labourers in various parts of the British Empire, this Congress advises the people of India to consider the question of stopping all kinds of emigration from India for labour purposes and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a small committee to examine the matter in all aspects and report to the All-India Congress Committee.

Thirty-ninth National Congress, Belgaum, 1924

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Srimati Sarojini Naidu moved the following resolution:—

The Congress notes with deep sorrow the increasing disabilities of the settlers overseas and records its opinion that the Indian and Imperial Governments have failed to protect the interest of the settlers which they have repeatedly declared to be their trust. The Congress whilst tendering its sympathy to the settlers in their troubles regrets its inability to render effective assistance till Swaraj has been attained.

The Congress notes with profound dissatisfaction the sanction given by the Governor-General of the Union of

South Africa to the Ordinance of the Natal Provincial Legislature depriving the Indians domiciled there of the Municipal franchise, which they have long enjoyed, with impunity.

The Congress regards the question of the deprivation of franchise as not only manifestly unjust but also a breach of the agreement of 1924 between the Union Government and the Indian community and the past declarations of the Natal Government.

The Congress is of opinion that the so-called settlement of the Kenya question is nothing short of the deprivation of the natural and just rights of the Indian settlers in Kenya.

Fortieth National Congress, Cawnpore, 1925

SOUTH AFRICA

Mahatma Gandhi moved the following resolution:—

The Congress extends its cordial welcome to the South African Indian Congress Deputation and assures the Indian settlers of South Africa of its full support in their unequal struggle against the consolidated forces which threaten their very existence in that sub-continent.

The Congress is emphatically of opinion that the proposed legislation known as the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill, is in breach of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914, in that it is racial in character and is calculated not only to make the position of the settlers much worse than it was in 1914, but is designed to make the residence in that country of any self-respecting Indian impossible.

In the opinion of the Congress, if the interpretation of the said agreement as put upon it on behalf of the settlers is not accepted by the Union Government, it

should be decided by reference to arbitration, as was done in 1893 in connection with the treatment of Indian settlers of the Transvaal in matters arising from the administration of Law 2 of 1885.

The Congress heartily endorses the suggestion that a Round Table Conference, containing among others proper Indian representatives, should be called to settle the question, and trusts that the Union Government will accept that reasonable suggestion.

In the event of the proposal for a Round Table Conference and the proposal regarding arbitration failing, the Congress is of opinion that it is the clear duty of the Imperial Government to withhold the Royal Assent to the Bill, should it pass through the Union Parliament.

Forty-first National Congress, Gaubati, 1926

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mahatma Gandhi moved the following resolution:—

This Congress welcomes the Round Table Conference now sitting in South Africa to deliberate upon the best method of dealing with the question of the status of Indian settlers in that sub-continent and prays for divine blessing and guidance upon its deliberations.

This Congress once more tenders its thanks to that good Englishman, Mr. C. F. Andrews who has been chiefly instrumental in preparing in South Africa a calm atmosphere suitable for the holding of the Conference.

This Congress authorises the President to cable the text of the Resolution to General Hertzog, Sir M. Habibullah and Mr. C. F. Andrews.

KENYA

Mrs. Naidu moved the following resolution:

In the opinion of the Congress, the progressively restrictive legislation against the Indian settlers of Kenya as evidenced by the latest action of the Kenya Government in increasing the original poll tax of 20 shillings, which by currency manipulation was raised to 30 shillings, and which has now been raised to 50 shillings by legislation, is calculated to demonstrate afresh that British Imperialism means the conservation of European interests at the cost of Indian interests, liberty and aspirations.

Forty-second National Congress, Madras, 1927

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

This Congress while acknowledging the relief received by the Indian settlers in South Africa and regarding the signing of the Indo-Union agreement as a token of the desire of the Union Government to accord better treatment to the Indian settlers, cannot be satisfied till the status of the settler is brought on a par with that of the enfranchised inhabitants of the Union and appeals to the Union Government to consolidate the goodwill created between the two countries by repealing all Class Legislation, especially the Colour Bar Act of 1926, the Clause in the Liquor Bill of 1927 prohibiting the employment of Indians as waiters in hotels and the Municipal Land Alienation Ordinances of Natal in so far as the latter involved racial segregation.

This Congress places on record its sense of deep gratitude to Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews for his great and humanitarian work in South Africa and East Africa in connection with the status of the Indian settlers in those countries.

Forty-fifth National Congress, Karachi, 1931

BURMA

This Congress recognises the right of the people of Burma to claim separation from India and to establish an independent Burman State or to remain an autonomous partner in a free India with a right of separation at any time they may desire to exercise it. The Congress however condemns the endeavour of the British Government to force separation of Burma without giving adequate opportunity to the Burmese people to express their views and against the declared wishes of their national political organisations. This endeavour seems to be deliberately engineered to perpetuate British domination there so as to make Burma together with Singapore, by reason of the presence of oil and their strategic position, strongholds of imperialism in Eastern Asia. The Congress is strongly opposed to any policy which would result in Burma being kept as a British dependency and her resources exploited for British imperialist purposes and would also be a menace to a free India as well as to the other nations of the East. The Congress urges that the extraordinary powers given to the Government of Burma be withdrawn and the declaration by the Government that representative and important organisations of Burmese national opinion are illegal be also withdrawn so that normal conditions be restored and the future of Burma may be discussed by her people without hindrance in a peaceful atmosphere and the will of the Burmese people may prevail.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA

The Congress views with alarm the trend of events in South Africa and East Africa regarding the position of Indian settlers in those countries. The contemplated

legislation in South Africa is in contravention of promises and in some respects constitutes an attack even on legal rights. This Congress appeals to the governments concerned to mete out to the Indian settlers the same measure of justice as they would claim for their nationals in a free India. This Congress tenders its thanks to Deenabandhu Andrews and Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru for their selfless labours on behalf of the settlers overseas.

the political situation in Burma, and in view of the impending separation it appeals to the Indians settled in Burma and the Burmans that they will continue to bear towards each other the same goodwill and friendly relations as have hitherto subsisted.

Working Committee, Wardha, September 1934

ZANZIBAR INDIANS

The Working Committee having learnt from Deenabandhu Andrews the deplorable condition of the Indian settlers of Zanzibar assures them of its sympathy and hopes for the averting of contemplated forcible expropriation of their just rights in a land in which they have settled with families for centuries and in which they have lived in perfect peace with the original inhabitants and, armless, have relied for their safety on just dealings with them and consequent faith in their goodwill.

This Committee reiterates its sense of gratitude towards Deenabandhu Andrews for his unremitting efforts on behalf of Indian settlers overseas, expresses its full confidence in his selfless mission and hopes that he will continue his labours in this direction.

BURMA

Working Committee, Wardha, October 1935

The Working Committee assures the Burma members of the A. I. C. C. that notwithstanding the constitutional separation of India and Burma the Indian National Congress will continue to watch with sympathetic interests

*Fifty-first Indian National Congress, Haripura,
February 1938*

INDIANS OVERSEAS

This Congress views with alarm the rapidly growing deterioration in the status, position and rights enjoyed by the Indians in South and East Africa including Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and also in the islands of Mauritius and Fiji.

This Congress condemns the new economic policy now being pursued by British Imperialism for intensifying its exploitation of the Colonies and Dependencies which is exemplified in the formation of the monopolist Clove-Growers' Association in Zanzibar and in such measures as the Tanganyika Native Produce Bill, East Africa Transport Projects, the reservations of the highlands in Kenya for the white population and the degrading treatment of Indians in Mauritius and Fiji.

This Congress whole-heartedly associates itself with the struggles of overseas Indians to maintain even their present position and status in the territories in which they have settled.

This Congress assures its fellow-countrymen overseas of its full sympathy and help and expresses its readiness to take all actions within its power to ameliorate their condition.

This Congress further wishes to assure the original inhabitants of South and East Africa that the demand of the Indian settlers is not conceived in any spirit of hostility towards them but is put forward to prevent the common exploitation of both the Africans and the Indian settlers by British Imperialism.

APPENDIX E

Some recent resolutions of the Congress on Indian Abroad.

*Forty-ninth Indian National Congress, Lucknow,
April 1936*

INDIANS ABROAD

This Congress reiterates its sympathy for the Indian settlers in South Africa, East Africa, Zanzibar, and the Fiji Islands and deplores the continuing deterioration in their status and the privation of personal and property rights in spite of past agreements and declarations of Local and British Governments and assures them of its readiness to take such action as may be within its power to ameliorate their condition.

*Fiftieth Indian National Congress, Faizpur,
December 1936*

INDIANS OVERSEAS

The Congress sends greetings to our fellow-countrymen overseas and its assurances of sympathy and help in their distressful condition and in the continuing deterioration in their status in the territories in which they have settled. The Congress is ready and willing to take all action within its power to ameliorate their condition, but desires to point out that a radical amelioration in their status must ultimately depend on the attainment by India of Independence and the power effectively to protect her nationals abroad.

INDIANS IN ZANZIBAR

The Congress expresses its appreciation of the response of the Indian people to the appeal made on behalf of the Congress to refrain from the use of cloves, and that the boycott of trade in cloves in Zanzibar by the Indian merchants has been complete and satisfactory. The Congress congratulates the Indians in Zanzibar and the clove-merchants in India on the manner in which they maintained this boycott.

The Congress however regrets that the question of the rights of Indians in Zanzibar for internal and export trade has not yet been satisfactorily solved. The Congress repeats its request to the Indian people to continue the disuse of cloves and presses upon the attention of the merchants the desirability of continuing the boycott of trade in cloves and trusts that by these measures the Zanzibar Government would be compelled in the near future to do justice to the Indian traders in Zanzibar by rescinding the objectionable decrees.

INDIANS IN CEYLON

This Congress is deeply concerned over the threatened estrangement of feelings between the people of Ceylon and the Indian population in the Island consequent on certain legislation in regard to local administration, and apprehension as to discriminatory measures that may be further undertaken. The Congress urges on the Government of Ceylon and her public-men not to adopt any policy directly or indirectly aimed at discriminating against the Indians living and carrying on their avocations in Ceylon. In particular, the Congress notes with regret that laws have been recently framed so as to deny the Indian labourers, who have helped and are helping in

the development of the resources of the Island, the franchise in the local administration, and to make the Indian residents apprehend further restrictions on their civil rights and to feel that they are to be relegated to an inferior political status. The Congress hopes that such measures will not be undertaken and that any legislation that has created such a feeling will be so modified as to make India feel that, in spite of being separate governments, Ceylon and India are one and inseparable so far as the people are concerned.

*Fifty-second Indian National Congress, Tripuri,
March 1939*

INDIANS OVERSEAS

This Congress notes with grave concern and anxiety the rapidly deteriorating position of Indians overseas, specially in countries within the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations and extends its sympathy and support to all Indian nationals abroad in their just struggle for the assertion of their legitimate rights, political, civic and economic. This Congress notes with particular anxiety the danger to Indian life and property in Burma, the hostile attitude towards Indians in Ceylon, the reservation of the Kenya Highlands to Europeans to the exclusion of Indians and the attempt to segregate and pass unjust laws against Indians in South Africa. This Congress expresses its opinion that only a free and independent India can effectively help its nationals abroad. In the meantime, the Congress calls upon the people of this country to do everything in their power to help the cause of Indians overseas.

A.-I. C. C., Calcutta, April 1939

KENYA HIGHLANDS

The All-India Congress Committee notes with grave concern the promulgation of an Order-in-Council regarding reservation of highlands in Kenya for Europeans which is a violation of all announcements and assurances by the Secretary of State for Colonies and the Government of India, and perpetuates the policy of racial discrimination and is an insult to India.

The All India Congress Committee also places on record its opinion that the Government of India have failed to do their duty by the Indians in Kenya. The All India Congress Committee is further of opinion that situation in Kenya cannot be met by any efforts on the part of the Government of India and requests the Working Committee to take necessary steps in this behalf.

All-India Congress Committee, Bombay, June 1939

INDIANS IN CEYLON

The All-India Congress Committee views with grave concern the measures proposed by the Ceylon Government with reference to their Indian employees and hopes that it may be possible to find a way to avoid the most undesirable and grave conflict that, as a result of these measures, is threatened between such near and ancient neighbours as India and Ceylon.

The Committee cannot contemplate without much concern a quarrel between the two countries which are separated by only a strip of water but which have a common culture and which have been intimately connected from times immemorial. The Committee desires to explore every means of avoiding conflict and, there-

fore, appoints Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to go to Ceylon and confer with the authorities and representative associations and individuals on behalf of the Working Committee and do all that may be possible to effect a just and honourable settlement.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The A.-I. C. C. regrets the attitude of the Union Government towards Indian settlers. It betrays utter disregard of the obligations undertaken by the present Government. The policy just initiated by them is in direct breach of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914, the Capetown Agreement of 1927, the Feethan Commission of 1932 and the subsequent undertakings on behalf of the Union Government. The A.-I. C. C. notes with pride and satisfaction the firm stand taken up by the Indians of South Africa. They will have the sympathy of the whole Indian nation behind them in their fight for self-respect and honourable existence. The A. I. C. C. trusts that there will be no dissensions among them and that they will present a united front. The A. I. C. C. appeals to the Union Government to retard their steps and carry out the promises of their predecessors to adopt a policy of progressive amelioration in the status of the Indian Nationals in South Africa 80 per cent of whom are born and bred in that sub-continent and to whom South Africa is their only home.

Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, Wardha, August 1939

CEYLON

The Committee having considered the situation in Ceylon as placed before them by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru

after his recent visit to the island, passed the following resolution:

The Working Committee, having considered the report of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on his visit to Ceylon, as the representative of the Congress, to explore all possible means of bringing about a just and honourable settlement on questions relating to the Indian employees of the Ceylon Government, desire to record their appreciation of his labours and the success that has attended them in bringing the peoples of India and Ceylon nearer to each other. The Committee regret, however, that the Ceylon Government have not thought it fit to make any major change in the measures they had proposed in order to remove a large number of Indians from their employment under the Government, though the Committee are aware that assurances have been given that all cases of hardship will be carefully considered by the Government. The Committee regretfully feel that the action of the Ceylon Government in respect of these measures is not in conformity with justice or international practice.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has drawn attention in his report to the background of the problem which Ceylon has to face, to the new spirit of nationalism and the mass awakening that is following in its wake, and to the economic distress and unemployment which Ceylon, like every other country, has to deal with. The Working Committee desire to assure the people of Ceylon of every sympathy with this national awakening and of every desire to co-operate in the solution of economic and other problems which afflict Ceylon and India alike. Standing as they do for the ending of imperialism and all exploitation in their own country, they must apply this same principle to other countries also, and more specially to Ceylon which is not only a near neighbour but which has

been connected with India from time immemorial by links which cannot break. While the Committee desire and expect that every Indian who goes abroad will be treated honourably and with justice, they do not want Indians to go anywhere as unwanted outsiders who exploit the people of the country. The Committee recognize the right of the people of Ceylon to be given preference in State service or otherwise in their country and are fully prepared to co-operate in this.

Of the hundreds of thousands of Indians who have gone to Ceylon and by their labour on the land and elsewhere produced wealth and increased the riches of the country, the great majority have settled down there and made Ceylon their home-land. They have thus earned the right to be considered on a par with the other inhabitants of the island and to have all the privileges and to shoulder all the responsibilities of citizenship. The other Indians, who have not been there for so long, have also given of their labour and service to Ceylon and deserve consideration and just treatment. The Committee is prepared to co-operate in all steps to adjust relationship so as to give every opportunity to the people of Ceylon to advance and find self-fulfilment. But such steps when they affect two parties must not be taken unilaterally and should take into consideration the interests of those who, for no fault of their own, find themselves in their present situations.

The Committee are convinced that for historical, geographical, cultural and economic reasons the fate of Ceylon is linked with that of India, and are desirous of strengthening these bonds for the mutual advantage of the two countries. In view, however, of the circumstances that have arisen, they are of opinion that all future emigration of labour from India to Ceylon must be com-

pletely stopped and they welcome the decision of the Government of India to this effect. Because of this stoppage of emigration, there is no longer any necessity for an emigration depot and the Mandapam depot should therefore be closed. In any event it is undesirable for a depot of this kind on Indian soil to be in charge of the Ceylon Government.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Indians Abroad *by* S. A. Waiz, 2nd Edition (Bombay).
2. Indians Abroad Directory (1934) *by* S. A. Waiz (Bombay).
3. Indians Abroad Bulletins: 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, published by Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay.
4. Glimpses of World History *by* Jawaharlal Nehru.
5. The Indians of South Africa *by* Hy. S. L. Polak (Nateson, Madras, 1909).
6. Gandhiji's Speeches and Writings (Natesan, Madras).
7. Gokhale's Speeches (Natesan Madras).
8. Tyson Report on the Condition of Indians in West Indies (Govt. Press, Delhi).
9. Indian Problems in Ceylon *by* H. M. Desai (2nd Edition).
10. Indian Problems in Malaya *by* K. A. Neelakanda Aiyer (Indian Press Penang).
11. Two Leaves and a Bud *by* Mulkh Raj Anand (Lawrence and Wishart, London).
12. Indians in Foreign Lands *by* Rammanohar Lohia (A. I. C. C.)
13. India and the Pacific *by* C. F. Andrews (Allen and Unwin, London).

