

# REPORT

by

The Right Hon'ble V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P.C.

regarding his

## MISSION TO EAST AFRICA



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DELHI: PRINTED BY THE MANAGER,  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS: 1930.

(Price As. 3 or 4d.)

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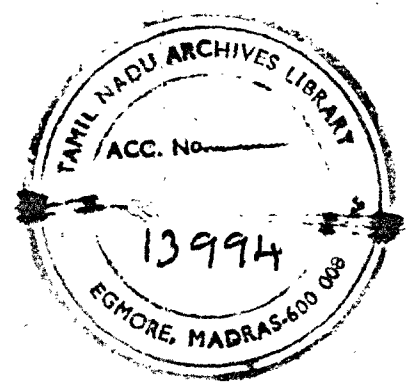
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From--THE RIGHT HON'BLE V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P.C.,  
To--THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVT. OF INDIA,  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS,  
SIMLA.

Dated Bangalore, the 31st August 1929.

SIR,

The instructions given to me in connection with my deputation to East Africa were--

- (1) to help the Indian communities to state their views to Sir Samuel Wilson on matters arising out of the Hilton-Young Commission's Report, and
- (2) to be at Sir Samuel Wilson's disposal if he wished to make use of me in dealing with Indian deputations.

Unfortunately all the accommodation in the "Karoa" had been fully taken up when my deputation was settled; and it was not possible for me to sail on the 24th of April. I sailed instead by the "Ellora" which left Bombay on the 1st of May, and arrived in Mombasa on the 10th. Instructions met me there that I should meet Sir Samuel Wilson at Entebbe on the 13th. I also learnt that the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress had resolved that a deputation under the leadership of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru should wait upon Sir Samuel Wilson in each of the three provinces with a special memorandum. The Kenya deputation's interview had been postponed till I should be able to attend. The Uganda deputation waited on him on the 13th within a few hours of my arrival at Entebbe. I was present and took part in the discussion which followed the presentation of the memorandum. Sir Samuel advised me not to accompany him to Tanganyika, but to proceed to Nairobi and await his arrival there. He felt that my time might be most advantageously used in getting acquainted with the situation in the capital of Kenya, where political feeling was most pronounced. Pandit Kunzru proceeded to Tanganyika on the same boat as Sir Samuel, while I returned to Nairobi after staying at Kampala for two days. Travelling by motor during the first part of the journey, I was enabled, besides, to meet representative Indians in Jinja and Tororo. In Nairobi I was the guest of the Acting Governor for just over a week, and lived in separate quarters for a fortnight. Sir Samuel Wilson arrived in Nairobi on the 27th of May, and received the Indian deputation on the 31st. We left Nairobi together on the 9th June for Mombasa, whence he sailed on the 12th for England and I for India on the same day. I arrived in Bombay on the 22nd June.

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**Kenya.**—As was anticipated, the feelings of the Indian community are deeply engaged on securing a common electoral roll. For many years they have concentrated their efforts on it. At intervals they have practised non-co-operation, abstaining from the legislature and from municipal bodies, to which, under present arrangements, they could have access only through communal registers. Certain events led them to withdraw from these bodies in 1927 and they remain out now. They look upon the common roll as a sign of political equality, an ideal to which they are attached by the deepest and strongest sentiment, not only on their own account, but on account of the people of India. In addition, they value a common roll as the only safe basis of Kenya citizenship and guarantee of the progress and welfare of the Colony as a whole. Furthermore, they realise only too clearly that the present communal arrangement is meant to secure their inferior status in the affairs of the colony by making it impossible for their numbers or importance to tell on the elections. The leaders of Indian opinion see vividly the moral and material disadvantages of abstention from the legislative and municipal bodies; and in fact desire that the extent of these disadvantages should be regarded as a measure of their anxiety to secure a common roll. Though I made earnest attempts to induce them to abandon the non-co-operation policy, I produced but little impression, especially in view of the recommendation of the majority of the Closer Union Commission in favour of the common roll. The community fully expected that the authorities in Great Britain and in Kenya would take this recommendation seriously and set about the task of getting the consent of the local European community, which had been laid down by the Commission as a necessary condition. This expectation was doomed to utter disappointment. Nothing ostensible was done in this behalf by Government. The declaration made in Parliament by the then Secretary of State for the Colonies to the effect that the main basis of the franchise which was laid down in the White Paper issued in the time of the Duke of Devonshire could not be altered except by consent, brought them no comfort. A hope, however, lingered that Sir Samuel Wilson, although not exactly a High Commissioner in the terms of the recommendation of the Hilton-Young Commission, might yet conduct preliminary inquiries regarding the basis of a civilisation franchise and bring together the leaders of the different communities for the discussion of the question. Sir Samuel Wilson however called the attention of the Indian deputation on the 31st to the fact that, although the majority of the Hilton-Young Commission were in favour of a common roll, they nevertheless pointed out that this ideal could only be realised by the consent of all parties. He went on to say that, from what he had seen for himself in Kenya, it was unlikely that any such consent could be got at the

present time, and that it might be desirable to explore other avenues of approach. These statements caused the deputation a shock of disappointment and grief. However, they repeated their arguments with vigour, and are not wholly without a hope that, when Sir Samuel should bring them to the notice of the new Government, they might have better chances than ever before of favourable attention.

At the same interview, Sir Samuel explained his proposals as to closer union which involved the establishment of a Central Council with legislative powers over economic subjects of common interest and presided over by a High Commissioner who was to be a King's representative, having precedence over the local Governors, taking the chair at their conferences and enjoying a power of veto over resolutions of local legislatures on central subjects. The deputation saw in these proposals grave danger of eventual political union, and denounced them wholesale. At the same time they were emphatic in demanding that, should the Central Council be established in spite of their protest, one of the two un-official representatives from each province should be an Indian. They would not be content to leave the matter to the discretion of local authority, as Sir Samuel suggested. Their experience of the way in which such discretion was in point of fact exercised was most unfortunate, and they must insist on Indian representation being made to rest on prescription. As regards the legislature of Kenya it will be remembered that Government of India were inclined to favour recommendation of majority of Hilton-Young Commission, provided change was not meant to be the beginning of a process which was to end in the establishment of European un-official majority. The Indian deputation did not allow themselves to forget that the majority of the Closer Union Commission had avowed their intention to extend the substitution of official by un-official representatives if the first experimental step should prove successful; and, therefore, set their face definitely against the proposal. They argued strongly for the retention of the official majority. If, however, the official majority was to go, they required that the representation of native interests should be by natives themselves; but that if non-natives should be chosen for the purpose, Europeans and Indians should be chosen equally.

No one who visits Kenya can fail to be struck by the utter lack of mutual understanding in political outlook between the Indian and the European communities. I admit that my stay was brief, and my opportunities for ascertaining European feeling were necessarily limited. Nevertheless, it was clear to me that the predominant view of that community was that they should be arbiters of the destiny of Kenya, and that Indians should be allowed only a very subordinate voice in the administration of the affairs of the

Colony, irrespective of their numbers, wealth, capacity or contribution to the taxation. On the Indian side, one seldom heard a desire expressed to seize the direction of the Colony's affairs or a claim made to anything like political dominance. But with passionate fervour all leaders demanded equality of status and, while some might be willing to advance towards equality by steps, none would be content to contemplate a lesser goal or destiny for the Indian people. In this contention they are sustained by the thought that the position of India in the Commonwealth of Great Britain is really at stake. It is easy to understand how this fundamental opposition of political aim between the communities has caused them to drift apart, so that occasions even of ordinary social intercourse are extremely restricted. In the circumstances, I am in a special degree thankful for the opportunities that were afforded to me of meeting Europeans of influence and trying to understand their points of view. For these I am indebted to the hospitality of many friends; and I am in particular glad to acknowledge the ungrudging help of the Acting Governor Sir Jacob Barth and his staff. During the discussion alike of policy and of grievances which took place one circumstance became apparent. The extreme anti-Indian view no longer occupies the field so exclusively as before. A more tolerant attitude finds expression here and there. Even where our assertion of equal political status is not welcomed, the disparity between the two communities as to the essential conditions of well-being, education, medical relief, etc., is regarded as a blot on the administration. A few ardent spirits regard even a common electoral roll as not hopelessly beyond the range of practical politics. And I have brought away the impression that, if the healthy opinion, now incipient on the spot, should be fostered by the firm and clear enunciation from the headquarters of the Commonwealth of principle and policy consonant with its real character, the next few years may witness in Kenya the beginnings of a common citizenship full of promise for the future. By sad experience our people know how the real character and ideals of the Commonwealth are obscured to the vision of local authorities, derived exclusively from one race and in touch with the sentiments and wishes exclusively of that race. Naturally the Indians in Kenya will oppose by all constitutional means open to them not only the abandonment but even the relaxation of the control now exercised by the Colonial Office. And as the moral custodian of their interest, the Government of India, in my humble judgment, cannot acquiesce in any arrangements calculated to transfer final responsibility even in part from London to Nairobi.

The small improvement in atmosphere to which I have referred might have been utilised by me to promote negotiations for a mutually satisfactory and honourable settlement of questions now

outstanding between the European and Indian communities. But the advent to office of a new Government in Great Britain made local leaders uncertain as to the trend of its policy regarding Eastern Africa and, consequently, disinclined to discuss terms. Moreover, it was recognised that Sir Samuel Wilson was in no sense a plenipotentiary of the Imperial Government, empowered to promote binding agreements, but merely to investigate and to report. The general feeling was that the proper venue for negotiation and settlement would be London. The Indians in East Africa fervently trust that when the Labour Government takes up consideration of the problems of Eastern Africa, they will be given an opportunity of representing their views, and that in this task, they will have the active assistance and support of the Government of India, preferably through one or more representatives especially deputed to England for the purpose. This hope I fully share.

Before leaving the subject of the situation in Kenya, I would revert briefly to the question of the disabilities suffered by the local Indians in respect of educational and medical facilities, and of their representation in the public services of the Colony. I have already forwarded to Simla a copy of Pandit Kunzru's memorandum on the subject. It affords disquieting evidence of the danger of leaving our people without adequate means of voicing effectively their grievances and their needs before the Government and Legislature of the Colony. I have also alluded to this topic in public speeches and more than once impressed it in private conversations on local authorities as well as on Sir Samuel Wilson. I am not without hope that ameliorative measures will be undertaken in the near future. It is, I submit, the duty of the Government of India to support the Indian claims for redress by all the methods open to them.

**Tanganyika and Uganda.**—It is asserted with some truth that the mutual relations of Indians and Europeans are better elsewhere than in Kenya. Uneasiness, however, exists all over among Indians as to their lot within these territories. For instance, I was surprised at the vigour with which the claim of our fellow-countrymen in Uganda for equality of representation in the Legislative Council was resisted. In this province we dominate the situation by numbers, wealth, capacity and magnitude of interests. If race and colour were not sovereign considerations, we should have something more than parity of representation. Tanganyika too would give cause for pessimism if the general attitude of some of the White Settlers, approximating as it does to that of their confreres in Kenya, were not counteracted by the mandate of the League of Nations and by the high-minded and courageous character of the present Governor. The high ideals of labour and the declaration of Mr. Johnston in the Commons during the debate

on the Colonial Estimates encourages the hope that the Labour Government will make a clear statement of policy which will assign to the Indian populations in Eastern Africa a status compatible with the description of "equal partners".

In conclusion, I respectfully suggest that the Government of India should—

- (a) press for inquiries as to the basis of a civilisation franchise which shall be common to all races alike;
- (b) invoke the good offices of the Colonial Office and of the Government of Kenya in securing the consent of the European community to the establishment of a common roll;
- (c) oppose the grant of responsible government to Kenya or of any institutions leading up to it;
- (d) oppose the establishment of a Central Council on the lines proposed by Sir Samuel Wilson;
- (e) demand, in case of the establishment of some such body that the un-official representatives from each province should include an adequate number of Indians;
- (f) advocate the continuance of the official majority in the Legislative Council of Kenya;
- (g) demand that the representation of natives in the Kenya Legislative Council should be by natives or by Europeans and Indians in equal proportions.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

## APPENDIX I.

### MEMORANDUM ON BEHALF OF THE EASTERN AFRICA INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The Closer Union Commission laid down certain fundamental principles with regard to the Government of East African Territories which are in entire accord with, and emphasise the soundness and necessity of, the policy laid down by His Majesty's Government in 1923. These principles are that the Imperial Government should continue to be trustees for the welfare of the Natives, and that the grant of responsible Government to a handful of white settlers is out of the question within any measurable period of time. Subject to these overriding considerations it made recommendations regarding uniformity of native policy, co-ordination of services of common interest and changes in the constitution of the Kenya Legislative Council, and suggested the appointment, temporary in the first instance, of a High Commissioner to pave the way for carrying them out. His Majesty's Government have apparently not accepted this recommendation, which was opposed by the white settlers, who repudiated the very basis of the report of the committee and demanded the appointment of a special commissioner to secure agreement. His Majesty's Government have deputed the Permanent Under Secretary of State for the Colonies to discuss the recommendations of the Commission with the Government and communities concerned "with a view to seeing how far it may be possible to find a basis of general agreement" and "to ascertain on what lines a scheme for closer union would be administratively workable and otherwise acceptable."

The terms of reference do not indicate precisely the questions which are to form the subject of discussion, but we hope that the object of the Commission in recommending the appointment of a High Commissioner will be borne in mind, that the question of granting responsible Government to a handful of British settlers in Kenya or enabling them to take a further step in that direction will not be re-opened and that the negotiations will be limited to the points referred to by the Commission.

The Commission carefully considered the practicability of establishing Dominion Government and an elected European majority and a majority consisting of elected and nominated Europeans in the Kenya Legislative Council at the present stage, and definitely decided not to recommend any of these alternatives. It quotes with approval the words of the Natal Native Affairs Commission (1906-07) that a white parliament by its very constitution "stands virtually in the relationship of an oligarchy to the natives, and naturally studies more the interest of the constituencies to which its members owe their position than the interests of those who had no voice in their selection, more particularly when the interests of the represented conflict with those of the unrepresented". After considering the effect that the satisfaction of the demands of the Kenya Whites will have on Tanganyika, where the un-official white community contain Germans and members of other European nationalities who are more numerous

than Britishers, and in stimulating native aspiration, the rapid development of which will confront Europeans with a serious problem the Commission says that the grounds on which it regards the transfer of power to a few thousand Britishers as impracticable are "first, that it would place the control of the Government in the hands of a single small community among the inhabitants of the territory, which leaving the other communities (until the character of the electorate was changed) permanently excluded from power; secondly, that these conditions might lead to a change in the composition of the electorate which would place the control of the Government in the hands of the native peoples before they are fitted for the responsibility; and thirdly, that for such time as can be foreseen the Imperial Government must be in a position to discharge its responsibilities and to ensure the carrying out of a consistent native policy throughout Eastern and Central African territories". A section of the white community have vehemently asserted that "no progress is possible unless the Imperial Government repudiates the main report's fundamental conceptions regarding self-Government in future", and threatened the British Government with "vigorous action on the part of the Colonists to assert their points of view and ambitions". We trust that the story of 1923 will not be repeated by Government yielding to this threat, for that course is bound to be regarded as a surrender to unconstitutional action and to lead to dangerous repercussions throughout the Empire.

The constitutional changes recommended by the Commission are confined to Kenya. The question of having a common franchise is discussed as having an important bearing on the constitutional problem. After fully reviewing the past controversy on this subject, it expresses its preference for the common electoral roll and a uniform franchise for members of all races. "Our view is" say the Commissioners, "that inasmuch as the progress of the territory must depend on co-operation between the races, the ideal to be aimed at is a common roll on an equal franchise with no discrimination between the races. The principle of joint electorates has also received the strong approval of Donoughmore-reforms in Ceylon. "It was generally admitted" said the Donoughmore Commission "even by many communal representatives themselves that the communal form of appointment to the Legislative Council was a necessary evil and should only continue until the conditions of friendliness and acknowledgment of common aims were developed among the different communities. It is our opinion, however, that the very existence of communal representation tends to prevent the development of these relations and that only by its abolition will it be possible for the various diverse communities to develop a true nationality. As has been suggested, it tends to keep communities apart and to send communal representatives to the council with the idea of defending particular interests instead of giving their special contribution to the commonweal. We very gladly recognise that most, if not all, of the communal representatives have risen superior to this natural tendency and have shown an interest in matters affecting the general welfare of the Island. We believe, however, that if these same representatives were elected, as we hope they may be, as territorial representatives,

they will be able to give a fuller contribution, unhampered by having to be constantly on the watch, fearful of the antagonism or the oppressive action of the other community. Our investigations show that the desire for communal representation tends to grow rather than die down. In these circumstances it being itself admittedly undesirable, it would seem well to abolish it altogether while the number of seats is still comparatively small." The approval accorded to joint representation by two exclusively British Commissions, which carried on their investigations in territories far apart from each other and widely dissimilar in their conditions may well be regarded as a conclusive proof of the soundness of the principle for which the Indian community has been fighting unceasingly for a long time in the interests of inter-racial harmony and the future development of the Colony. The Indian community has had the fullest support of the Government of India. In 1920 the Government of India said, "We desire to reiterate our opinion that there should be a common electoral roll and a common franchise on a reasonable property basis plus an educational test without racial discrimination, for all British subjects. We believe that separate representation for the different communities will perpetuate and intensify racial antagonism. On the other hand, a common electorate, whereby a member of one community would represent constituents of another community, would tend to moderate and compose racial differences. In no other way, we believe, will the diverse races in East Africa become a united people." They were compelled to yield to the decision of His Majesty's Government in 1923; but they expressly reserved to themselves the right to re-open the question on a suitable occasion. We have no doubt that they will again make vigorous representations to His Majesty's Government and that in the light of the experience of the last six years they will be able to make out an unanswerable case against separate representation.

The Closer Union Commission has expressed the opinion that the consent of the European community to a common electoral roll can be obtained only if it is assured that it will not be swamped by other communities. The Indian community has given the clearest assurances on the subject. It gave up its right to representation in proportion to its population and agreed to *abide* by the terms of the Wood-Winterton compromise in 1923 in order to make it indisputably clear that it did not wish to dominate the Government of the Colony and that it had no desire but to live on terms of amity and perfect equality with other communities. The demand for exclusive control of the affairs of the Colony has proceeded not from the Indian but from the European community. The Indian community re-affirmed its previous position before the Closer Union Commission. It has repeatedly given abundant and clear assurances in order to satisfy all reasonable apprehensions. It could not have adopted a more conciliatory attitude. One is forced to conclude that the continued opposition of the European community to a common roll is due not to any danger with which joint representation may threaten their interests, but to their unwillingness to own any responsibility to non-white opinion and to consider questions from any but a sectional point of view.

There is no question on which the Indian community had displayed greater unanimity or intensity of conviction. Its security and the progress of the Colony alike depend on the evolution of a common East African citizenship. The only means of bringing about this consumption is the introduction of a common roll. The administration of Kenya is conducted under the direct authority of His Majesty's Government. The responsibility for deciding whether the interests of the entire territory ought to be sacrificed to the prejudices of a small section of the population, therefore, rests on them. A statement recently reported to have been made on the subject by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that while representation may be made to the Permanent Under Secretary of State regarding a common franchise, the policy of the Government was well known thereon, has been received with great concern by Indians. We do not know whether the Secretary of State has been correctly reported, but the attitude of His Majesty's Government on this question will decide whether Indians can expect fair play and protection within the Empire.

In regard to the composition of the Legislative Council of Kenya the Commission recommended the relinquishment of an official majority. It proposes that four officials should be replaced by four nominated Europeans to represent native interests, and that there should in future be a progressive substitution of nominated Europeans for official members. The immediate result will be an equalisation of the members of the official members and the non-official Europeans. The Council will thus consist of 16 official members, 16 non-official Europeans, 5 Indians and 1 Arab.

The Chairman, Sir Edward Hilton-Young, regards this recommendation as inadequate to the purpose for which it is designed and suggests that an unofficial European majority should be provided for immediately, and that an unofficial member, presumably British, should be appointed as Minister with "Cabinet" responsibility. We are in agreement with the Commission in strongly opposing this recommendation as its inevitable effect will be the concentration of political control in the hands of a handful of Europeans. Past experience shows that its acceptance will spell ruin to Indian interests and will leave the native at the mercy of a community directly interested in his exploitation. It will, as observed by the Commission, lead to the creation of an oligarchy in the guise of democracy. Though the Commission does not immediately go as far as its Chairman we fear that its recommendation is ultimately open to the same objection as that of the Chairman. It draws attention to the fact that as two Europeans have been nominated as members of the Executive Council and an official majority is seldom retained in Select Committees of the Legislative Council, Europeans have acquired an influence which is incompatible with the constitution. "The Government" observes the Commission, "still retains an official majority in the Legislative Council, but there have been instances in recent history in which local opinion has successfully resisted measures which the Secretary of State would have liked to enforce. It is surprising therefore that instead of urging Government to resume their rightful position under the constitution, it suggests measures which will further increase

the disproportionate influence already enjoyed by the European community. Any addition to the strength of non-official European will even in the first stage intensify the constitutional difficulties which exist; and the progressive replacement of officials by nominated Europeans will sooner or later lead to an unofficial European majority which will be in a position to disregard non-European interests. Whether in these circumstances says Professor Keith "it is really worth while seeking to increase the independence of the Kenya Legislature may well be doubted. The Commission itself shows that the European members exercise already a predominant influence and that under the committee system they have acquired a measure of power disproportionate to their numerical strength in the full council. Moreover, the British officials are essentially of the same class as the settlers, and it is absurd to imagine that they are likely to sacrifice the interests of Europeans to those of Natives; indeed, there is more justice in the view that they have failed adequately to safeguard the latter". The Commission opposes the Chairman's plea for an immediate non-official European majority with unanswerable logic. Its reasoning is fatal to its own scheme. Dominion Government having been declared to be out of the question "within any foreseeable future we venture to think that it is unwise to take the first step on the path which leads in that direction. It is true theoretically that the power of certification with which the Commission desires to invest the Governor General will enable him to veto legislation which perpetrates racial injustice; but apart from the uncertainty of the exercise of this power by the Governor General on any particular occasion, the scheme propounded by the Commission will inevitably lead to that friction between the Executive and the Legislature which the Commission has been at "pains to avoid".

From the Native point of view also the expediency of the step suggested by the Commission is open to grave doubt. The present representation of Natives by Europeans is not regarded on all hands as a success. We believe that there are differences of opinion among Europeans themselves about it. Further if white settlers are to be eligible as representatives of natives as proposed by the Commission, the plan of the Commission has an element of serious danger in it.

The East African Conference recently held in London under the presidency of Lord Meston is understood to have recommended that natives should be consulted in the appointment of their representatives and that these may be Natives. The practicability of this proposal may be judged from the fact that the Commission itself has recommended that "Native opinion should be consulted regarding legislation affecting their interests through native administrations or District Councils".

Should, however, the indirect representation of natives be persisted in, the official majority in the Legislature should be maintained and Indians should be appointed equally with Europeans to represent natives. Whatever may be the faults ascribed to Indians, we trust it will be generally acknowledged that they have not by their presence here created any problem for Government and that race and colour prejudice affect them much less than Europeans.

The Commission was asked to consider the possibility of constitutional changes "so as to associate more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government the immigrant communities domiciled in the country". Its proposals, however, contemplate such association only in the case of the white community. The suspicion that the native representatives are meant to add to the strength of the European community will be removed only if Indians are chosen equally with Europeans to be advocates of native interests.

There is an important aspect of the question of the closer association of immigrants in the responsibilities of government which has been entirely ignored by the Commission. The Indian community forms an important part of the population and its share in the administration should be commensurate with its importance. Participation in administration is only possible if Indians with proper qualifications are appointed to responsible offices. No steps have hitherto been taken to recruit Indians for superior posts nor does the Commission suggest a change in this respect for the future. We strongly urge the adoption of immediate measures with a view to removing the handicap under which Indians labour.

The question of closer union has to be viewed in the light of past facts. In any scheme of political co-ordination the white community in Kenya is likely to occupy the most important position. Its numbers and influence will play a decisive part in shaping the future course of policy, and Tanganyika and Uganda may be infected with the racialism which has tainted the public life of Kenya. We are, therefore, strongly opposed to any scheme of political federation or union.

We are in principle in favour of closer co-operation in economic matters between Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika but the past experience of Tanganyika makes Indians outside Kenya apprehensive lest economic co-ordination should lead to a neglect of their interest. The proceedings of the annual meeting of the East African section of the London Chamber of Commerce indicate that their views are shared by a section of the European mercantile community. The result of such co-operation as has been already brought about regarding the working of railways and the imposition of customs duties has not given satisfaction either to Indians or Europeans. The present arrangements are believed to be more in the interests of the Kenya Highlands than of Tanganyika and Uganda. A great deal depends on the manner in which the economic policies of the three territories are assimilated. It is necessary, therefore, that the High Commissioner's scheme for greater economic co-operation should be published for general criticism before action is taken on it.

Native policy stands on a different footing from economic questions. The native policies of Tanganyika, which is a mandated territory, and of Uganda are much more favourable to native development than the native policy of Kenya. Besides, the character of native policy affects the entire spirit of the administration, and its influence is, in consequence, felt by other than native communities. Both in the interest of the natives and of Indians we do not, therefore desire any change in the policies of Tanganyika and Uganda which will

make them less liberal. The results of the attempts at uniformity in this matter through Governors' Conferences are not reassuring. A competent observer like Professor Buell thinks that Tanganyika has been compelled to modify its labour policy under the pressure of the Kenya white settlement school, and that the result of efforts hitherto made to secure uniformity in matters relating to labour might be described as the "encircling" of Tanganyika. If the supervision of the High Commissioner is meant for the greater protection of native interests in future, it should be distinctly laid down that the Governments of Tanganyika and Uganda shall not be asked to suit their policies to the convenience of the white settlers in Kenya or to follow a less progressive policy than is in force there at present.

We may be permitted here to refer to the land question which has a direct bearing on both native policy and general administration. In view of the complex problems created by European settlement and its effect on the position of the natives and Indians, we are opposed to the creation of fresh native reserves or alienation of land with the object of encouraging white settlement. Further, we do not desire Tanganyika to be confronted with the racial troubles which exist in Kenya. We are aware that the supporters of white immigration have persuaded themselves that contact with the whites who represent a "higher civilization" is to the advantage of the natives. We are not aware of any facts in support of this view. It will be instructive to quote the opinion of Prof. Buell on this subject. Reviewing the question in his book "The Native problem in Africa" he says "With all its faults, the negro governing class in Liberia, a country from which European influence has been excluded to a greater extent than any other place in Africa, appears to be the most intelligent and able class of negro on the entire continent—simply because it has had a job to do."

There is good reason to believe that the negroes of West Africa and of Uganda will eventually go further in cultural and material progress than the negroes of South Africa and of the United States, blessed though they may be by contact with Europeans. The history of these two countries shows that whatever benefits the white race may have conferred on the blacks have been more than outweighed by the disabilities which the whites have imposed. It is perhaps of some significance that Kenya is the only place in Africa where it is orthodox to say that the native is better off working for Europeans than for himself."

Subject to the foregoing remarks we are not against the appointment of a High Commissioner or Governor-General, but special care should be taken to see that his headquarters are located outside the sphere of influence of Kenya. The authority of His Majesty's Government in racial matters should remain unimpaired. The Governor General should issue no instructions relating to such matters without consulting his Advisory Council and the members of the Advisory Council should have the right to appeal to the Secretary of State against a decision of the Governor General involving racial interests.

In order that the Governor General may take Indian interests into consideration it is necessary that his Advisory Council should contain

an adequate number of Indians and that one of his private secretaries should be an Indian officer belonging to the superior Civil Services in India. We attach great importance to these proposals.

If the East African Council is set up, as recommended by the Commission, Indian interests should be represented on this Council also, and Indians should be invited to attend the periodical conferences proposed by the Commission to be held in London for the discussion of questions relating to the East African Territories.

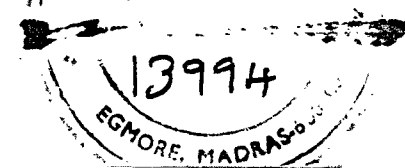
The report which the Permanent Under Secretary of State will submit to His Majesty's Government should be published and adequate time given to Indian opinion both here and in India to express itself before the report is taken into consideration. Our vital interests are involved in the questions that will be investigated. We strongly urge, therefore, that no decision should be taken without the fullest opportunity being given for the discussion of the Permanent Under Secretary's report.

## APPENDIX II.

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO SIR SAMUEL WILSON, BY THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS IN UGANDA.

*General Policy.*

A large portion of the report of the Closer Union Commission deals with issues which do not owe their existence to the policy of the Uganda Government and which have not been raised by any section of the population in Uganda. The Native policy of the Government of this Protectorate had given rise to no controversy. The immigrant communities have accepted it as just and proper and have deprecated any change which would have the effect of diminishing the responsibility of His Majesty's Government for native welfare. The same considerations which have led the non-native communities to give their support to the Native policy of the Government have made them refrain from putting forward demands for responsible Government or for any change in the constitution which would virtually establish their rule over three million Africans. The questions of native trusteeship and responsible Government which have been dealt with at considerable length by the Commission have been discussed with reference to Kenya. Its recommendations on these subjects therefore primarily concern Kenya, but it should not be supposed for that reason that the Indian community of Uganda is not deeply interested in them. Kenya is Uganda's near neighbour. The policy adopted there is not likely to be confined in its effects to Kenya. It will sooner or later make itself felt beyond her borders. The recommendations of the Commission for Closer Co-ordination between Kenya and other territories enhance this danger. The Indians of Uganda cannot therefore be indifferent to the political and constitutional developments which increase the disproportionate influence already wielded by the white settlers of Kenya. Accordingly, they strongly support the Commission in its view that the Imperial Government's responsibility for the protection of the native interest should remain undivided and undiminished and that the conferment of responsible government on a handful of Europeans or the establishment of an elected European majority would be inconsistent with the due discharge of its responsibilities by the Imperial Government. They therefore hold that the official majority in the Kenya Legislative Council should be retained and that the Commission's proposal for progressive reduction of the number of officials with a corresponding increase in the number of Europeans nominated to represent native interests is fraught with danger and should not therefore be carried out. If it is acted upon it is bound to result in the creation of an un-official majority of Europeans in the Legislative Council and all power will then pass into the hands of the European community as surely as if the majority consisted entirely of elected members. The proposal of the Commission is incompatible with the principle of native trusteeship which the Commission declares to have been the guiding consideration in its mind making its recommendations. The



separation of native and non-native areas suggested by the Commission is impracticable in Uganda. Segregation will be resented by the natives and will be strongly opposed by the immigrant communities also.

#### *Legislative Council.*

It is a matter of considerable regret to Indians of Uganda that the Commission has expressed the view that no change is needed in the Legislative Council of Uganda. The Council which has an official majority contains three nominated non-official members, two of whom are Europeans and one an Indian. They see no reason why un-official members should continue to be nominated by the Governor. It will be an advantage both to the Government and the interests concerned if nomination gives place to election. The un-official members will be the accredited representatives of the public, retaining their seats only so long as they enjoy public confidence and Government will be able to turn to them for authoritative advice in matters in which it is desirable to consult non-official opinion.

The representation accorded to the Indian community is totally inadequate to its size and importance. According to the Blue Book of 1927 while the European population including officials is 1874, Indians number 11,564. Again, Indians occupy a prominent position in commercial and industrial matters. Indian capital and enterprise have played no mean part in the development of Uganda. The only sugar factory in Uganda was started and is owned and worked by an Indian and about two-thirds of the cotton trade appears to be in Indian hands. Indians are therefore to ask that their representatives should not be less than that of the European community. It has been officially stated that persons nominated to the Council are not selected to represent any community and that it rests with the Governor to decide from whom he can receive the best advice. We would only say in this connection that whatever the theory of the matter may be, Europeans have always been in a majority among the nominated members. It should have been possible to nominate two competent Indian members to the Council at least once, if in making nomination no regard is paid to the representations of different interests. Nothing has aroused so much feeling among the Indians of Uganda as the inequality between the Indians and Europeans in this matter and we hope that His Majesty's Government will take early steps to remove this legitimate grievance which Indians have been pressing on the attention of the authorities since the present system came into force.

The election to the Legislative Council should be on the basis of a common franchise and a common electoral roll. We are in favour of the civilization franchise recommended by the Commission in case of Kenya. We believe that European commercial opinion will support our suggestion.

#### *Administration.*

Apart from having Indians in the Legislative Council there is another important method of associating them more closely with the

work of Government. They should be appointed to the higher services in which they are conspicuous by their absence. It would be in accord with the facts of the present situation if Indians are admitted to the higher branches of the Civil Services. The present exclusion of Indians has the appearance of being a racial disqualification. In view of the importance of the principle and the practical interests involved, change of policy is urgently required in this matter.

#### *Local Government.*

"We recommend" says the Commission, "that Local Self-Government should be encouraged in order to allow the largest room and freest play for the expression of individuality for initiative and for variety." We are wholly in agreement with this view and regret that there is not a single elected municipal council in Uganda. The importance of institutions for Local Government as providing opportunities for the exercise and development of the sense of civic responsibility for the Government of the country or adversely affecting the interests of the Africans. We urge, therefore, that to begin with elected Municipal Councils should be established at Kampala and Jinja.

#### *Closer Union.*

The Indians of Uganda are as strongly opposed to political union or federation as they were, when the Commission visited East Africa. But they recognise the desirability of co-ordination in certain matters which are of common interest to Uganda and other territories. They, however, urge that if a High Commissioner is appointed his headquarters should be located at some place which is outside the racial atmosphere of Kenya and that one of his private secretaries should be an Indian belonging to one of the superior Civil Services in India in order that he may keep in touch with Indian views and sentiments. We think that Mombassa should be selected as the headquarters of the High Commissioner and that it should be placed directly under the Central Government.

In the second place it should not be within the power of the High Commissioner to direct the native policy of Uganda by issuing private instructions to the Governors. The policy pursued by the Uganda Government is far different from that of the Kenya Government and is in the best interests of the natives. We are not prepared to accept any arrangement which involves the possibility of a modification in the policy of Uganda under the pressure of the white settlers of Kenya.

In the third place all the territories should be equally represented on the High Commissioner's Council. The representatives of a territory should consist of an equal number of officials and un-officials, and the un-officials should consist of an equal number of Indians and Europeans.

As regards greater co-operation in the services of common interest, while we recognise its utility we cannot ignore the fact that co-ordination in the past in economic matters has not always given satisfaction to Uganda. The friction between Uganda and Kenya with

regard to the administration of the Kenya and Uganda Railway has been removed by the institution of the Railway Council which is working well. It is desirable therefore that similar bodies should be created to deal with other departments of administration in which co-ordination would be beneficial to all the parties concerned, so that each territory may be in a position to safeguard its interest.

*London Organization.*

If any Advisory Council, the need for which is doubtful, is established to advise the Secretary of State for Colonies on East African questions, Indian interests should be adequately represented on it. Further Indian representatives should be invited to the periodical conferences which the Commission recommends should be held in London to discuss East African problems.

As the matters which the Permanent Under Secretary of State in the Colonial Office has been deputed to investigate were of great importance to the territories concerned, we hope that his report will be published for public criticism before action is taken on it.

(Signed on behalf of the Central Council of Indian Association in Uganda.)

*Kampala, the 13th May, 1929.*

APPENDIX III.

MEMORANDUM ON THE HILTON YOUNG COMMISSION REPORT ON BEHALF OF THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION, DAR-ES-SALAAM, WITH WHICH ARE AFFILIATED ALL OTHER INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS IN THE TANGANYIKA TERRITORY.

On the 1st and 2nd of April 1929 a Conference of the Indian Community in Tanganyika was held at Dar-es-Salaam especially to consider the Hilton Young Commission Report. This Conference was attended by about one hundred Indian representing the Indians and the Indian Associations in the various parts of the territory. After two full days' deliberations the following resolutions (amongst others) were unanimously agreed to:—

1. WHEREAS Tanganyika is a mandated territory and Uganda is a Protectorate and Kenya a Crown Colony with different constitutions, WHEREAS the Mandate guarantees equality of status to all people inhabiting the Tanganyika Territory AND WHEREAS Federation or Closer Union in any form is bound to prejudicially affect the autonomy of Tanganyika, in particular the status of Indians, this Conference is strongly opposed to the inclusion of Tanganyika in any scheme of Federation or Closer Union.

2. This Conference approves of the Dual Policy enunciated by the Hilton Young Commission Report only in so far as it is not inconsistent with the obligations under the Mandate.

3. WHEREAS segregation either political or economic or otherwise is calculated to engender and promote racial antagonism AND WHEREAS it is not in the interest of the all-round development of the Natives AND WHEREAS it is opposed to the implications of the Mandate, this Conference is opposed to the creation of Black and White Areas as suggested in the Report.

4. This Conference urges upon the Government the necessity of associating the Indian Community more closely in the responsibilities of Government and to that end to give them an adequate share in the various higher Government services.

5. This Conference recommends that at least three more Indian Members be nominated to the Tanganyika Legislative Council.

6. This Conference is opposed to the handing over of Tanga Railway and Tanga Port for administration to the Kenya Uganda Railways and the transfer of the Northern Highlands or any part of Tanganyika Territory to any other Colony.

These resolutions accurately sum up the opinion of the Indians in this Territory on the recommendations contained in the Report and all what is necessary now is to amplify the same by a brief sketch of the arguments in support of them.

Resolution No. I.—The argument against Federation are contained in the Memorandum of this Association presented to the Commission in 1928 (a copy of which is annexed herewith). The Indian community adheres to the view that it is only in the sphere of technical or scientific services that co-ordination might be secured between the various East African Territories without infringing the provisions of the Mandate or impairing the autonomy of this Territory. In whatever form the Closer Union is introduced in East Africa, it is

bound to prejudicially affect the status of the Indians in Tanganyika in as much as a step under the conditions prevailing in East Africa will eventually develop into the Kenyanization of all these countries directly affecting the secure position and equal status of the Indians with the rest of the population under the Mandate.

The Commission set forth in chapter XV the five guiding ideas which have influenced their recommendations. But it appears that one paragraph at page 236, namely, "A fifth guiding idea which has influenced us has been that Eastern Africa—that is to say, the three territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, with further additions when communications have improved—is essentially a unit. This unity is partly dependent on the physical conditions of the territories, which create common economic interests, but it depends still more on the fact that the questions arising in regard to the natives and their relations with the immigrant communities are essentially similar throughout, and need to be treated according to a common plan. Inasmuch as native policy cuts across all subjects, the right course for the future evolution of closer union appears to be in the direction rather of a central unified Government, than of any federation of states possessing independent constitutional rights." is the keynote of their recommendations. The Commission have assumed (1) That Eastern Africa is "essentially a unit" and (2) That "that questions arising in regard to the natives and their relations with the immigrant communities are essentially similar". As regards the first assumption one might as well conceive that the whole of Africa from Cape to Cairo is a unit and for the matters of that any two or three neighbouring countries in the world can be described as a unit. Needless to say, that such an assumption should not have influenced the Commission in answering the first two terms of reference set out at page 5 of the Report. On the other hand, the second assumption noted above is not based on any existing facts or the conditions prevailing in these countries.

The fact is that the Commission having found no material for answering the first and second terms of reference in the affirmative were led to impose upon themselves a task beyond the scope of their inquiry (see page 7 of the Report) which reads as follows:—

"On the first issue, our particular attention is directed to certain administrative services—transport and communications, customs, defence, and research. But we should state at the outset our conclusion that although there do, in fact, exist possibilities for more effective co-operation in these matters of such importance as to deserve serious attention, nevertheless these are of minor significance compared with the need for a common policy in dealing with all matters affecting the present position and future development of the natives, and their relations with the immigrant communities. The chief need in Eastern and Central Africa to-day is that there should be applied throughout the territories as a whole, continuously and without vacillation, a "Native Policy" which, while adapted to the varying conditions of different tribes and different localities, is consistent in its main principles".

The two assumptions noted above have always emanated from the Kenya white Settlers or their friends in the neighbouring territories

and should not have been given undue importance. But unfortunately as a consequence of these assumptions, the entire Report practically deals with the problems of Kenya only and very little attention is paid to those of other two countries who are recommended to be yoked to Kenya. No doubt, the Commission recognises the importance of the Indian Community in the three countries on pages 26 to 30, but strange to say, that apart from paying some attention to the question of the Kenya Indians, practically no attention is paid to the views of the Indians in Uganda and in this Territory on any problems whatsoever. The Report shows that in some vital matters inspiration has been drawn even from South Africa. Thus to ignore the views of the Indian community in Tanganyika is lamentable. It must be borne in mind that India is a member of the League of Nations in her own right and the Indian in Tanganyika resent any shaping of their destinies by the politics imported from South Africa which is the only one colony that refused to agree to the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921 which reads as follows:—

"The Conference....recognises that there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully in some other parts of the Empire. The Conference accordingly is of opinion that, in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth, it is desirable that the rights of such Indian to citizenship should be recognised." Kenya draws her inspiration from South Africa in essential matters and the politics of the white settlers in these two colonies are not conducive to the solidarity of the British Commonwealth. The Mandate guarantees a secure position to the Indians in this territory and the Indians here cannot agree to any proposal for a Federation or Closer Union with Kenya. The past history of Kenya has been a stumbling block to the advancement of the natives and all what is necessary is to change the angle of vision of the white settlers of Kenya by the paramount Authority and to scrupulously shut all avenues of importing pernicious influences of Kenya into any neighbouring territory.

#### HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Coming to the actual recommendations of the Commission, the preliminary step suggested is simply futile. There has been no lack of enquiries or joint discussions during the short history of modern East Africa. All the available information on all the subjects under inquiry was placed before the Commission both by the officials and non-officials and the archives of the Secretary of State for the Colonies have a complete record of what is essential to know about these countries. Yet the appointment of a High Commissioner is recommended "to inaugurate enquiries and joint discussions" on questions of native policy, unified control of services and certain Kenya matters; and the most extraordinary part of the proposal is that this investigating officer is to be armed with executive powers. High Commissionership in the case of Zanzibar proved to be unworkable and had to be abolished. The existence of a High Commissioner with executive powers was a great impediment to the advancement and welfare of the island and led to lack of co-operation with

unofficial community of the island. The suggested High Commissioner with executive powers will be an even greater impediment to the advancement of the mandated territory of Tanganyika. It will not be difficult for the white settlers of Kenya with all the resources at their command to inflict their views upon their neighbours through him.

The existing Native Policy of Tanganyika has been approved by the Permanent Mandates Commission and has met with considerable success. It is only the native policy of Kenya which requires correction and for that reason alone to thrust an unwelcome guest on Tanganyika is neither fair nor advisable. Certainly the method of reforming the Kenya Government ought to be different and the Secretary of State for the Colonies has ample powers to enforce the Imperial Policy in Kenya if he so chooses. The only other alternative is to place Kenya under a Government similar to that of the Mandate of the League of Nations and Kenya will soon mend its ways.

#### GOVERNOR GENERAL.

The appointment of a Governor General (after the preliminary period is over) is recommended on the ground that he will "act as a personal link between the Secretary of State and the various local Governments" and "will hold the position as it were of a Permanent Chairman with full executive powers of a standing conference of the three Governments". The object in view is stated to be "effective employment of the powers exercised by the Secretary of State". The proposition as it stands is untenable. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has at present direct control over Kenya and there is the non-official majority in the legislative body of the Colony. In spite of that the past history of legislative enactments and administrative acts of the Government of Kenya shows that the authority of the Colonial Office has been considerably undermined in that colony, and in practice the white settlers have obtained "a much larger influence in the counsels of Government than accords with strictly constitutional position." "There have been instances in recent history in which local opinion has successfully resisted measures which the Secretary of State would have liked to enforce. In the ordinary conduct of Government as well as in important crisis, the influence of the elected unofficial members is much greater than is generally realised." With the "man on the spot" with delegated powers what little control the Colonial Office has over Kenya will disappear. The sense of security which the non-whites felt in the immediate colonial office control will be gone. The Governor General will either come in greater conflict with the settlers of Kenya over the question of the various preferential enactments in their favour, *e.g.*, Defence Force Ordinance or will succumb to their influences and will simply become a medium for the transmission of the wishes of the white settlers. Moreover the duties suggested for the Governor General (shorn of the superfluous proposals), can be equally effectively performed by the conference of Governors and other conferences and committees of technical experts. Thus no case whatsoever has been made out for the appointment of the Governor General. On the other hand, the object with which a Central

Authority is proposed are merely academic and of no practical utility. Co-ordination of services as detailed on pages 107—136 will be attended with all the drawbacks of over-centralization and Tanganyika whose Railways, ports, harbours, roads and other public works are in their infancy is bound to suffer from all the evil consequences of centralization. The mandated territory does not require any defence force and should not share the burden of its neighbours in that respect. The progress of the territory (which is larger than Kenya and Uganda put together) is bound to be hampered if healthy competition is not fostered in the matter of the development of ports, harbours and railways and other works of public utility.

Pages 136 to 143 of the Report deal with "other opportunities of administrative co-operation." No such opportunities to justify the creation of a Central Authority have been pointed out and no broad lines of policy are known which require supervision by a central authority. None of the three territories have political unity of any kind (refer to page 141) nor are there any common political ideas which from a practical point of view require control by a local Central Authority. The argument that adjustment of boundaries with a view to administrative efficiency and convenience requires the establishment of a Central Authority entirely ignores the terms of the Mandate and so far as Tanganyika is concerned such an argument appears to be an argument of despair.

#### ARTICLE 10 OF THE MANDATE.

The three territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika are at different stages of evolution. Their progress in the past has followed different lines. They have developed on different principles and under different system of Government. The mandated territory is much larger in its extent than its neighbouring colonies. The obligations of the Government of Tanganyika are vastly different from those of Kenya and Uganda. The system of "B" mandates is an experiment in the art of Government. The problem of the twentieth century is the harmonization of the relations between the white and coloured races especially in the British Empire. The populations that are placed under the mandate do not wish to be ruled except under the direct supervision of the League of Nations. Under such circumstances it is too early to talk of giving effect to Article 10 of the Mandate. The Indian Association is strongly of the opinion that the experiment of the Mandatory Government will greatly suffer if the welfare and development of this territory is not left in the hands of the free and absolutely independent Government of Tanganyika and it is too early to suggest any form of federation or closer union, or any change in the system of Tanganyika Government.

#### DUAL POLICY.

*Resolutions II and III.*—The Indian community accepts the proposition that "East Africa can only progress economically and socially on the basis of full and complete co-operation between all races and that the complementary development of native and non-native communities" is a "*sine qua non*" for the progress of Tanganyika. But

the methods suggested for achieving the object in view are not only open to objection but are calculated to endanger the solidarity of the British Empire. Segregation in any form, political, social or economic is repugnant to all ideas of human equality and is bound to engender and promote racial antagonism. The Mandate does not contemplate such a system of civic life and history shows that wherever segregation of classes in any sphere of life exists, the development of the country becomes difficult and the avenues of co-operation between the various communities become closed. This is more emphatically applicable to East Africa throughout the length and breadth of which reprehensible colour prejudices are gradually pouring so as to undermine the body politic. The vision of the Kenya white settlers is already blinded by these prejudices and complete segregation of the white and black races envisaged by the commission has alarmed the people in Tanganyika to a very great extent. In practice, such segregation apart from other evils will result in the perpetual trusteeship of the natives and very little scope will be left for these wards to emancipate themselves from the shackles of trusteeship. Besides that the Tanganyika Indians cannot accept the hypothesis that the ideal of East Africa is the modern European civilization which is "largely dependent for its maintenance and progress on a system of a private property and money making motive" (page 19 of Report). The comparative virtues and the lasting influence of the various civilizations are a matter for controversy. A civilization developed more on spiritual lines is bound to produce a deeper and more permanent effect on the mind of the primitive. The ideal to be aimed at is undoubtedly the moral and material advancement of the Africans and thus to lay down a sweeping proposition that the idea is the modern European civilization is neither advisable nor practicable. Under the British Empire (unlike most of the other Empires of history) all civilizations thrive prosperously and there is scope for every form of civilization impart what is good in it to others. Africa is the meeting ground of occidental and oriental civilizations and in East Africa the British Empire has a unique opportunity of imparting to the natives what is good both in occidental and oriental civilization without destroying "the communal organisation of the primitive African tribes." The framers of the Report have pointed out that the Indians and the Arabs have been the pioneers of civilization in these lands and this Association is of the opinion that even now in any scheme for the welfare, advancement and development of the natives the civilizing influence of the Indians is a potent factor. The Commission thus show a lack of imagination in envisaging an ideal the ultimate utility of which is problematic. Segregation in any form will hamper the task of the civilizing agencies and the dangers of a spirit of non-co-operation between the various communities will increase. For these reasons the Indian community is strongly opposed to the division of East Africa in "Black and White" areas and considers such recommendations as a real danger to the framework of the British Empire.

#### RESOLUTION IV.

At present all the higher administrative posts are held by the Europeans; and the British Indians are plainly told that they are not

eligible for such posts although no rule to that effect exists in the Colonial Office. That Tanganyika is now a part of British Empire as an administrative unit is mostly due to the glorious deeds of the Indian army and those sons of India who sacrificed their lives in this territory. There is hardly a habitation in this country where the Indian is not to be found. Most of the civil work of the Courts of the Territory is that of the Indians while the judiciary and the law officers are Europeans who have little familiarity with Indian thought, custom and tradition. The scope for the promotion of the Indians in the subordinate services is limited and the most efficient and the highly qualified Indians have no scope for their activities in East Africa. The climate of the country is more suitable to the Indians and the Leave Rules of the European Cadre of the Civil Service are a heavy burden on the revenue of the country. The Indians are anxious to associate themselves more closely in the responsibilities of the Government and the disabilities imposed upon qualified and efficient Indians in the matter of higher appointments are galling to their prestige and self-respect. The Association, regrets very much that no attention has been paid by the Commission to the claims of the Indians to share the responsibilities of Government and strongly urges that qualified Indians may at once be appointed to higher administrative, judicial, medical, agricultural and other scientific posts. This can be done by promotion of efficient men from the subordinate posts as well as by direct recruitment in India or England. It cannot be too often repeated that British statesmanship requires that Indians should be treated as equal members of the Empire, and their rights, privileges and claims in all spheres of action should in practice be recognized especially in a country which is under the supervision of the League of Nations.

#### RESOLUTION V.

(a) No change in the Legislative Council of Tanganyika is recommended by the Commission and here again a lamentable ignorance of the Indians' claims has been displayed. The Indians are not adequately represented on the existing Council and it is time that the authorities should realise the necessity of associating the Indians more closely in the trusteeship of the natives. The clear implication of the term of reference 3 (b) was that All immigrant communities domiciled in the country should be associated more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government. It is, therefore, strongly urged that having regard to the importance of the activities and number of the Indian community, at least three more Indians be at once nominated to the local Legislative Council. This Association however agrees that time has not yet arrived for the elective system to be introduced in the Legislature of this territory. There is no doubt that there may be technical difficulties in introducing such a system in a mandated territory. But, if at any time in future, elective system is introduced in the Legislative Council of this territory, Common Electoral Roll and Common Franchise are the essentials of any such system.

(b) *Responsible Government*:—The claim of the white settlers of Kenya and their friends in the neighbouring territory is that they are entitled to rule the millions of other people and that they should be granted "responsible Government". They further say that if this is not done in the present, then at least the goal of White responsible Government should not have been ruled out by the Commission. The arguments against such a claim have been fully summed up at pp. 89 to 95 of the Report and this Association feels no necessity to enlarge them. Most of the British Papers in England that have discussed the Report in their columns have described the "responsible Government sought to be established by these whites as 'irresponsible' Government". Responsible Government in its proper sense is in fact "Government of the people, for the people, by the people". It is obvious that the white settlers only want Government of other people by themselves and for themselves. It is therefore not surprising that the Commission and the statesmen in England do not even entertain such a proposition.

(c) *Representation of Natives on various Councils*:—This Association cannot agree to the proposal that the interests of the natives in the early stages of their progress can be best served by non-official Europeans. The Indians by their constant contact with the daily life of the African are equally well (if not more) fitted to represent their interests on the legislative bodies. Therefore in the initial stages of the African's progress, this task may as well be performed by the Indians as by the Europeans.

#### RESOLUTION VI.

This proposal has evoked opposition in all quarters and the objection to the transfer are manifold. The economic development of the country is largely dependent on its Railways and harbours. In this territory these are managed by Departments of the Government. The mandatory cannot relax its control over the System in matters of policy. The development of the System and the country which it serves is one of the chief concerns of the Tanganyika Government. The head of the Kenya Uganda Railway Department will be under the immediate control of the Kenya Government. If amalgamation of the two Systems takes place he will have to be subject to the control of the Tanganyika Government also. This will mean dual control with all its complications and consequent deterioration of efficiency. In the absence of such control the terms of the Mandate will be infringed. Moreover the Tanga System has hitherto been efficiently managed by the Government of Tanganyika and is an important factor in the economic and commercial progress of one of the most fertile parts of this country. It is free from the burden of capital charges and in case of amalgamation there is a danger of its financial policy being prejudicially influenced by that of a System which is working under a burden of heavy capital charges. In addition to this the immediate necessity

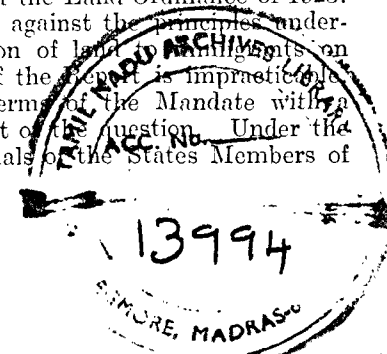
of the Territory is the linking of the Central line to the Tanga line. The advancement of this project will be considerably hampered in case of the suggested amalgamation because the linking of the two Tanganyika Systems is bound to produce results advantageous to Tanganyika and perhaps disadvantageous to Kenya. Moreover this linking will necessitate the retransfer of the management of the Tanga line to the Tanganyika Government which retransfer again is likely to be opposed by the Kenya Government.

Besides the above proposal if carried into effect will also affect the prosperity and progress of the port of Tanga. Its interests will be at the mercy of Mombasa. The people in India know too well how the interests of Karachi are sacrificed for the sake of Bombay both being under the same Provincial Government. Karachi has now been fighting for its separation from the Bombay Government for a considerable period, and the Government of India are conscious of the selfish interests of Bombay in opposing the separation of Karachi from the Government of Bombay. Practically the same situation will arise in the case of Tanga and Mombasa.

Apart from this on the Kenya Uganda System of Railways colour prejudices are noticeable. Needless to say that Indians resent the same and do not wish them to be imported into the Railway System of the mandated territory. For these reasons the Indian Association is strongly opposed to the suggested transfer.

#### FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS.

At page 221 of the report a forecast of future development is given, which points rather to unification than federation. It is stated that "the three existing territories might ultimately become provinces of a unified state under Lieutenant-Governors". A gradual shifting of the centre of gravity from London to Africa (even in respect of matters of native interests) is also envisaged and the footnote on that page says: "At each stage in the process account would require to be taken of the special position of Tanganyika as a mandated area. This consideration will be dealt with more fully in a latter chapter". But the Indian Association fails to see any solution of this all-important question in this later chapter. The fact is that the difficulties and obstacles in the way of a unified state on the lines of the Central Government of India or the Union of South Africa are insurmountable and a unified state as contemplated by the Commission is not within the sphere of practical politics. The land policies as applied in the three territories are essentially different and will always remain so. In the Mandated Territory the Government cannot deal with land by private treaty as provided in Section 14 of the Land Ordinance of 1923. Any modification of this law will offend against the principles underlying the Mandate. Thus the alienation of land on the lines suggested at pages 53 to 56 of the report is impracticable. Besides that any modification of the terms of the Mandate with a view to secure unification in future is out of the question. Under the unified State the question of the nationals of the States Members of



the League of Nations residing in Tanganyika will be fraught with serious difficulties and will create international complications. The Association is, therefore, strongly opposed to any development of political institutions in East Africa in the direction of unification fore-shadowed by the Commission.

GULAMALI DAMJI, *President.*

T. B. SETH, *Secretary.*

S. N. GHOSE, M.L.C.

KARIMJEE JIVANJEE & Co.

G. RASUL.

DURGA DAS.

V. R. BOAL.

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