

LETTER FROM KUNWAR MAHARAJ SINGH, C.I.E., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, AND R. B. EWBank, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., OFFICERS ON SPECIAL DUTY, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS, DATED SIMLA, THE 18TH APRIL 1928.

We have the honour to submit a report regarding our proceedings in East Africa in discharge of the mission on which we were deputed by the Government of India under the terms of their letter in the Department of Education, Health and Lands, No. 880-O.S., dated October 21, 1927.

2. In the White Paper on future policy in regard to Eastern Africa presented to Parliament in July, 1927, an announcement was made that His Majesty's Government, being of opinion that some form of closer union between the territories of Central and Eastern Africa appears desirable, had decided to send to Africa a special commission with the following terms of reference:—

1. To make recommendations as to whether, either by federation or some other form of closer union, more effective co-operation between the different Governments in Central and Eastern Africa may be secured, more particularly in regard to the development of transport and communications, customs tariffs and customs administration, scientific research and defence.
2. To consider which territories could either now or at some future time be brought within any such closer union, and, in particular, how best to give effect to Article 10 of the Mandate for Tanganyika Territory, which provides that the mandatory may constitute the Territory into a customs, fiscal and administrative union or federation with the adjacent territories under its own sovereignty or control, provided always that the measures adopted to that end do not infringe the provisions of the Mandate.
3. To make recommendations in regard to possible changes in the powers and composition of the various Legislative Councils of the several territories (a) as the result of the establishment of any Federal Council or other common authority; (b) so as to associate more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government the immigrant communities domiciled in the country; and (c) so as ultimately to secure more direct representation of native interests in accordance with (4) below.
4. To suggest how the Dual Policy recommended by the Conference of East African Governors (*i.e.*, the complementary development of native and non-native communities) can best be progressively applied in the political as well as the economic sphere.
5. To make recommendations as to what improvements may be required in internal communications between the various territories so as to facilitate the working of federation or closer union.

6. To report more particularly on the financial aspects of any proposals which they may make under any of the above headings.

In pursuance of this announcement a Commission was appointed consisting of—

The Rt. Hon Sir Edward Hilton Young, P.C., G.B.E., D.S.O.,
D.S.C., M.P., *Chairman*.

Sir Reginald Mant, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Sir George Schuster, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., M.C.,

G H Oldham, Esq.

The members of the Commission arrived at Entebbe in Uganda *via* the Nile on January 17, 1928. The Government of India, as being directly interested both in the welfare of Indians already settled in the East African territories and in the maintenance of the open door for further Indian enterprise in that region, appreciated the important bearing which the recommendations of the Commission were likely to have on future relations between India and East Africa. In Kenya, in particular, they were aware that an influential party had declared their intention of pressing for a European elected majority in the Legislative Council and for the control of the immigration of Indians, and in view of the past history of the Colony they were apprehensive of the results of these proposals if carried into practice. In these circumstances they decided, with the concurrence of His Majesty's Government, to send a deputation to the East African territories with the object of keeping them informed of the progress of events and of doing everything possible to help the Indians in preparing and presenting their case and the Commission in appreciating the needs and special circumstances of the Indian community.

I.—Kenya.

3. Since the opening of the Uganda Railway in the beginning of the 20th century Indians have gone to Kenya in increasing numbers and, though about two-thirds are resident in the towns of Mombasa and Nairobi, have steadily entered rural areas and are to be found even in the more remote parts of the country. In 1926 they numbered 26,759 as against 12,529 Europeans and an estimated native population of 2,515,330. 30 per cent. of the Indian population have been born in the colony while the remainder have immigrated mainly from Gujerat, Kathiawar and the Punjab. The flow of Indian immigration into Kenya appears to be slackening. The Indian population, which was increased by 147 per cent. between 1911 and 1921, rose according to the census statistics for 1926 by 21 per cent. only between 1921 and 1926, and of the latter increase it is reasonable to assume that a large part is due to the natural growth of the population. The bulk of the community is engaged in commerce and industry but there are many Indian government and railway employees and a fair sprinkling of lawyers, doctors and other professional men.

4. For the protection of their interests the Indian community has organised itself into a number of local Associations which are federated in a Central Association at Nairobi and contact is maintained with the corresponding Associations in Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar through the agency of the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress. The Indians resident in the colony have been increasingly dissatisfied, especially since the war, with the position that has been assigned to them. They are now definitely excluded from acquiring land in the highlands outside the

townships. The area of the highlands thus barred to them has not yet been defined. Elective representation on the legislative council has been granted to them on a communal basis and the number of seats assigned to them, *viz.*, 5 out of 18 un-official seats, is not proportionate to their numbers and the important part which they are playing in the life and development of the colony. The policy of segregation in the townships, though formally abolished in 1923, is, in fact, owing to certain legal difficulties stated by the Government to arise out of pre-existing contracts, still in force in considerable areas. In addition there are many minor disabilities and distinctions, the cumulative effect of which is to make Indians feel that their position in the colony is not on a footing of equality with that of other immigrant communities and this feeling is intensified by the slights and humiliations to which in social and other non-official spheres of life they are frequently exposed. We found, therefore, on our arrival that the Indian community were dissatisfied with their present position and anxious regarding the future.

5. The report of the Local Government Commission, which was published shortly before our arrival, had laid down the principle that it was undesirable that a municipal body should be constituted in such a way as to produce a near balance in the representation accorded to different racial communities, and in order to ensure that municipal questions should not be treated from a racial point of view, recommended an increase in the comparative strength of the European representation on the municipalities of Nairobi and Mombasa. The effect of their recommendations, if adopted, would be to give the Europeans 12 seats against 5 Indian seats in lieu of the existing ratio of 7 to 4 on the Nairobi Municipality, and in Mombasa to increase the ratio of European to Indian non-officials from 7 : 4 to 10 : 4. In both local bodies a non-official European majority was proposed. The terms of reference to the Hilton Young Commission raised a parallel issue in the political sphere. The Indian contention was and is that the only satisfactory basis, whether for the municipal or political franchise, is the common electoral roll. They felt that the rejection of their claim in the municipal sphere not only prejudiced their prospects of obtaining this vital reform in the constitution of the legislature but threatened their essential interests by pointing towards the creation of a similar non-official European majority on the Legislative Council.

6. Our instructions were to ascertain the views of the Indian communities in the territories affected on the questions involved in the Commission's terms of reference, to communicate them to the Government of India, and in consultation with the Government of India, to do everything in our power to assist them in presenting their case to the Commission. Mr. Ewbank arrived at Mombasa on November 4 and immediately got into contact with the local Indian community both at Mombasa and Nairobi. At Nairobi he had informal discussions with the executive committee of the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress and met the Governor, the Colonial Secretary and some other officers of Government. Kunwar Maharaj Singh arrived at Mombasa on November 19. After spending a few days at Mombasa in close touch with the local Indians, we proceeded to Nairobi where we had further and more authoritative interviews with the Governor and other officials. An unofficial session of the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress had been arranged at Nairobi on November 26, which we attended by invitation.

After a full and lively discussion on the questions raised by the advent of the Commission, the Congress decided to oppose any development in the nature of political federation but were ready to support co-ordination by means of Governor's conferences and administrative conferences, subject to the understanding that any agreement entered into should be voluntary on both sides. They were in favour of the maintenance of an official majority in the Kenya Legislative Council both in their own interests and in view of the backward condition of the Natives and the impossibility of representing them adequately by men of other races. They advocated a vigorous pro-Native policy in education and local self-government and great caution in any political changes till Natives could directly represent themselves. At the same time recognising that a measure of association of the immigrant communities in the responsibilities of Government already existed through the presence of European and Indian un-officials in the executive and legislative councils they put forward certain suggestions for a further association in these responsibilities. They were unanimous in their desire to insist on the common roll in place of the communal franchise, under which seats on the Council had been accepted only under protest, but there was some difference of opinion as to the precise form in which the demand for a common roll should be put forward. A draft memorandum was prepared on the basis of the resolutions at this meeting in consultation with us and was forwarded to all Associations for consideration before the Christmas session of the Congress. We left on December 2 for Uganda and took the opportunity of spending a day with the Indian community at Kisumu *en route*.

7. We returned to Nairobi on December 14 and found that partly as a repercussion of the advocacy by publicists in India of the boycott of the Statutory Commission and partly on account of the active intervention of Mr. A. M. Jivanjee, an old resident of Nairobi, a considerable agitation in favour of boycotting the Hilton Young Commission had arisen among the Indians there, and had profoundly affected the masses and even a few of the leaders. The main grounds, on which this course was being advocated, were the absence of an Indian from the Commission, the belief that it had come out with its conclusions cut and dried, and the declared intention of the Colonial Government to proceed with legislation to give effect to the report of the Local Government Commission, a policy which had already occasioned the withdrawal of the Indian members from the Legislative Council and with regard to which we submitted a separate detailed report to the Government of India in December, 1927, making certain recommendations and urging a postponement of legislation until the Hilton Young Commission's report had been published. Since it appeared to us impossible that such an attitude would be in the interests of the Indian community, whom we had been sent to assist, we consulted the Government of India and with their approval exerted our influence to counter-act this movement and to counsel a policy of constructive co-operation. The issue was still in doubt when the Indian National Congress met in the Theatre Royal, Nairobi, on December 25, 26 and 27.

8. The chair was taken by Mr. Tayab Ali Rajab Ali, a well-known barrister of Zanzibar, who threw the whole of his influence on the side of co-operation and in this he had the support of the majority of Indian leaders. After full discussion both in the executive committee and in the congress it was unanimously decided to place the Indian case before

the Commission. The general lines of the representation were approved by the Congress and five Indian representatives drawn from Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu were nominated to appear on behalf of the Indian community. At the same time the Congress abandoned their provisional acceptance of the communal franchise and called on those already registered on a communal basis to withdraw their names in order that the case for the common roll might not in any way be prejudiced. They were not in favour of putting forward or accepting any alternative to the common roll and affirmed a policy of boycotting the Legislative Council until the principle had been conceded. Another important resolution protested against the attitude of His Excellency Sir Edward Grigg towards Indian interests and aspirations and declared that he had forfeited the confidence of the Indian community. This resolution was moved by the Hon'ble Mr Phadke, a member of the Executive Council of Kenya and carried unanimously. In consequence of this step Mr. Phadke resigned his seat on the executive council and at the time of writing no Indian has been found to take his place. Among the resolutions passed was one that approved a new constitution which places the organization of the Congress on a more satisfactory and representative footing than at present.

9. While our primary function was to maintain close contact with the Indian community and to assist them in all matters which had a bearing on the enquiries of the Commission, we neglected no opportunity of coming into touch with Government officers and with the other communities who were likely to appear before the Commission and of doing anything in our power to influence them in the direction desired by the Indian community. His Excellency Sir Edward Grigg accorded us more than one interview at which he explained frankly his ideas regarding the place of Indians in the future constitutional development of the colony and listened attentively to our comments upon them. We had also the pleasure of meeting frequently Sir Edward Denham, the Colonial Secretary, and many other officers of Government who gave us much valuable information. By the courtesy of the Bishop of Mombasa we met a committee of leading Protestant missionaries who were charged with the duty of preparing a case on behalf of the Natives from the point of view of the missionary organizations. We were unable to attend a meeting of the Convention of Associations which represents the bulk of non-official European opinion in Kenya but we had a talk with many leading European non-officials including Lord Delamere, Lord Francis Scott, Major Grogan, the Hon'ble Major Robertson Eustace, the Hon'ble Captain F. Ward and others, and noted with satisfaction that, though they were unable to see eye to eye with the Indians, they were on the whole anxious to say nothing at the time which might tend to exacerbate relations, and wished to refrain from public criticism of the Indians' attitude. We took an early opportunity of meeting the editors of the two leading English newspapers in Nairobi, the "East African Standard" and "The Times of East Africa" and are much indebted to both of them for their constant efforts to promote a better understanding between Indians and Europeans, and to allow nothing to appear in their papers which might adversely affect the political atmosphere. It was clear to us that, though the most powerful and vocal body of Europeans favoured the views of the Delamere party, there were a number of European officials and non-officials who were critical of extreme views and regarded with disfavour political changes in the Kenya

Legislative Council. The number of educated Africans in Kenya is very small and owing to language and other difficulties we were unable to meet the leaders of Native opinion but had an opportunity of a talk with a few English speaking Africans. The net result of all these conversations was to give us a fair idea of the character of the evidence which would be placed before the Commission and of the case which the Indians had to meet. We also did our best to exercise some influence in the direction of promoting a desire for moderation and better relations between the communities resident in the colony.

10 The Commission spent seven days *en route* from Uganda to Nairobi in touring the highlands and in the course of their tour visited Kisumu, where they met the local Indian community and saw the excellent Indian agricultural settlement at Kibos. We preceded them to Nairobi where they arrived on February 2. The Indian deputation who gave evidence before them consisted of three persons only, *viz.*, the Hon'ble Mr. Phadke, spokesman, Mr. M. H. Malik (Nairobi) and the Hon'ble Mr. Pandya (Mombasa). The memorandum which they placed before the Commission and the supplement in which they detailed a list of the chief disabilities of Indians in Kenya form appendix I to this report. After summarising the Indian record in the colony to illustrate the great part played by Indians in its development and their claim to be heard, the memorandum stated the Indian case, against political federation, basing it on the absence of any general demand in the component territories, not excluding Kenya, the report of the Ormsby-Gore Commission of 1925, the fear of the Kenya atmosphere spreading through the federal organization to the other territories at present untainted by it, the apprehension that federation might facilitate the creation of a non-official European majority in Kenya, and ultimately lead to the setting up of a White Dominion in East Africa, and on various practical grounds, such as the expense and the state of inter-territorial communications. It advocated, however, co-ordination of policy by conferences, provided that they were on a voluntary basis. It asked for the maintenance of an official majority and indicated a number of methods by which, consistently with its maintenance, the immigrant races could be associated more directly in the responsibilities of Government. Lastly, it stated the strong Indian objections to the existing communal franchise and set out their case for a common roll with or without reservation of seats. The deputation was examined at length on this memorandum with special reference to the Indian attitude on federation and the common roll and an opportunity was given to us of elucidating and supplementing any points that arose in the course of the examination. Mr. Phadke as well as Messrs Malik and Pandya acquitted themselves well under examination. Apart from this official interview the Indian leaders had an opportunity of coming into contact with the members of the Commission informally on several occasions, particularly at a successful garden party given by the Indian community in honour of the Commission which was attended by His Excellency the Governor and Lady Grigg. The Indian memorandum was published in the local press after the oral examination had taken place. The memoranda, prepared by the Kikuyu Association, the Daru Somalis, and the Ishaags, were also published and disclosed opposition to federation and a non-official majority, but those prepared by the more influential communities, such as the non-official Europeans representing the Convention of Associations, and the Council of Protestant Missionaries, were not published. The secrecy with which the proceedings of the Commission were conducted

had the distinct disadvantage of preventing communities and associations from knowing what opinions were expressed before the Commission and was regarded with disfavour by the Indians. The only compensation was that it tended to prevent an intensification of racial feeling. After spending a fortnight at Nairobi the Commission proceeded to Mombasa where they halted for 38 hours only. It was in some ways unfortunate that they were not able to spare time for a longer visit to a town where the relations between the races are better than in the highlands and where the Indians have achieved for themselves a position of importance which is certainly not inferior to that of any other community. The local Indians had an opportunity of appearing before the Commission but preferred, in view of the fact that their views had already been expressed at Nairobi, to give the members of the Commission visual evidence of the part which they were playing in the educational and economic life of the island by taking them to see the excellent Alladin Visram Government High School, constructed by Mr. Alladin Visram at his own expense, and a typical soap factory owned and managed by Indians. The leaders of the Indian community had also an opportunity of meeting the members of the Commission at a garden party given by the Provincial and Resident Commissioners. Before their departure the members of the Commission had further informal talks with both of us on points arising out of their enquiry into the situation in Kenya and Uganda. It was a source of satisfaction to the Kenya Indians and ourselves that before we finally left East Africa the decision to postpone legislation on the Local Government Commission, to which we have previously referred, had been announced.

II.—Uganda.

11. The land area of the Protectorate of Uganda is ninetyfour thousand square miles. The greater party of the country is below four thousand feet above sea-level, the highlands being far less extensive than in Kenya. The country, therefore, as a whole is unsuitable for European settlement. There are several principalities in the Protectorate under Native Chiefs, the largest being the kingdom of Buganda with His Highness the Kabaka as king and a population of about three quarters of a million. According to the Blue Book of 1926 Europeans, Asiatics and Natives number 1,752, 11,613 and 3,123,581 respectively. During the last six years the Asiatic population of Uganda, which is almost entirely Indian, has more than doubled itself. The statistics do not give particulars regarding the castes and creeds of Indians and the parts of India from which they come. The majority of Indians, however, are from the Bombay Presidency and the Indian States of Kathiawar. Khojas and Gujrati Hindus are the principal communities. A fair number of Indians, especially among the Khoja community, have permanently settled in the country. The majority of Indians are engaged in trade and commerce. As shown in the memorandum submitted to the Commission by the Central Council of Indian Associations in Uganda the cotton trade of the Protectorate is largely in Indian hands. No less than 125 out of 189 ginneries are owned by them. Much of the retail trade is carried on by Indians and the only sugar factory in Uganda has an Indian proprietor, Mr. Nanjibhai Kalidas, whose enterprise and services to the country command respect equally amongst Indians, Europeans and Africans. As in other parts of East Africa, Indians figure in the subordinate ranks of Government service. There are also many artisans, house and property owners as well as a few doctors and barristers. The relations of Indians

both with Europeans and Africans are good. Indians can buy property even in the highlands and there has not been any question of restricting their ingress into the Protectorate. In local bodies such as township committees they are represented equally with Europeans. Indians and Europeans also meet on equal terms on non-official bodies, such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Ginner's Association. When we were in Uganda the President of the Chamber of Commerce was a Persian gentleman and the Vice-President an Indian. The local Legislative Council contains three non-official nominated members, of whom one is an Indian.

Our first visit to Uganda.

12. We arrived in Uganda on December 5, 1927, and after staying in Entebbe two days with His Excellency the Governor, Sir William Gowers, proceeded to Kampala where we remained for five days. We left Kampala by motor on December 12 for Jinja where we stayed one night. On the way we visited Mr Kalidas' sugar factory. At all these places, and particularly in Kampala, which contains a considerable Indian population, we were in close and constant touch with the local Indians, had interviews with many individuals and met the Committee of the Central Council of the Indian Associations in Uganda. In consultation with the Committee and with their unanimous approval a memorandum was drawn up for submission to the Commission (Appendix II). Federation with the neighbouring territories was the question in which Indians in Uganda were most closely concerned and the primary object of their memorandum was to set out the case against it as cogently as possible. The report of the Ormsby-Gore Commission of April, 1925, was quoted in support of the objection to federation. Among other points urged against the establishment of a Federal Government was the opposition of His Highness the Kabaka, the expense of a Federal Government, the difficulty of communications between the component territories, the fundamental differences in the native policy and the probability that federation would result in the ingress into Uganda of the Kenya atmosphere and Kenya policy. At the same time no objection was raised to closer union in certain branches of administration and proposals were made for securing such co-ordination. As regards the local Legislative Council the memorandum for several reasons, including the absence at present of any direct representation of Africans and the consequent necessity of allowing the sole and undivided responsibility for native policy to remain with the Imperial Government as trustees, supported the retention of the official majority. We had interesting conversations with His Excellency the Governor and found him sympathetic to the attitude taken up by the Indians. Native opinion, which is more vocal and influential in Uganda than in Kenya, objected strongly to federation with Kenya. Before our arrival the Kabaka had memorialized the Secretary of State against the inclusion of his territory in any scheme of federation and had received an assurance on the subject. We felt, however, that one of our most important tasks was to ascertain, and if possible influence, unofficial European opinion. Most Europeans in Uganda are engaged in commerce or as planters or missionaries. We had several talks with non-official Europeans and were invited to a meeting of the Kampala Chamber of Commerce, an important body composed of Indians as well as Europeans. At the request of the members we addressed them. We had informal conversation also with other Europeans including missionaries. We found that there was general opposition to

any form of federation which might result in the domination of Kenya over the other territories. The preliminary memorandum published in November, 1927, by the Kenya Convention of Associations had been received with much opposition in Uganda. The Governor had criticised it sharply in a public speech at a dinner on St. Andrews Day. European opinion generally was, however, in a fluid condition. Nobody knew exactly what was the meaning or the implications of federation. Many thought that the Commission were bringing out with them a scheme for federation and were inclined to wait until they had seen it. There was a general apprehension that sooner or later the question of restoring the mandated territory of Tanganyika to the Germans would come up and that federation was being pressed in order to insure against this risk. Some Europeans were willing to accept federation if thereby the transfer of Tanganyika could be obviated. The Chamber of Commerce and the missionaries welcomed assistance from us and it is possible that our conversations with them enabled them to take a stronger line against federation than would otherwise have been the case.

Second visit to Uganda.

13. We returned to Uganda (Kampala) on January 16, 1928, and met the members of the Commission who arrived at Entebbe on the following day, both privately and officially. At our official meeting the procedure for the hearing of the Indian evidence was discussed and prescribed. The Commission informed us that their proceedings were to be private throughout but that, with the consent of the persons concerned, memoranda and evidence or a selection of them would be published ultimately together with the report. At the conclusion of the examination of the Indian deputation we were to be given an opportunity by the Chairman of supplementing the evidence or explaining any points. It was also arranged that the substance of any evidence given by other deputations or witnesses and particularly affecting Indians would be communicated to us. We informed the Commission that the Indian deputations in each territory had agreed to give formal evidence on the basis of the printed memorandum presented by them on one occasion only. At the same time we expressed the hope that the Commission would take any opportunity that offered of meeting Indians informally in the course of their tour. The Indian deputation, which appeared before the Commission for examination on the January 21, consisted of six members with the Hon'ble Mr. Amin, barrister-at-law and member of the local Legislative Council as their spokesman. Mr. Amin was quick in answering his questions and knew his case thoroughly. He was well supported by two other prominent Indians, Messrs. Dalal and C. S. Patel. Most of the questions were directed towards ascertaining from the witnesses the desirability of a central authority for certain services such as customs, posts and telegraphs, etc., and the deputation was pressed on the possibility that a Federal Government with representatives from Uganda and Tanganyika might have the effect of inducing Kenya to liberalize her policy towards Indians and Natives.

Among other bodies or persons examined were the Uganda Chamber of Commerce, the Planters' Association (wholly composed of Europeans) and the Anglican Bishop of Uganda. We understood that all of them opposed political federation and severely criticised the terms of federation suggested by the Kenya Convention of Associations.

The Commission were impressed by the good feeling that prevailed between the various races in Uganda. At a public lunch given to them by the Chamber of Commerce the President, Sir Hilton Young, referred with pleasure to the number of Indians present at the function. The Commission also attended a very well arranged reception given by the Indians at their excellent new club where they had an opportunity of meeting ladies and gentlemen of all races, including a number of Indian ladies who were present on the occasion.

III.—Tanganyika Territory.

14. The Tanganyika territory consists of that portion of the former colony of German East Africa which, as agreed by the principal allied and associated powers under Article 22, Part I of the Versailles treaty of peace with Germany, is administered under a mandate by His Britannic Majesty. The territory is administered by a Governor assisted by a small Executive Council. Laws are made by the Governor with the advice of a Legislative Council which includes at present seven non-official members. The non-official members, who cannot be more than ten in all, are nominated by the Governor without regard to representation of particular races, interests or public bodies. Out of the existing seven members, five are Europeans and two are Indians.

At the census of 1921 the territory contained 4,107,000 Natives, 9,411 British Indians and 2,447 Europeans, out of whom 1098 were British subjects. According to statistics supplied to us officially Europeans had increased in December, 1927, to 4,500 including over 1,500 non-British subjects (mainly Greeks and Germans), and Indians to 18,483. It will be seen that the Indian population has almost doubled in six years. The majority of Indians as in other parts of East Africa come from the Bombay Presidency. The male population is considerably in excess of the female but the present disproportion should in time diminish as an increasing number of Indians are making Tanganyika their permanent home. This is due to the energy and enterprise of Indian immigrants, the ample opportunities for development, and the absence of racial disabilities. Indians as a whole have undoubtedly prospered in the country. Firms such as that of Messrs. Karimjee Jivanjee, & Co. are well known and universally respected. This company, for instance, owns estates of about 80,000 acres and employs over 15,000 native labourers. Many Indians have bought enemy estates for which they employ German or Greek managers and engineers. These are proving a remunerative investment. Dar-es-Salaam is practically an Indian town. Many of the buildings belong to Indians and most of the retail trade is in their hands. Their relations with the European and African communities are good. The majority of resident Indians are engaged in commerce and industry. Many are also employed in Government service and there are a few professional men. In commerce Indians continue to play a great part in developing both the external and internal trade of the country. Fortunately there are no racial disabilities and distinctions such as exist in Kenya. There is, for instance no discrimination between Europeans and Indians in the acquisition of property in any part of the country, though so far very few Indians have purchased property or settled in the highlands. They have the same right of ingress into the territory as other races. Township committees contain un-official Indians as well as Europeans and Indians are to be found on the local Legislative Council. Chambers of Commerce and the Planters' Association.

visit to Tanganyika.

15. We arrived at Dar-es-Salaam on January 2, 1928, and remained there until January 10. During our stay we had frequent conversations with the local Indians, who were present at a public meeting, we had interviews with His Excellency the Governor, Sir Donald Cameron, the Chief Secretary, and other European and non-officials. In Sir Donald Cameron's first interview we had a most friendly and sympathetic conversation. From every Indian that we met we heard nothing but praise and admiration for the Head of the Administration. Shortly after he became Governor he repealed or amended the Profits Tax and other ordinances to which Indians had objected, with the result that there are now no complaints in these matters. In a public speech in December, 1927, His Excellency expressed his views on federation with unusual frankness. He gave the public nearly to understand that the question of federation had not been raised by him and that there were serious obstacles to the establishment of a federal government. In the course of his speech he stated that it had been affirmed on more than one occasion by the British Government that native interests were paramount and that there was a strong body of opinion in England that would see that this issue was not obscured. The experimental factor, in the future of East Africa, the Governor declared, was the European, not the Native. We had several interviews with the local Indian leaders and in particular met the Executive Committee of the Indian Association of Dar-es-Salaam with which are affiliated all other Indian Associations in the Tanganyika territory. With the unanimous approval of the members of the Committee a memorandum (Appendix III) was drafted setting forth the views of the Indians of Tanganyika on the main questions relating to them which were likely to be considered by the Commission. A short history of the part played by Indians in developing the country was given at the outset of the memorandum and it was claimed that, if any change in the constitution of the territory or its relations with the neighbouring territories was under contemplation, due weight should be given to the opinions of Indians as the most numerous and economically important of the immigrant communities.

A federal government was opposed on grounds similar to those stated in the memoranda of Uganda and Kenya. Stress, however, was laid on the special position of Tanganyika as a mandated territory. For instance, it was pointed out that the Natives of the territory were not British nationals and that the native policy of the administration was different in many respects from that of Kenya. The apprehensions that had been raised regarding the rendition of Tanganyika to Germany were shown to be unfounded. Attention was invited in this connection to speeches made in recent years both by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor stating in the clearest language possible that British control in Tanganyika was not temporary and that the territory was as essentially a part of the British framework as any other Protectorate.

While opposing political federation the Indian community expressed their willingness to agree to some form of closer union in certain departments of administration where it could be shown that a further degree of co-ordination was necessary in the interests of economy and efficiency. As a step in this direction they favoured the continuance of the Governors' conference and the administrative conferences and proposed an extension

of their powers, and, in the case of administrative good feeling, the inclusion of non-officials both European and African, as emphasised that any form of co-ordination should be for the Sir Hilton Young voluntary agreements between the territories. As regretted at the Legislative Council a line substantially similar to that of the Indian Statute Book was adopted. In view of the fact that Indians were opposed to the establishment of a federal government and that there was at present no direct representation of Africans on the existing Legislative Council, it was considered desirable that the official majority should continue. It was further urged that the responsibility of His Majesty's Government for exercising a trusteeship in the interests of the Natives should remain unimpaired. Any change would be opposed to the spirit, if not the letter, of the mandate.

We met very few Africans sufficiently educated to converse with us. Their numbers at present are extremely small and they belong mainly to the class of Chiefs. Africans, however, as well as Indians, so far as we were able to ascertain, have full confidence in the present Governor and his policy. Non-official European opinion had not definitely committed itself, with the exception of the Moshi and Arusha planters, whose sympathies were with the settlers of Kenya and who were critical of the Governor's "pro-Native" policy. After leaving Dar-es-Salaam we touched at Tanga, a small port about 150 miles north of Dar-es-Salaam. We met a number of local Indians there and saw a large sisal plantation owned by Messrs. Karimjee Jivanjee and Co. The Indians of Tanga were in full agreement with the memorandum drawn up at Dar-es-Salaam subject to a few very minor changes which were adopted. Tanga, which was the scene of British and Indian attacks in the early days of the war, is, like Dar-es-Salaam, largely an Indian town. There are several Indians there engaged in commerce, industry and Government service.

Second visit to Tanganyika.

16. We returned to Dar-es-Salaam on February 27, 1928. We found that the draft memorandum had been circulated to all the Indian Associations in the territory and had been unanimously approved by them. The local Indians selected six representatives belonging to Dar-es-Salaam and Tanga to form the deputation before the Commission. They were examined on February 29. The Hon'ble Mr. Ghosh, Barrister, and a member of the local Legislative Council, acted as the leader of the deputation, and Messrs. Chitale, barrister, and Abdullah Karimjee, landowner and merchant, also spoke. Their examination was brief. As in Uganda and Kenya the deputation were asked why they thought that the federation would result in the extension of the noxious atmosphere of Kenya rather than the reverse, more particularly in view of the existence of the mandate in Tanganyika prohibiting inequality of treatment. The answers given by them, as supplemented by us, were generally to the effect that, as pointed out in the memorandum, Tanganyika would derive little or no benefit from federation and that the racial advantages enjoyed by the Kenya Europeans would sooner or later be demanded by European elsewhere. It was true that the mandate prohibited legal discrimination but even so there was nothing to prevent administrative measures, such as segregation on railways, and discrimination in the form, for instance, of the communal franchise, being introduced into Tanganyika. Mr. Ghosh and the other speakers gave their answers clearly and effectively. After the Indian evidence was finished, the Commission examined us for about

three quarters of an hour. We were also pressed on the possible good effect on Kenya of a strong federal authority but adhered to the position taken by Indians throughout East Africa. We stated that federation in the minds and indeed in the publicly expressed policy of the Kenya European settlers, who are by far the most influential and vocal body in East Africa, meant the creation of a white dominion from the Limpopo to the Nile in which Indians and Africans would play a very subordinate part. A federal council too would possibly contain a small minority of Indians quite insufficient to exercise any influence on federal policy. So long as closer union was confined to the co-ordination of certain departments, such as railways, customs, posts and telegraphs and research, through conferences and voluntary agreements as stated in the various Indian memoranda, there was little or no objection from the Indian point of view. If, however, other subjects were included and above all a High Commissioner with headquarters at Nairobi and a federal council were created, Indians would have good grounds for anxiety. The Commission as usual treated us, as they treated the Indian deputations, with courtesy and consideration and heard us patiently. The Dar-es-Salaam Chamber of Commerce also gave evidence. From a published account of a special meeting of the Chamber it appears that it was felt by the members that, although federation would not alter the status of Tanganyika as a mandated territory, it would tend to create greater confidence and a greater sense of security. It was further agreed that if there was no federation efforts should be made to co-ordinate certain services such as customs, posts and telegraphs, mining, agricultural forests, and health research, etc., throughout the three territories "provided that such co-ordination results in economy without loss of efficiency". The minutes of the meeting as published disclosed a somewhat hesitant spirit. We did not learn, however, what evidence was actually given by their deputation. In general it seemed to us that non-official British opinion was inclined to favour federation, provided Tanganyika had equal representation on the federal council with the component territories. The Governor, so far as we could ascertain, remained opposed to federation. In a speech made before the Legislative Council on January 11, 1928, he had stated that the more he looked at the difficulties in the path of any sort of federation the more formidable did these difficulties become. He went on to say that he was unable to find a common factor (by this he meant a common policy regarding the future of the Natives) and that, until this had been established, it was premature to attempt to devise any scheme of federation or any form of closer union. He was supported in his views by the two Indian non-official members of the Council. On the other hand the five European non-officials were in favour of federation though they did not press the matter to a division. In the course of his speech His Excellency told the Indians that he regarded their position in Tanganyika as assured and, that, if he had to nominate members to serve on colonial conferences or on federal council, he would include Indians as well as Europeans. This was a very courageous statement for an East African Governor to make in public. Before we left Dar-es-Salaam the Commission attended an afternoon party given in their honour by Mr. Mathura Das, brother of Mr. Nanjibhai Kalidas of Uganda. The party was attended by His Excellency the Governor and a large number of European ladies and gentlemen as well as Indians and was a great success.

IV.—Zanzibar.

17. The Indian settlement in Zanzibar dates from early times. At the last census in 1921 the number of British Indians resident in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba was returned at 12,846, of whom about 11,000 live in the town of Zanzibar. The majority are Mussalmans belonging to the Khoja and Bohra communities. The number of Europeans at the same census was 272 and of natives at the census of 1924, 183,781. Almost the whole of the external trade of the island is in Indian hands but, owing to the gradual improvement of the ports on the mainland, the importance of Zanzibar as an entrepot of trade is declining. The prosperity of the island has also been adversely affected by the existing depression in the clove industry. There are three large Indian schools and nine small Indian schools at which 1871 Indian pupils were under instruction in 1926, and in addition there is a commercial course attended by 17 Indians. The island is governed by His Highness the Sultan subject to large powers of control vested in His Excellency the Resident. There is a Legislative Council, consisting of nine officials and seven non-officials, of whom two are Indians and three are Arabs. The relations between all races, who stand officially on an equal footing, are excellent and the Indians are on good terms with the Local Administration.

18. We visited the island on four occasions, as we travelled by sea between Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam, and on our first three visits we discussed with the local leaders, who include Mr. Tayab Ali Rajab Ali, President of the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress, the lines on which the Indian case should be presented to the Commission. We found that no section of the Indians was in favour of political federation or even of closer union with the adjacent territories save in minor matters such as research. The idea of a customs union was opposed on the ground that it would raise the cost of living without any compensatory advantage. The substitution of the shilling for the rupee currency was strongly objected to mainly on the grounds that the trade of the island with India is substantially greater than with any other individual country, and that the replacement of the half rupee by the shilling would tend to increase the cost of living. We satisfied ourselves that the views of the Indians on these questions were in general agreement with those of the Local Administration and of the Arab community and indeed, with a few individual exceptions, of the public of the island generally. A copy of the memorandum placed before the Commission as summarising the views of the Indian community is appended (Appendix IV). Kunwar Maharaj Singh had to return to India on March 6 from Dar-es-Salaam but Mr. Ewbank accompanied the Commission on their visit to the island from March 8 to 12. The Indian deputation, which was led by Mr. Tayab Ali, who was efficiently supported by Mr. Anantani, editor of the "Zanzibar Voice" and by Mr. Popat Virji, President of the Indian Association; were mainly examined on questions relating to closer union in the departments of customs, currency and posts and telegraphs. They supported their case effectively under examination and had also opportunities of discussing their views informally with the members of the Commission. Mr. Ewbank remained in the island till March 19 and took the opportunity of visiting the Indian schools and the hospital and of discussing Indian requirements in these departments with His Excellency the Resident and the officers of the Local Administration.

V.—General.

19. Wherever we went in East Africa the Indian community expressed a lively sense of gratitude to the Government of India for having come to their assistance and extended to us personally unbounded hospitality for which we are most grateful. We shall always have the most pleasant recollections of the kindness which we received from all classes and creeds of Indians. Our work was greatly lightened by the whole-hearted co-operation of the Indian leaders. While devoting our attention primarily to the special objects for which we were deputed to East Africa, we neglected no opportunity of meeting representative Indians in a private capacity and in making ourselves acquainted with the general conditions under which they were living. The great part which they have played and are playing as pioneers of trade and industry and in the ranks of Government service in all parts of the territories is indisputable. There are also several professional gentlemen, barristers and doctors, who have made a mark in East Africa. It was a pleasure to us to see the large and progressive sugar factory in Uganda and the modern soap factories which Indians have established at Mombasa. The energy, enterprise and thrift of the Indian have brought their reward, and on the whole, class for class, Indians have prospered in East Africa to an extent which would not have been possible had they remained in India.

The sanitary standards prevailing among the Indian masses are often unsatisfactory and afford other communities an opening for criticism, but the standard is slowly and visibly rising. In towns, such as Nairobi and Kampala, where there are many well-to-do Indians, there is an increasing tendency to move out of bazaars and to build residential houses with clean and airy rooms and modern sanitation. We saw several such bungalows to which it would be impossible to take exception on sanitary grounds.

The educational standard among Indians is approximately the same as that amongst the corresponding class in India but facilities for education generally and in particular for higher education are more restricted in East Africa. In Kenya there are two Indian high schools teaching up to the London matriculation standard and new high schools are being built at Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam. The Ewan Smith Madrassah in Zanzibar teaches only up to the fourth English standard. Primary schools are, as a rule, maintained by the Indians themselves on the grant-in-aid system and are too frequently on a communal basis. More primary schools are urgently required and it would be, in our opinion, in the best interests of the community if they were formed on a general instead of a sectional basis.

The education of girls is at an elementary stage and, though there is now a Government school for girls in Mombasa, facilities for Indian female education are deficient. The Indian communities have been diffident in the past about educating their girls but their attitude is changing.

Hospital accommodation is inadequate in many parts of East Africa. At some centres Indians are given a separate ward in the native hospitals but away from the towns no special provision is made for them.

Throughout our visit the tone of the European controlled press towards the Indian community generally and towards us was moderate and not unfriendly. The Indians have also their own Anglo-Vernacular press

which exercises considerable influence within the community. There are well conducted Indian papers in Mombasa, Nairobi, Zanzibar and Dar-es-Salaam.

Whatever the recommendations of the Commission may ultimately prove to be, it is a great satisfaction to us that we were able to assist the Indian community in presenting an united front on an occasion of great difficulty and importance. As a comparatively small community, isolated in a foreign country, it is essential that Indians should maintain internal unity and concord. This should not be difficult. Temples and mosques are to be found throughout East Africa and we received no complaints regarding any difficulty in the observances by each community of its religious ceremonies. We were fortunate in finding a complete absence of friction between Hindus and Muslims in East Africa. As is inevitable the rigidity of caste distinctions tends to be relaxed.

In Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, where Indians suffer from no political or economic disabilities on account of their race, we have every hope that a prosperous, progressive and contented community is being founded and we look forward towards the future with a hopefulness which, we believe, might be extended to Kenya also, if the existing racial disabilities could be effaced and if a common electoral roll were granted. We lay particular stress upon Tanganyika because in that territory we believe that the outlook for further Indian immigration is promising and that Indian immigrants, whether as traders, artisans or agriculturists, will find ample opportunities for improving their position.

In conclusion we wish to place on record our obligation to the Governments of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar for the courtesy with which they received us and for the assistance which they gave to us. To all the Governors we are personally indebted for kindness and hospitality. The Colonial and Chief Secretaries and the officers of Government were always friendly and helpful. To the non-official European community, whether settlers, missionaries or business men, and to the Press, Indian and European, we are indebted for many courtesies. We were naturally brought into less close touch with the Arabs, Swahilis and Africans but we must not omit to record our gratitude to them also for the friendly reception which we invariably received at their hands. The progress of the African in Uganda was to us a source of particular interest and pleasure.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

MAHARAJ SINGH,

R. B. EW BANK.

APPENDIX I.

Memorandum on the Federation of British East African Territories and Constitutional Changes in Kenya submitted by the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress, Nairobi, to the Hilton Young Commission.

A.—The Indian Record.

The geographical situation of East Africa, looking as it does across the Arabian Sea towards the west coast of India, has for centuries made it and still makes it one of the natural outlets for Indian expansion. Indians have been settled in East Africa for generations. In 1874 it was officially reported that the Indian population of Zanzibar and the East African Coast numbered 4,198 as against 24 Europeans including officials. Lord Salisbury, writing as Secretary of State for India in 1875 suggested that on grounds of humanity and with a view to promote the well-being of the poorer classes in India, Indian emigration to the East coast of Africa for the purposes of settlement and colonization should be actively encouraged, and emphasised "from the Imperial point of view the great advantages which must result from peopling the warmer British possessions, which are rich in natural resources and only want population, by an intelligent and industrious race to whom the climate of these countries is well suited." When the Royal Charter was conferred upon the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888 by Queen Victoria it was advanced in the preamble of the document as one of the chief grounds for the grant "that the possession by a British Company of the coast line as above defined which includes the Port of Mombasa would be advantageous to the Commercial and other interests of our subjects in the Indian Ocean who would otherwise become compelled to reside and trade under the Government or protection of alien powers." Persons of unquestioned authority from Sir John Kirk, Consul General at Zanzibar from 1866 to 1887 to Mr. Winston Churchill who visited the Colony in 1908 have testified to the valuable work done by Indians as pioneers in East Africa. Indians have pushed forward and opened up trade in territories beyond the limits of British administration. In the early days of the Colony their advent was welcomed. They were brought from India in large numbers to construct the Uganda Railway and those responsible for the work have testified that it could not have been completed within any reasonable period without their help. In the Great War the Indian Army was called upon to assist in the protection of Kenya and in the conquest of Tanganyika Territory. The extent of the services which they rendered may be gauged from the fact that in November 1914, an Expeditionary Force of 34,000 Indian combatant ranks and 12,000 non-combatants was despatched to the East African theatre of war, and that an Indian force consisting approximately of 12 mobile guns, 10 Indian battalions, half a dozen Imperial Service units with a small force of cavalry was maintained in this theatre until the end of the war. The numbers of the Indian community resident in Kenya have steadily expanded until they amounted at the census of 1926 to 26,759 as against 12,529 Europeans.

At the present time Indians are playing an important part in nearly every branch of the life of the Colony. 2,351 of them are employed in various departments of Government service; 5,204 are engaged in commerce; and 3,951 in industry. In Government service, although in the

course of time they may be replaced by Africans, as they become competent to perform the duties now carried out by the Indians, at the present stage no other equally economical or efficient agency is available. In commerce they have done much to develop both the external and the internal trade of the country. Not only do the latest annual trade returns show that goods valued at $\frac{3}{4}$ of a million sterling were imported from India and goods valued at more than 1 1/3 million sterling exported to India, but much of the export trade to Great Britain and foreign countries passes through Indian hands. In the internal economic life of Kenya and Uganda they are playing an essential part both in the development of retail business, mainly with Natives, and in the purchase of African produce. The Kenya Economic Commission, who displayed a marked prejudice in other respects against Indians, were compelled to admit that "the Indian has played and still plays a useful part in opening up trade, stimulating the wants of the Natives and inducing them to part with their products, for purposes of export" The Indian trader is the pioneer of civilization, since, by bringing new and desirable articles to the notice of the Natives, he creates in them a desire to acquire such commodities and stimulates them to work harder and to better their condition. So long as the Native continues to show little aptitude for retail trade, no alternative to the Indian shopkeeper is in sight. In newly opened districts moreover the Indian as a rule provides the only market in which Africans can sell their crops. It is the small Indian trader who has been first in the field and is the pioneer of trade on a large scale.

In the sphere of industry the Indians are widely employed as mechanics, engineers, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, watch-makers, printers, sawyers, electric-suppliers, contractors, tailors, etc. Their position in this field is due entirely to their own merits. As the Native standard of living is lower and in their own country Natives will work for a smaller wage, they would certainly be employed in place of Indians if they were qualified to undertake the work. The example of Indian artisans under whom the Natives are employed is an important factor in the training of Africans as skilled workers. The point which the Indian community desire to impress on the Commission is that they are playing a vital part at the present stage in the economic progress both of the Colony as a whole and of the African Native, and that no other community is in a position to make the contribution which they are now making to the development of the Colony.

In mentioning particularly the three important spheres of commerce, industry and Government service, the Indian community do not for a moment mean to imply that this exhausts their contribution to the progress of the country. As doctors, lawyers, school-masters and in other professional capacities they are proving their ability to hold their own in competition with other immigrant races. In agriculture, which is the industry followed by the vast majority of the population of India, they are confident that they would have played an equally considerable part in the development of the natural resources of the Colony, if they had not been excluded from this sphere of activity in the Highlands under the terms of the Crown Lands Ordinance, 1915. The remainder of the land of the Colony is not equally adapted to agriculture and in the absence of encouragement Indian settlers have not been

able to achieve very much. But in one instance at Kibos in the Kavirondo country where 3,000 acres of land were made available for Indian settlement, the whole area has been fully developed and the settlers have proved their ability to establish a successful and flourishing agricultural colony. The Indians have never challenged the principle that the Colony should be developed on modern lines of advancement, and, so far as educational, political and social facilities exist, have taken all possible measures to qualify themselves as citizens of the Colony on this basis. The achievements of poets like Tagore, of scientists like Bose and Roy, of statesmen like Sastri and Sinha, of educationalists like Sir Sayed Ahmed, of industrialists like the Tatas, and of innumerable well known Indian merchants, engineers and administrators conclusively prove their ability to adapt the ancient civilization of India to the exigencies of the modern world and demonstrate their right to a place in the front rank with the leaders of European civilization. The Indian community assert that their record in their own country and in East Africa justifies them in claiming an important voice in any changes in the political structure of Kenya or neighbouring territories that may be under contemplation and their due share in any further association of the immigrant communities in the exercise of the trusteeship of the Native, if the Commission comes to the conclusion that the time is ripe for a further advance in that direction.

B.—Federation.

The first point referred for the consideration of the Commission is the question whether by federation or some other form of closer union, more effective co-operation between the different Governments in Central and Eastern Africa may be secured. The Eastern Africa Indian National Congress wish to make it clear at the outset that they are opposed to any development in the nature of a Federal Government. They consider that it would be altogether premature to institute formal federation between the territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika at the present stage and still more to include the territories of Zanzibar, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia and they would point out that no general demand for federation with Kenya has been made in Tanganyika, Uganda or Zanzibar, and that in Kenya itself there are large sections of public opinion which are opposed to the idea. Even the Convention of Associations have made it clear in the draft memorandum published by them on November 19th last that they only want a Federal constitution if Nairobi is "the Federal Capital and the headquarters and principal residence of the High Commissioner who will thus live in an atmosphere of British civilization surrounded by and subject to its influence in the shape of local associations and institutions and of a legislature with an unofficial majority."

The Ormsby-Gore Commission which reported as recently as 1925 came to the conclusion that owing to the practical difficulties involved in federation the day was still far off when a Federal Government could be imposed on these territories. They emphasised that geographical conditions and the lack of communications would be a serious obstacle. Federal Government, in their opinion, would be expensive and cumbersome and would curtail freedom of action on the part of local Governments. They found little support for the idea of immediate federation

and in some quarters definite hostility. In these circumstances they suggested as an alternative to federation regular periodic conferences both of Governors and of the responsible officials of the various departments indicated by them. In the short time that has elapsed since they reported only one Governor's conference has been held. That conference was considered by its members to have been of the greatest value and to have done much to facilitate the work of achieving unity of thought and action on matters of common concerns to all parts of the East African dependencies, and it was resolved that it should be continued annually in future so far as circumstances permitted. The only other conferences that have yet taken place have been those of agricultural and of law officers. In both these cases also the members of the conference have placed on record their sense of the value of this system of consultation. It is submitted that the objections to a Federal Government set forth by the Ormsby-Gore Commission still hold good in the main and that the scheme prepared by them has proved successful so far as it has been tried but has not yet been given a sufficiently long trial.

The White Paper of 1927 implies that as a consequence of the creation of a Federal Government or Council the question of the grant of a non-official majority in the Kenya Legislative Council will come up for the consideration of the Commission. The Eastern Africa Indian National Congress are unequivocally opposed to any revision of the constitution entailing a non-official majority on grounds which they set forth at length below. They are strongly opposed to federation if it implies that their own destinies and those of the Natives of the country and of other communities which are politically in a minority are to be placed in the hands of a non-official majority and if Kenya in virtue of its non-official majority, is to be placed in the position of predominant partner in the Federation.

Indians in Kenya suffer from many disabilities social and economic as well as political. They are not satisfied with the measure of representation at present granted to them on the Legislative Council on a communal franchise. They are excluded from holding or leasing agricultural land in the highlands. Residential segregation in practice continues in important areas in spite of its formal abandonment. The sums granted by the local Government to meet the educational and medical needs of Indians are entirely inadequate. The recent report of the Feetham Commission has ignored the large and important interests they possess in the towns of Mombasa, Nairobi and elsewhere by discarding the usual canons of municipal representation, *viz.*, numbers and taxation. The policy publicly announced by a large section of the European non-official community of reserving this country mainly for colonization by persons of European birth and the attempts that have been made from time to time to prohibit Indian immigration have on occasion led to strong manifestations of anti-Indian feeling. The Congress fear that one result of a Federal Government, especially if its headquarters are at Nairobi, will be to extend this spirit of racial prejudice to territories in which it does not at present exist.

They would point out that the creation of a Federal Government is likely to involve additional expenditure on account of the Governor General and his staff, the Federal Council, the Central Secretariat and administrative co-ordinating officers. In view of the many

urgent schemes of development requiring funds they consider that this expenditure would be unjustified in the present financial position of the Colony, and they believe that the improvement in efficiency and, in particular departments, the economies that are hoped for from federation can be adequately secured by alternative methods.

Lastly, they would draw attention to the undeveloped state of communications between these territories. There is no railway connection yet between the several capitals. Posts are slow and trains on most lines do not run every day. Wherever the federal capital may be fixed the necessity of referring matters to headquarters and the difficulty of arranging discussions with local officers or of getting into touch with the heads of federal departments while on tour will entail delays. It will be difficult also in some of the territories to find suitable non-official representatives who can spare time to attend the Council sessions and the committee meetings of the Federal Government. Conditions in this respect present an analogy to those which have recently given rise to a demand in certain quarters in Burma for separation from British India.

The Congress have seen it stated that one result of federation will be to secure the mandated territory of Tanganyika for all time as an integral part of the Empire. The Indian community are strongly opposed to the surrender or transfer of the existing mandate to any foreign power, but they consider that the conditions on which the mandate was granted to Great Britain are sufficient to secure this object and they do not share the suspicions of the intentions of His Majesty's Government which appear to exist among some other sections of the population. They would add that even if a Federal Government were created it would by no means afford a complete safeguard against the rendition of Tanganyika since the decision would still rest with His Majesty's Government and the League of Nations.

His Excellency the Governor of Kenya in advocating the closer union of East African territories emphasised the disastrous effect of different Native policies in different parts of South Africa and stated his opinion that "nothing is more essential to native welfare in East Africa than a consensus of reasonable opinion upon the essentials of Native education and development. Our civilization, if it is to be worthy of itself and is to be of service to the Native, should act on the same principles everywhere and speak with a single voice." The Congress consider that His Excellency has underrated the great differences that exist in regard to the stage of development, the needs, customs and conditions of different tribes in different parts of the country and consider that if one object of Federation is to unify Native policy as a whole, its results will be positively harmful to the Natives. No common native land policy, for instance, is feasible since the conditions arising from the reservation of large areas in the Kenya Highlands for European settlement and the consequent demand for labour from the Native reserves present no analogy to the conditions obtaining in Uganda.

For these reasons they are definitely opposed to the establishment at present of any form of Federal Government or political federation. At the same time they are in sympathy with the suggestion that in certain departments some form of closer union is desirable and they welcome proposals in this direction in the case of those branches of

the administration where it can be shown that a further degree of co-ordination or closer union than exists at present is necessary in the interests of economy or efficiency.

C.—Closer Union.

Co-ordination by conferences exists already in the form of the Governors' conference, which has a permanent secretariat and a traveling secretary and the periodical administrative conferences. The Eastern Africa Indian National Congress are of opinion that the best method of securing further co-ordination or closer union for the present lies in the development of such conferences. Questions which cannot be settled by voluntary agreement between the Administrations concerned will in practice be rare. As an illustration of the possibilities of this method the Governor of Tanganyika in a recent public speech cited the instance of the co-ordination of railway rates between the Tanganyika railways and the Kenya-Uganda Railway on which an agreement had been practically reached. The congress recommend an extension of the subjects dealt with by such conferences and would indicate scientific research, particularly medical research, posts and telegraphs and education as suitable subjects for further co-ordination by means of conferences. They are also in favour of extending the powers both of the Governors' conference and of the conferences of specialist officers so as to enable them to call for reports from the Governments concerned on any matters falling within their sphere and to offer advice with the object of making the lessons learnt in one territory available for the guidance of neighbouring Administrations when similar conditions arise. The Congress wish, however, to emphasise that these recommendations are subject to the proviso that save in matters exclusively the concern of experts the non-official communities, European, Indian and African, should be adequately represented on the administrative conferences. They are in favour of further co-ordination in certain branches of the administration provided that the Commission after full enquiry places the public in possession of facts and figures showing that such co-ordination is likely to result in increased efficiency and economy, and that it involves no measures or policy in any way detrimental to Indian interests. For example, representation might be granted to Tanganyika on the Railway Council and it might be induced to agree to enter the Union of Posts and Telegraphs. In making these recommendations the Congress wish to place on record that such co-ordination should imply no menace to the policy of the "open door" which they regard as essential to their existence, nor the extension of disabilities on Indians existing in one territory to other territories in which they do not exist.

D.—Official Majority,

The Eastern Africa Indian National Congress are strongly of opinion that the time has not yet come when the official majority on the local Council can safely be abrogated. They consider that the ultimate responsibility of His Majesty's Government for the government of the Colony should remain sole and undivided and cannot view, without dismay, any constitutional change which would have the effect of transferring that responsibility in part to the non-official population of the Colony. They hold that such a step would be fraught with disastrous consequences to the Native community and with danger to themselves.

The interests of the Natives, which have been held by the Imperial Government to be of paramount importance, must be the vital factor in the decision on this point, and the Congress feel no doubt that in the present conditions of the Colony the creation of a non-official majority, consisting of members of the immigrant communities, would entail grave risks to the welfare of the African. Only four years have elapsed since His Majesty's Government stated in the clearest terms that they were unable to delegate or share their trust in this respect and the abandonment of this salutary principle while local conditions remain substantially unaltered is calculated to shake the confidence of Indians and Natives alike in the stability of Imperial policy in matters concerning their interests. The views of the Natives who are at very different stages of development in different areas can never be adequately represented by men of other races however well meaning, and only a few Africans in certain districts have yet reached a point at which they could represent their own community on the Legislative Council. In a Colony composed of different races with divergent interests the presence of an official majority, in addition to the veto of the Secretary of State, constitutes a safeguard which is not lightly to be set aside. Larger grants have been made in recent years for Native education and a system of Native local self-government has recently been instituted but the non-official parties in the Council have still to prove their sincerity by pressing for much larger immediate expenditure on this object, and further progress in the general and political education of Africans must be achieved before the time can be regarded as ripe for a further devolution of responsibility. The example of Uganda gives fair ground for hoping that before very many years, if not immediately, and provided a vigorous educational policy is adopted and a steady extension of Native local self-Government is pressed on, Natives will be found able to formulate views on public questions affecting themselves and to represent Native interests directly. These considerations point to the conclusion that further steps in the political evolution of the Colony should be taken with the utmost caution.

So far as they themselves are concerned the Indian community fear that a non-official majority in the local Council would in practice prove to be a non-official majority of Europeans, elected or nominated. The attitude of the non-official European community towards Indians of recent years and the measures that have been advocated by their leaders in public speeches do not inspire the Congress with confidence in their intentions. Indeed, they would go further and state explicitly that they would regard the advent of such a non-official majority to power with the utmost apprehension and distrust. The total number of European voters on the electoral roll on June 23rd, 1926, was only 3527. The elections in six out of eleven constituencies were uncontested and in the remainder only 55 per cent. of the registered voters went to the polls. The numbers of the two chief immigrant communities are still far too small to justify the devolution on them of the virtual control of the destiny of the Colony, particularly when it is remembered that most of the European elected representatives will themselves be land-holders and from the nature of the case will find it difficult to take an impartial view on questions affecting Native labour and cognate matters. In both communities the number of persons taking an active and practical interest in politics is so insignificant that in practice the

Government would be controlled by a small and virtually irremovable oligarchy.

For these reasons the Congress are in favour of the maintenance of an official majority responsible to His Majesty's Government for the administration of the Colony and the protection of the interests of every section of the community. At the same time and subject to what has already been said on the necessity of proceeding with great caution till Native interests can be directly represented and subject to the retention of an official majority they wish to make it clear they do not dissent from the principle of the increasing association of the immigrant communities in the responsibility of Government. A measure of such association already exists through the non-official representation on the Legislative Council. Consistently with the maintenance of an official majority the Congress would put forward for the consideration of the Commission the following constructive suggestions to secure this increased association:

(1) The Indians as one of the immigrant communities should be granted along with Europeans representation on Land Boards, if established, on the Native Trust Fund and on any other Boards instituted for dealing with Native affairs. In this connection they suggest that an Advisory Board consisting of unofficial members of the immigrant communities should be attached to the Chief Native Commissioner or to the Department of Government dealing with Native affairs and that it should be consulted on all important questions of policy relating to Native interests.

(2) It is suggested that some of the non-official members of the Executive Council of the Colony might be entrusted with the portfolios of Agriculture, Public Works, Public Health, Education and other allied subjects which particularly concern the welfare of the Native. This arrangement would vest representative members of the immigrant communities with a considerable degree of responsibility for the administration of the departments which most directly affect the lives and progress of the Native community.

(3) Apart from the Indians elected to represent their own community Indians should also be nominated along with Europeans to represent Native interests on the Legislative Council which are at present inadequately represented: In many walks of life Indians are in closer touch with Natives than Europeans and many of them are well qualified to represent the wishes and aspirations of the Native races so far as a person of another race can do so.

(4) The ultimate responsibility for the welfare of the Africans will of course rest with Government acting through its official majority. In order that Indians may be effectively associated in this trust it is suggested that suitable Indian officials should be included amongst the officially nominated members of the Legislative Council.

E.—Common Roll.

The Legislative Council is at present constituted as follows:—

Nominated officials.....	20
Elected Europeans.....	11
Elected (or nominated) Indians.....	5
Elected Arab.....	1
Nominated Christian Missionary representing Native interests...	1

The third term of reference to the Commission indicates the possibility of changes in the powers and composition of Legislative Councils. The experience of the last few years has confirmed the Indian community in their view that the present system of non-official representation on a communal basis is unjust to them in that it affords no adequate safeguard of their interests and ought to be abolished. The fact that while their numbers are more than double the numbers of the European community and while they continue to play an important part in the development of the Colony in spite of racial restrictions their representation on the Council is less than half, places on them the stigma of inferiority which the whole community resents. In India the communal system of representation was adopted in order to secure to minorities their due share of representation, not in order to place a small minority of the population in a position of political predominance over other communities. Moreover, in India unlike Kenya there are no racial distinctions and the communal franchise as between Hindus and Muslims does not imply any political or social inferiority. As a matter of fact the experience of India during the last few years has shown that the communal system as it exists there has tended to accentuate rather than compose communal feeling. The same tendency can be seen in Kenya where the gap between Europeans and Indians is as wide as ever. The common electoral roll must help to bridge the gulf between Europeans and Indians by forcing candidates of either race to consider the needs and aspirations of the other and by securing the return of moderately minded men. This is all the more desirable in a Colony where by reason of the prevailing spirit of exclusiveness opportunities for Indians and Europeans to meet each other on friendly terms and on a common footing are almost completely absent. Again, on a common roll racial animosity is likely to make its appearance only at the time of election while a communal roll perpetuates the racial cleavage in every vote that may be taken in the Legislative Council. In Kenya the common roll possesses the additional advantage that it enables such Natives as hold or acquire the requisite qualifications to be registered forthwith as voters. It is stated in the White Paper of July, 1923, as an argument in favour of communal representation that it is compatible with Native representation in due season and with immediate Arab representation. The Congress desire to point out however that a common electoral roll would still enable protection to be given to the claims of Natives and Arabs by the provision of reserved seats, the principle of which was accepted in the Wood-Winterton agreement.

Neither the Indian community of Kenya nor the Government of India have ever accepted the principle of communal franchise in Kenya and the Indian community here maintain their objections to it even more strongly now than in 1923. Indeed, the experience of the past few years has strengthened their belief that no permanent political settlement can be arrived at in this Colony except on the basis of a common roll. The appointment of the Commission gives to them an opportunity for re-opening the question and they urge the Commission to recommend the adoption of this system as a necessary preliminary to any further political advance. A common electoral roll exists already in several Crown Colonies with a mixed population of Indians, Europeans and Africans, for example, Mauritius and British Guiana. They are prepared to accept a common roll on the basis recommended in the Wood-Winterton agreement, subject to the remark that as the European community have since increased at a more rapid rate than the Indian the

initial electoral qualification should be fixed at a level which will secure slightly more than a 10 per cent. Indian electorate. At the same time they are ready to agree to reasonable safeguards against any possible apprehension on the part of the European community that Indian members may at some future date dominate the Legislative Council. The Congress assure the Commission that the grant of a common roll on these lines whether with or without the reservation of seats will restore the faith of the Indian community in the intentions of His Majesty's Government, and will render all other questions at issue between the two communities easily and speedily soluble.

Conclusion.

In conclusion the Congress desire to repeat that the onus of proving that a Federal Government and an unofficial majority in Kenya are expedient at present lies heavily on those who advocate them, and that to launch such an experiment without the general agreement of all communities concerned is to incur grave risks and to take a step which cannot easily be retraced.

**Supplement to the Memorandum submitted by the F. A. I. N. Congress,
Nairobi to the Hilton Young Commission.**

On page 7 of the memorandum already submitted it is stated that "Indian in Kenya suffer many disabilities, social and economic as well as political". Though a few examples were given it was not possible in that document to enumerate them in detail. In order, however, that the members of the Commission may be under no misapprehension as to the extent and reality of these grievances it is considered desirable to set forth at greater length the main disabilities or inequalities under which Indians labour in Kenya as contrasted with the more favoured treatment accorded to their European fellow subjects.

Segregation.

One of the very few points at issue between Europeans and Indians determined in favour of the latter by His Majesty's Government in 1923 was that of residential segregation. His Majesty's Government decided (*vide* the Parliamentary White Paper entitled 'Indians in Kenya' of July 1923), that "the policy of segregation as between Europeans and Asiatics in the townships must be abandoned". In spite of this clear and unequivocal statement considerable urban areas continue to be reserved for Europeans on the ground that owing to previous legal commitment in the form of restrictive covenants contained in leases given to Europeans before 1923 racial restrictions as to leases and occupation must continue. The result is that racial segregation remains in important areas in Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Eldoret, Kisumu and elsewhere and that in practice the relief which Indians expected from the decision of His Majesty's Government has not been adequately secured. The extent of the area of adjoining Government land to which the terms of the restrictive covenants apply has been interpreted more widely in Kenya: E. G. in the case of Mombasa than in Uganda, where in the cases of the Kampala and Jinja urban areas the blocks reserved for European occupation have in consequence of the decision of His Majesty's Government been cut down to a minimum. As explained on page 39 of the Feetham Commission Report Indians are excluded from most of the suburban areas surrounding Nairobi. To add to these disabilities areas immediately outside the township are not open to them for residential purposes on the ground that such areas are agricultural land included in the highlands. In view of the fact that the Indian population of Nairobi numbers about 8,000 souls the hardship involved in restricting them to relatively small residential areas is severe.

Reservation of Highlands.

The history of this question was reviewed at length in the White Paper of 1923. His Majesty's Government decided that the existing practice of restricting both initial grants and transfers of land in the highlands to Europeans must be maintained. In reply to subsequent representations from the Colonies Committee Mr. Thomas, then Secretary of State, could "hold out no hope of the policy in regard to agricultural land in the Highlands being reconsidered." In practice bar against Indians applies to all land outside townships even though it cannot strictly be termed "agricultural land" as well as to land to which the terms of restrictive covenants are held to apply. Moreover in spite of questions in the Kenya

Legislative Council, the Government has so far been unable to inform the Indians of the precise line of demarcation between the highlands and the lowlands.

Education.

According to the latest figures available, *viz.*, for 1926, the highest number of Indian pupils on the rolls in Government and aided schools was 1,777 as compared with all Europeans. In spite of the far large number of Indian pupils the cost to Government of tuition was four times larger for Europeans than Indians. In the estimates of expenditure for 1928 £46,248 have been provided for European education as compared with £24,702 for Indian education. It is the declared object of the Department of Education to make education compulsory for every European child in the Colony. Though the present Director of Education, Mr. Orr, is personally a sympathetic officer no such programme has been formulated for Indian children though according to the Education Department's report for 1926 "there are still a very large number of Indian children without facilities of education". The capital expenditure on buildings for European schools is much larger than for Indian schools and the new and much needed High School building for Indians in Nairobi has still to be constructed.

Medical.

There are three Government hospitals for Europeans only, *viz.*, in Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu. All three hospitals are located in permanent buildings with salaried staff of medical officers and nursing sisters. According to the annual medical report for 1926 no separate hospital has yet been provided for Asiatics. Indian patients, therefore, since they are not admitted to European hospitals, have to be treated in native hospitals. The scheme for a combined hospital for Europeans, Indians and Africans in Nairobi has not matured and in the absence of separate hospitals Indian patients are put to great inconvenience.

Public Services.

Although no statutory restrictions exist no Indian has yet been promoted to the officers' grade in any department of Government. Further, it appears from the report (page 65) of the Non-Native Census of February 1926, that, while the number of European Government servants shows an increase of 11 per cent. since 1921, the Indian figures are stationary. During the same period the European staff of the Kenya and Uganda Railway more than doubled their numbers while Indians decreased by 8 per cent. The gradual replacement of Indians by Africans in posts which can be held efficiently by the latter is not of course open to objection. The substitution, however, of Europeans for Indians in clerical or other subordinate posts besides being unfair to Indians unnecessarily increases the expenditure of the Colony. In this connection the Indians desire to state that as British subjects they have claims to preferential treatment over foreign employees both in recruitment and in replacement whether by Europeans or Africans.

Discrimination also exists in the leave and passage regulations of European and Indian Government and Railway servants. For instance, Europeans are entitled to longer leave and after shorter periods of service. Land is granted on special terms to retiring European civil servants, but no similar concession is made to Indians.

Representation on Public Bodies.

Important bodies such as the inter-Colonial Railway Council, the Board of Public Health and the Port Advisory Board contain no Indian members although these committees deal with subjects intimately affecting the welfare of Indians.

Municipal Administration and the Feetham Commission's Report.

In spite of their large numbers and the considerable sums paid by them in local rates and taxes Indian interests in urban areas such as Nairobi and Mombasa do not receive equal consideration from the local bodies. The condition of the areas occupied by Indian shopkeepers and others shows at a glance the inequalities of treatment in respect of municipal services such as lighting, sanitation, roads, etc. In Nairobi some improvement has been effected in recent years owing to larger Indian representation on the Corporation since 1925. The recent report of the Feetham Commission, however, which has caused great resentment in the Indian community, proposes to increase European representation and to grant an elected European majority both in Nairobi and Mombasa without any increase in the number of Indian members, and with a complete disregard of the recognised canons of municipal representation, *viz.*, numbers and taxation. The fact that Government have announced their acceptance in substance of the recommendations of the Feetham Commission with regard to Nairobi without giving Indians an opportunity to express their views upon them has added to this feeling of resentment.

Customs Tariff.

Heavy import duties on articles such as ghee and flour which are necessities of life levied with the objects of assisting European industries in the highlands operate unfairly against Indians particularly belonging to the less well to do classes. Owing to their being debarred from owning agricultural land in the highlands these duties bring no corresponding advantage to Indians.

Further Racial Distinctions.

On the Kenya and Uganda Railway Asiatic and European passengers are not permitted to travel in the same compartments. Hotels and restaurants do not admit non-Europeans. The absence of Indian magistrates acquainted with Indian languages and customs entails hardship on Indian litigants. The privilege of trial by jury has not yet been granted to Indians. Difficulties are raised from time to time in the grant of fire-arms to Indians and more particularly revolvers and rifles. A large sum of money is spent annually by the Government of this Colony on the maintenance of a Bureau of Trade and information in London. Indians receive no appreciable benefit from the Bureau and as they have pointed out in their memorandum the general attitude of Europeans is to discourage Indian immigration. Under the Mining Ordinance, 1912, prospecting licences can only be issued to Europeans and one European must be employed by the lessee for every 20 acres granted to him on a mining license.

Conclusion.

The above list of racial distinctions and inequalities, though not exhaustive, enumerates the many and varied grievances under which

Indians labour in this Colony. Many of these grievances do not exist in other Crown Colonies including the neighbouring territories of Uganda and Tanganyika inhabited by Europeans, Indians and Africans. In Colonies such as Mauritius, British Guiana and Trinidad, where there are many Europeans in addition to Indians and Africans, the same Government schools and hospitals are open to all races. There is no segregation, no communal franchise and no political or economic inequalities. In consequence there is a better feeling between the races. The existence of distinctions based on race or colour create great resentment among Indians resident in Kenya as well as their fellow-countrymen in India. The disproportionate representation given to Europeans in legislative and other bodies as well as the communal franchise are largely responsible for the existing differences. The grant of a common roll and adequate Indian representation on all public bodies would undoubtedly help to mitigate, if not remove, racial distinctions which so long as they exist will prevent the peaceful progress of this country and the harmonious co-operation of its different races.

APPENDIX II.

Memorandum submitted by the Central Council of the Indian Associations in Uganda to the Commission on Closer Union.

Indians in Uganda.

Indians have been resident in Uganda since the establishment of the British Protectorate in the last decade of the 19th century. Their services to the country have been many and varied. The railway to Uganda was almost entirely built by Indian labour. Sir Harry Johnston writing of the period (1899-1901) when he was Special Commissioner in Uganda refers to the enterprise and usefulness of Indian traders. "To British Indians" he remarks "I can only wish unlimited success since they trade under the British flag and create trade, first in a small way and then in a large way, where no trade has hitherto existed." From that time there has been a steady increase in their numbers and a progressive development of their commercial interests. The Asiatic population of Uganda, which is almost entirely Indian, now numbers over 11,000 souls as compared with 1,752 Europeans and a considerable proportion of them have settled permanently in the country. The cotton trade of Uganda is largely in Indian hands. According to the latest figures out of 189 ginneries no less than 125 are owned by them and during 1926 no less than 42 per cent. of the total quantity of cotton exported from Uganda was consigned to India. Most of the retail trade is carried on by Indians who by their enterprise in opening shops in the remotest villages even beyond the limits of the administered area have created new markets and have acted as the pioneers of civilization among a native population that has only recently emerged from its primitive state. The sugar industry is almost entirely Indian and the only sugar factory in Uganda has an Indian proprietor and is under Indian management. Sir Hasketh Pell, as Governor in 1909 recommended that Indians of agricultural stock should be settled on the land and though no active steps were taken to give effect to this proposal, it indicates the friendly spirit with which the Government of the Protectorate have always regarded Indian immigration. The Uganda Development Commission of 1920 bore witness to the energy and enterprise of Indian traders and recommended their encouragement as agriculturists, mechanics, medical practitioners, etc., Indians have also played a considerable part in fields other than commercial. Indian soldiers have on more than one occasion been employed in this country. For instance, Indian non-commissioned officers played an important part in the training of the King's African Rifles and the mutiny of Soudanese troops in Uganda was largely brought to an end by the arrival of a force of Indian soldiers. The garrison in Uganda for some considerable time included a number of trained Indian troops. The services of the Indian army in East Africa during the great war are well known.

The Indian community in Uganda also includes Government officials, agriculturists, artisans, house and property owners as well as members of the learned professions such as barristers and doctors and in all these fields of activity have proved themselves useful and active citizens of the adopted country. It is unnecessary to elaborate further the Indian record in Uganda. In fact, it has never been challenged. It is sufficient in this connection to quote from a speech made by the present Governor

at a meeting of the Legislative Council in 1926 "It gives me," said His Excellency "as I feel sure it gives all Hon. Members, much pleasure to see a representative of the Indian community on the Legislative Council of this Protectorate in the activities and development of which that community has played and is still playing a considerable part. Indeed, I may say that the role of the Indian community in Uganda's development has been not merely important but positively indispensable. I refer not only to the larger commercial enterprises for which it is responsible, but also for its provision of the personnel necessary for many essential functions of Government. And I have been greatly impressed in my journeys throughout the Protectorate by the initiative and perseverance which has been shown by Indians in penetrating and establishing themselves in the most out-of-the-way places, and thereby bringing about the extension of trade and commerce to a degree that could not have been achieved otherwise. I am glad to take this opportunity of publicly paying tribute to the valuable services rendered to Uganda by that enterprising and law-abiding community." These words, it is submitted, are as true as they are generous. It is only necessary to add that the relations of Indians with Europeans on the one side and Natives on the other have always been friendly and that their progress has been assisted by the co-operation they have received from the Government and the peoples of the Protectorate.

Federation.—The Indians of Uganda wish to make it clear that they are opposed to any development in the nature of a Federal Government or a Federal Council. Hitherto no demand for Political federation has been made by any of the various communities—official or non-official—resident in Uganda. The Ormsby-Gore Commission which reported as recently as April, 1925, found little, if any, support in East Africa for the idea of immediate federation and in some quarters definite hostility. For instance, the King and Native Government of Buganda were opposed to it: so were all shades of opinion in Zanzibar as well as various Indian associations in the three northern territories. The Commission came definitely to the conclusion that any attempt at federation would be premature. They remarked that "geographical conditions and the lack of communications would be a serious obstacle. Federal Government would be expensive and cumbersome: it would curtail in many directions the freedom of action which now belongs to the local Government and would lead to delay in all local Government matters which require reference to the Secretary of State. Moreover, it is very doubtful whether a Governor-General and a super-staff in East Africa would materially reduce the amount of correspondence between the East African Governments and the Colonial Office." The Indian community are of opinion that nothing has happened in the intervening two years to make these objections to federation less valid than they were when the Commission reported and would lay particular stress on the existing lack of communications between Uganda and the neighbouring territories as well as on the large expenditure involved by the creation of a Federal Government or Council. At present there is no railway connection between any of the Capitals of the three northern territories. Even roads over large areas are passable only in dry weather and it would be difficult to find non-official representatives of Uganda who would be in a position to make the sacrifice of time and money that would be entailed in attending committees and council meetings of the Federal Government if its head-

quarters are situate outside Uganda. A High Commissioner with a Federal Council, a permanent Secretariat and administrative or advisory officers must necessarily entail considerable expenditure and absorb funds which are required for other urgent purposes such as education. If the subjects entrusted to the Federal Government are few in number its functions and responsibilities will not be commensurate with the expense involved. If, on the other hand, a large number of matters are handed over to the Federal Government, it is probable that there will be a tendency to excessive centralization and to interference in purely local affairs. There are other objections to political federation. The problems and conditions of Uganda are not identical with those of the adjacent territories. The Natives of Uganda and in particular the Baganda are an intelligent people who have shown rapid progress in the assimilation of western education and western ideas. There are large Native Protectorates resting on agreements with the paramount power and with considerable authority vested in the hands of their Chiefs. In Buganda in addition to the Kabaka there is a Legislative Council (Lukiko) composed entirely of Natives. No such protectorate or council exists at present either in Kenya or in Tanganyika. The Native policy in general is also different. The land policy, for instance, obtaining in Kenya would be wholly out of place in Uganda. The Kabaka has protested once more against the inclusion of his country in any scheme of federation on the ground that it must affect the special status of his kingdom and has recently received an assurance on the subject from the Secretary of State. From the Native point of view therefore it is clear that the objections to federation are important and indeed formidable. Last but not the least is the danger—a very real one—that union with Kenya with its recent record of anti-Indian feeling, its racial disabilities and distinctions and the demand there in influential circles for an unofficial European majority will sooner or later influence the Federal Government and will result in the diffusion of the Kenya atmosphere and the Kenya policy. The danger would be greater if the High Commissioner and the Federal Government were located in Nairobi, the centre of influence of the most powerful and active community in Kenya or if a non-official majority is conceded in Kenya and it acquires as a result of its altered constitution a position of greater weight and independence *vis à vis* the Federal Government than the territories which are still governed by official majorities. The Indians of Uganda have seen it stated that one result of federation will be to secure the mandated territory of Tanganyika for all time as an integral part of the Empire. They are strongly opposed to any surrender or transfer of the existing mandate in favour of any foreign power but they consider that the conditions on which the mandate was granted to Great Britain are sufficient to secure this object and they do not share the suspicions of the intentions of His Majesty's Government which appear to exist elsewhere and they see no reason why the interests of Uganda should be sacrificed to suspicion which in their view are groundless. Moreover, in practice the safeguard will be of little value since the transfer of the mandate rests in the last resort not with the Government of Tanganyika or a Federal Government but with the Imperial Government and the League of Nations.

Closer Union.—While opposed to a Federal Government, the Indian community accept the necessity for a closer union or co-ordination in certain branches of administration between the territories of Uganda,
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Kenya and Tanganyika and of Zanzibar if that Protectorate so desires, and they are ready to co-operate in any practical proposals to secure this end. As explained, however, below, they consider that closer union can be obtained by methods other than the creation of a Federal Government. Some degree of co-ordination already exists in the form of the Governors' conference and administrative conferences, as well as a Railway Council on which both Kenya and Uganda are represented and a Union of Customs and Post and Telegraphs between these countries. The East African Medical Service, as stated by the Ormsby-Gore Commission, has been constituted on a basis which ensure similar pay, grading and conditions of service for medical officers throughout the territories and provides a common roster for promotion.

The Governor's conference, which has a permanent secretariat and a travelling secretary has so far met only on one occasion and according to a resolution passed by its members has proved of great value. There has also been a conference of law officers and a technical conference. Neither the Governors' conference nor the administrative conference have received a sufficiently long trial and it is the view of the Indian community that they should be continued and developed. The Governors' conference, for instance, may be empowered to call for reports from the Governments concerned and to offer advice so that the lessons learnt in one territory may be available for the guidance of neighbouring administrations when similar conditions arise. In the same way the scope of subjects dealt with by the administrative conferences may be extended and save in matters exclusively the concern of experts they should include un-officials and Europeans and Indians. *Ad hoc* conferences might occasionally be arranged between the representatives of two only of the territories for the settlement of special or local disputes. The Railway Council of Kenya and Uganda is now working well as also the Union of Customs and Posts and Telegraphs. Any difficulties that may have occurred are not insurmountable. Tanganyika might suitably be represented on the Railway Council and be induced with its consent to join the Union of Posts and Telegraphs. Inter-territorial conferences and Councils should not be confined to one centre but should be held in succession in each of the territories concerned. In conclusion the Indian community wish to emphasise that any co-ordination or closer union should for the present rest on voluntary agreements between the territories concerned, a reference being made to the Secretary of State in case of differences of opinion in important matters.

Legislative Council.—The third term of reference to the Commission now being sent out by the Secretary of State contains the following sentences—

“ to make recommendations in regard to possible changes in the powers and composition of the various Legislative Councils of the several territories—

(a) as a result of the establishment of any Federal Council or other common authority ;

(b) so as to associate more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government the immigrant communities domiciled in the country.”

The Legislative Council of Uganda is at present composed of six officials in addition to the Governor and three nominated non-officials of whom one is an Indian. There has been no public demand up to the present on behalf of any community in the Protectorate for the removal of the official majority in the Legislative Council of Uganda. Moreover, as they have said, Indians are opposed to the establishment of a Federal Government. In these circumstances and in view of the fact that there is at present no direct representation of Natives on the existing Legislative Council the Indian community are of opinion that it is desirable that the official majority should continue.

As regard (b) in the terms of reference there is already some association of the immigrant communities in the trusteeship of Government through the representation of non-official Europeans and Indians on the local Council. The Indian community do not wish to shirk the responsibility for a trusteeship for the Natives and recognise that they are intimately concerned with the welfare and progress of the African races. But they feel that the policy which the Colonial Government has been following is in the best interests of the Natives, and that any change is to be deprecated which would have the effect of dividing or diminishing the sole and undivided responsibility of the Imperial Government. In Uganda the numbers of the immigrant races and in particular of the Europeans are very small while the African population exceeds 3 millions. The interests of the Natives who are at different stages of development in different areas can never be adequately represented by men of other races however well meaning. The progress of the African race gives good ground for hoping that before very many years Natives will be found who will be able to formulate views on public questions affecting Africans and to represent the Native races directly on the Legislative Council. Even at present on the Cotton Board in Uganda there is a Native Member, while there are two Natives on the Native Advisory Council for Education. It is possible too that further association in the trusteeship of Government may create a position which the Natives themselves will resent and may thus defeat the object which it is intended to secure. The closer association desired by the Indians of Uganda as well as the Imperial Government will be best secured by Europeans, Indians and in time Africans, entitled to such representation, being represented on Legislative Councils, local bodies and committees on equal terms rather than by placing any community in a position to take an important part in determining the policy to be applied to another class of the population which has not yet reached the stage of political adolescence.

APPENDIX III.

Memorandum on behalf of the Indian Association, Dar-es-Salaam, with which are affiliated all other Indian Associations in the Tanganyika Territory.

Indians in Tanganyika.

Intercourse between India and the East Coast of Africa has existed from an early date. Indians have, in fact, been established in the coastal belt of the region now known as Tanganyika Territory for many generations and the records dating from the middle of the 19th century show that they were then carrying on a brisk trade with Zanzibar and India. The declaration of a Protectorate by the German Government in 1889 did not affect their material progress. At the census of 1912 the number of Indians in German East Africa was returned at 8,784. Some of these Indians were agents for the large firms in Zanzibar while others were independent traders. They dealt with the Arab caravans which brought down ivory and cattle to the coast, purchased from the Natives such products as copra, copal and corn, and laid the foundations of the large retail trade which is now in their hands. With the gradual pacification of the country Indians moved towards the interior and settled throughout the Protectorate where they purchased the products of the country for export and sold to the Natives such commodities as cotton, beads, wire, glass, etc. Dr. Schnee, the Governor of German East Africa in 1914, whose remarks in other respects exhibit a strong bias against the British Indian community, admitted officially that "for the present the Indians are indispensable as middlemen between large European firms and the producing and consuming Natives".

After the great war, in which the part played by the Indian Army in the East African theatre is well known, the number of British Indians in 1921 was returned at 9,411. Of these 2,869 were engaged in commerce, 1,384 mainly in industry and 804 in official posts. In Government service, although in the course of time they may be replaced by Africans as the latter become competent to perform the duties now carried out by Indians, at the present stage no other equally economical or efficient agency is available. In commerce they continue to play a great part in developing both the external and internal trade of the country. The total value of the imports into Tanganyika Territory, for instance, in the year 1926, was £3,152,422 of which the share sent by India was valued at £463,086 or 14.7 per cent. A large proportion of the export trade to Great Britain and other foreign countries also passes through the hands of Indian firms. In internal trade the Indian shop-keeper and pedlar has been the pioneer of civilization by opening shops in outlying districts and bringing within the reach of the Natives the commodities which they desire to possess and there by stimulating them to increase their production for purposes of sale. Their enterprise has done much to create new markets for British and Indian products. As masons, carpenters and artisans they are contributing towards the development which they necessarily afford to the Natives employed under them. Apart from these three important categories Indians are proving their ability to hold their own in competition with other immigrant races as lawyers, doctors, school-masters and in other professional capacities. Some Indians have bought ex-enemy estates and

are demonstrating their capacity to manage large plantations with an efficiency which rivals that of the best estates in the hands of Europeans. Karimji Jivanjee and Company, for instance, own estates extending to about 80,000 acres and employs 15,000 to 20,000 Native labourers. At a recent Agricultural show at Nairobi the sisal grown on one of their estates took the first prize. The Indian Association submit to the Commission that their record in this country, which in fact has never been disputed by Government or other responsible authority, shows that they have from the beginning taken a leading part in its economic development and that they are still an indispensable factor in the prosperity and progress of the territory. Their numbers have greatly increased since 1921 and are estimated to be 18,483 in December, 1927, as compared with 4,500 Europeans of whom over 1,500 are not British subjects. On all these grounds the Association claim that, if any change in the constitution of the territory or in its relations with neighbouring territories is under contemplation, due weight should be given to their views as the most numerous and economically important of the immigrant communities.

Federation.

The Commission are enjoined to make recommendations whether by federation or some other form of closer union more effective co-operation between different Governments in Central and Eastern Africa may be secured. The Association wish to make it clear that they are opposed to any development in the nature of a Federal Government or Council. They consider that any form of political federation between the territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika would be premature at present and that it would be still more premature to include the territories of Zanzibar, Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia in such an union. No public demand for political federation has yet been put forward by any responsible body representing organised opinion in this territory. They would lay particular stress on the extensive area of Tanganyika Territory and the undeveloped state of its communications both internal and external. Wherever the Federal Capital may be fixed the necessity of referring to headquarters questions arising in the departments reserved for control by the Central Government will entail inordinate delay. The personal contact which is so important an element in smooth and satisfactory administration will to a large extent be lost. There is in this territory no leisured class in a position to spare time to attend to their duties as members of the Federal Council, if, as appears possible, that Council is situated in some centre outside this territory.

The Association fear that the creation of a Federal Government with a Governor General, a Federal Council, a Secretariat and a staff of central controlling officers will entail expenditure out of proportion to the advantages anticipated. They deprecate the diversion to this object of funds which are urgently required for other nation-building activities. As recently as December, 1926, His Excellency the Governor after reviewing the general financial situation of the country stated "we have been unable to find funds for extending the medical and sanitary work, the educational and agricultural services, the campaign against the advance of the fly, for research, and for other public services which are of the utmost importance to the territory". In this connection it may be pointed

out that the frontiers of Tanganyika are at present secure and that no question of defence against external enemies arises. Indeed, the Mandatory is prohibited by the mandate from erecting any fortifications or organising any Native military force in the territory except for local police purposes or for its defence. Federation is likely to place upon Tanganyika a share of the liability for the protection of the Northern frontier of Kenya Colony, a burden from which it is at present exempt.

The Indian Association are keenly alive to the many disabilities under which the Indian community in Kenya labour and would regard with apprehension any measure of which one of the results might be the extension to Tanganyika Territory of the unhappy racial atmosphere which exists in Kenya. They are glad to place on record that their relations with the Government of this territory, with the immigrant European communities and with the Natives are excellent and they strongly deprecate any measure which may react on a position which they are most anxious to maintain. Indeed, it would in their opinion be contrary to the spirit of the mandate if Tanganyika Territory, in which legislation based on racial differentiation is prohibited under Article 7, is linked politically with a Colony such as Kenya where disabilities on grounds of race only are imposed on Indians and other non-European races. They feel that the danger of the extension of the Kenya spirit to this territory will be enhanced if the headquarters of the High Commissioner and the Federal Government are located at Nairobi, the centre from which much of the anti-Indian agitation has in the past been generated, and still more if by the grant to Kenya of a non-official majority on the Legislative Council, the Government of that Colony instead of entering the federation on terms of equality acquires from the outset a position of virtual predominance.

Conditions obtaining in Tanganyika are not identical with those of the adjacent territories. The Natives of Tanganyika Territory are not even British nationals. The Native policy of the Administration, as distinguished from that of Kenya, is based on the principle of indirect rule, i.e., of maintaining and supporting Native rule so far as possible through the agency of Native Chiefs as delegates of the Governor, subject to certain limitations necessitated by the terms of the mandate and the stage of civilization which the Natives have attained. Again, in Tanganyika Territory all lands vest in the Governor as public lands and are held and administered by him for the direct or indirect benefit of the Natives. Occupancy rights are not given to non-natives for periods exceeding 99 years and even within that period are subject to the revision of rent not less frequently than every 33 years. The Kenya policy of reserving the highlands for the European races and the constant difficulties between the settlers and the Natives on the question of labour have no counterpart in Tanganyika. Anything in the shape of a unified Native policy, as between Kenya and Tanganyika is therefore out of the question and the influence of a Federal Government, which must necessarily take account of the views which animate an important section of the public in Kenya, on this aspect of the administration, is not likely to enure to the benefit of the Natives of the territory.

The Ormsby-Gore Commission, which reported as recently as 1925 stated that owing to the practical difficulties involved in federation the day was still far off when a Federal Government could be imposed on these territories. They laid stress on the difficulties arising from geographical

conditions and the lack of communications. A Federal Government would in their opinion be expensive and cumbersome and would curtail freedom of action on the part of local Governments. They found little support for the idea of immediate federation and in some quarters definite hostility. The Indian Association consider that there has been no material change in the conditions which led the Ormsby-Gore Commission to this conclusion and would urge that the system of co-ordination by conferences which they advocated has proved satisfactory, so far as it has been tried, but has not yet been given a sufficiently long trial to warrant the conclusion that it is inadequate to present requirements.

The Indian Association have seen it stated that one result of federation will be to secure the mandated territory of Tanganyika for all time as an integral part of the Empire. They are strongly opposed to any surrender or transfer of the existing mandate in favour of any foreign power but they consider that the conditions on which the mandate was granted to Great Britain are sufficient to secure this object. They fail to understand how the creation of a Federal Government will add any substantial safeguard to those which already exist, particularly since the ultimate decision on the question of the rendition of Tanganyika Territory, if it should ever arise, must remain with His Majesty's Government and the League of Nations. The Association desire to invite attention to a speech made by His Excellency the Governor on the 7th December, 1926, at the first session of the Legislative Council in which he dealt with the future of Tanganyika, and in particular to the following passage:—

“ There is no provision in the mandate for its termination or transfer. It constitutes in fact merely an obligation and not a form of temporary tenure under the League of Nations. This obligation does not make British control temporary any more than other Treaty obligations (such as those under the Berlin and Brussels Acts or the Conventions revising those Acts) render temporary British control over Kenya or Uganda, which are no more and no less likely to remain under that control than is Tanganyika Territory. I make this statement with the full authority of His Majesty's Government.”

This speech confirms and amplifies the statement made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies at the East African dinner on June 25th, 1925, when he said that “ he wished to correct the idea that there was something transient in their hold upon Tanganyika. It was as essentially a part of the British frame work as any other Protectorate.” Words such as these regarding the permanency of the British mandate, coming from the Secretary of State and the Governor of the Territory speaking with the full authority of His Majesty's Government, should dispel any reasonable apprehensions on the part of those who might feel doubts about the continuance of British authority in this territory.

C.—Closer Union.

While opposed to political federation the Indian community are willing to agree that in certain departments some form of closer union is desirable between the territories of Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and, if necessary, Zanzibar, and they are not opposed to proposals in this direction in the case of those branches of the administration where it can be shown that a further degree of co-ordination or closer union than exists at present

is necessary in the interests of economy and efficiency. Some degree of co-ordination already exists in the form of the Governors' conference and administrative conferences as well as in the customs Union between Uganda and Kenya, to the customs Tariff of which the Tanganyika Administration is at present conforming by a voluntary agreement. The Governors' conference, which has a permanent secretariat and a travelling secretary, has met on one occasion only but was reported by its members to have been of the greatest value and to have done much to facilitate the work of achieving unity of thought and action on matters of common concern to all parts of the East African dependencies. There have also been conferences of law officers and agricultural officers. In the case of these technical conferences also, the members placed on record their sense of the value of this method of co-ordination. The Indian Association recommend an extension of the subjects dealt with by such conferences and would indicate scientific research (particularly medical and veterinary), posts and telegraphs and education as suitable subjects for further co-ordination along these lines. They are in favour of continuing both the Governors' conference and the conferences of specialist officers and extending their powers. For instance, they may be enabled to call for reports from the Governments concerned on any matters falling within their sphere and to offer advice based on experience in other territories where similar conditions have arisen. The scope of subjects dealt with by the administrative conferences may be extended and, except in matters exclusively the concern of experts, they should include unofficial Europeans and Indians and representatives of Africans. The venue of such conferences should not be confined to one centre but should move in succession to each of the territories concerned. *Ad hoc* conferences also may be arranged on occasion between the representatives of two of the territories for the settlement of local or special disputes. They are doubtful however if the time has yet come when Tanganyika can profitably join the Kenya-Uganda Railway Council. While they admit that direct competition between the Tanganyika railways and those of the adjoining territories should be avoided, they would emphasise the fact that the former are exempted from the burden of original capital debt and may therefore in due course be in a position to offer great facilities at lower rates than other railway administrations less fortunately situated.

With regard to customs the tariff is at present fixed by voluntary agreement on a scale corresponding to that in force in Kenya and Uganda and is liable to modification in detail in either territory after consultation between the Administrations concerned. The Association are not entirely satisfied with the working of the present system and would recommend that an Advisory Council should be instituted on the basis of equal representation with Kenya and Uganda to consider and make recommendations regarding difficulties and anomalies as they arise. They would add that a complete Customs Union with Kenya and Uganda is out of the question, since apart from other reasons in the event of those Territories agreeing to grant Imperial Preference to Empire goods, Tanganyika under the guarantees of economic equality to all Nationals of States Members of the League of Nations contained in the Mandate, would be unable to follow their lead. In conclusion the Indian community wish to place on record their view that any form of co-ordination or closer union should for the present rest on voluntary agreements between the territories concerned, a

reference being made to the Secretary of State in case of differences of opinion on important subjects.

Legislative Council.

The third term of reference to the Royal Commission requires them to make recommendations in regard to possible changes in the powers and composition of the various Legislative Councils of the several territories—

- (a) as a result of the establishment of any Federal Council or other common authority ;
- (b) so as to associate more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government the immigrant communities domiciled in the country and
- (c) so as ultimately to secure a more direct representation of Native interests.

The Legislative Council of Tanganyika is at present composed, in addition to the Governor, of an official majority together with seven nominated unofficial members, of whom two are Indians. There has been no public demand up to the present on behalf of any community in the Protectorate for the abolition of the official majority in the Legislative Council. In view of the fact that Indians are opposed to the establishment of a Federal Government and that there is at present no direct representation of Natives on the existing Legislative Council, the Indian Association are of opinion that the official majority should continue and would observe that abrogation of this system would render it difficult for the mandatory to maintain complete and undivided responsibility to the League of Nations for the administration of the territory in accordance with the terms of Article 22 of the covenant.

As regards (b) and (c) in the terms of reference, the immigrant communities are already to some extent associated in the responsibility and trusteeship of Government through the representation of non-official Europeans and Indians on the local Council. The Indian community are vitally concerned with and desirous of the welfare and progress of the African races, and as one of the most important of the immigrant communities have no wish to repudiate their share of responsibility for exercising the trusteeship in the Native interests but they feel that the policy to which His Majesty's Government have been committed by the terms of the Mandate and which is being scrupulously carried out by the local Administration is in the best interests of the Natives and that any change is to be deprecated which would have the effect of diminishing responsibility for this policy or transferring it to other hands than those in which it now rests. The interests of the Natives, who are at different stages of development in different areas, can never be adequately represented by men of other races however well meaning. The question of a non-official majority on the local Council will not be ripe for consideration until Native education and the system of Native administration through tribal organizations has proceeded much further than it has yet done. The closer association desired by the Indian community in Tanganyika no less than by the Imperial Government will best be secured not by placing immigrant communities in a position which the Natives themselves may in time come to resent but by granting to Europeans, Indians and in time Africans representation on local Councils, local bodies and committees on equal terms. When the number of the Europeans of whom about three

thousand only are British subjects, and of the Indians in this territory are contrasted with the Native population of about 4½ millions who are not yet in a position to represent themselves, it will be obvious that the time has not come to consider seriously any proposals to constitute a non-official majority on the Legislative Council, or to associate the immigrant communities more closely in the trusteeship of Government for the Natives.

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APPENDIX IV.

Memorandum by the Indian National Association, Zanzibar.

A.—Indians in Zanzibar.

It is of importance to record that Zanzibar was the first port on the Eastern Coast of Africa opened for settlement by non-Africans. Traders from Cutch and Kathiawar had established trade relations with Zanzibar long before its conquest by Arabs, and in the settlement of non-Africans in Zanzibar, Indian navigation played an important part. Zanzibar was the first capital of East Africa and was till recently the emporium of East Africa and it was from Zanzibar that the Portuguese first secured an Indian pilot to India. In all these spheres of activity Indians have played a most important part. They have largely contributed to the economic development of the country in creating in the natives a taste for the modern necessities of life. They have all along acted as bankers to the agriculturists and co-operated with them in marketing their produce. Indian shopkeepers in the districts perform the very important function of supplying the natives with the necessities of life. Indians fitted up the caravans for the expedition of Stanley in search of Livingstone and have assisted the great missionary movements from the West. They assisted Great Britain in her task of abolishing slavery and it is an acknowledged fact that rich and prominent Indians of the time not only liberated a large number of slaves but gave them the wherewithal to maintain themselves for some time after their liberation. They have all along been held in high esteem by the Arabs for the continued co-operation extended by them to development of the country ever since its conquest by them. In fact they held high offices of State under the former Sultans of Zanzibar. Their relations with the natives have been friendly. The native has everything to gain and nothing to lose by his contact with Indians. Nearly 90 per cent. of the trade in these islands is controlled by Indians. A considerable trade is carried on with India and the Indian community also contributes a large quota to the trade with other countries. According to the latest figures the trade of Zanzibar with India was 21.82 per cent. of the total trade of the Protectorate. According to the latest census figures, the total native population of the Protectorate was 202,665 (census 1924). Indians numbered 12,841 and Europeans 270 of whom 222 were British (mostly Government servants). (Census 1921).

B.—Federation.

The Indians of Zanzibar are strongly opposed to federation or even to a formal closer union or to a Federal Government or Council. All sections of the inhabitants of Zanzibar expressed their hostility to federation in 1924 when the Ormsby-Gore Commission visited the Island. Since then no demand for a federal Government has been made in Zanzibar. The Indian National Association have seen the memoranda prepared by the Indians in Kenya and Uganda for the Hilton-Young Commission. They are in general agreement with the arguments against federation contained in these memoranda as well as on pages 8, 9 and 10 of the report

of the Ormsby-Gore Commission, 1925. Lack of communications and the large expense are serious obstacles. It was on account of these obstacles, as well as the delay in securing decisions and the lack of knowledge of local Indians, that the post of High Commissionership for Zanzibar formerly held by the Governor of Kenya was abolished in 1925 on the recommendation of the Ormsby-Gore Commission. The Indian community see no ground for reverting to a system of administrative Federation which has so recently been discarded. The problems and circumstances of the Island are wholly different from those of the adjacent territories. There is no European colonization or native problem and from the nature of the case no question of inter-railway or road communications arises. The existence of a Native Protectorate and the Treaties between the various Nations, the British Government and His Highness the Sultan render political federation impracticable. Federation with Kenya with its racial disabilities and anti-Indian record and the demand there in certain circles for an unofficial majority would be disastrous to the best interests of Zanzibar where fortunately good relations exist and have always existed between the various communities. The Indian National Association along with all other classes of people in Zanzibar are anxious to preserve this atmosphere of friendliness. Zanzibar has not to face any of the problems of immigration, of a unified policy of roads and railways, of native and non-native production, of native and non-native reserves which have been agitating the minds of the races living in Kenya, thanks to the mistaken policy pursued by a section of European settlers there. In Zanzibar all races have equal rights and opportunities, except that there has been a gradual reversal of the old policy, whereby Indians are no longer appointed to higher posts in Government service. Federation or closer-union of Zanzibar with neighbouring territories and especially with Kenya as a dominating partner is bound to disturb the present atmosphere of friendliness and co-operation between all races—a change which all sections of the people view with great apprehension and distrust. Besides it is feared that Zanzibar on account of its small size and its climatic and other conditions which make it unfit for European colonization stands the risk of being treated as the Cinderella of the Federated territories. Federation would entail greater expenditure, both administrative and political than Zanzibar can afford to pay, or can spare from urgent schemes of internal development. For instance, contributions will be required towards a Federal Secretariat and Government and the central, co-ordinating officers. Zanzibar's geographical position does not warrant any contribution towards the defence of Federal territories. Zanzibar's administrative needs are different from those of the larger neighbouring territories and any co-ordination of services that may result under federation will serve no useful purpose.

• Lastly, federation would be derogatory to the status of the Dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar as long as the treaties between Great Britain and the Foreign Powers on the question are in existence. This is one of the special grounds under which no federation or formal closer union can be acceptable to the people of Zanzibar.

Customs Union.—They cannot accept even Customs Union with the Mainland. While the adjoining territories have got abnormally high manipulated and protective import duties to protect the foodstuffs produced in these territories, Zanzibar still maintains a comparatively low

import tariff and therefore enjoys a cheaper cost of living. Increases in custom duties would be a burden on Zanzibar commerce and prosperity and would in particular press hardly on the poorer classes for whom the cost of living would be increased without any corresponding benefits. This will be evident from the fact that Zanzibar does not yet produce any necessaries of life and as such she has to depend on the outside world for them and the mainland will not be in a position to supply the same.

Currency.—After the stabilization of the Indian rupee by the Government of India there is no necessity to change the existing currency. There are no material fluctuations in exchange and a fair proportion of the trade especially in those commodities with which the Natives are concerned is with India. Again, as has been pointed out, the Zanzibar currency is a sterling one and not merely a token. In this connection it will be interesting to quote from the report of the Governors' conference, 1926—the resolution at page 24 which says :—

“(b) Zanzibar add the Shilling Currency.

The Conference discussed the question of the Shilling currency in Zanzibar, since it had been referred to in the report of the East African Commission, but they were of opinion that the time was not yet ripe for any action in this connection.”

C.—Co-ordination.

The Indian National Association while rejecting the idea of federation agrees to the alternatives suggested by the Ormsby-Gore Commission of holding periodical conferences both of Governors and of the responsible officers of the various departments. The experiment has worked well and it appears from the published reports of the said conferences that they could be of the greatest value in achieving the object of unity of thought, action and administrative policy in matters of common concern to all the provinces of the Eastern Africa without in any way interfering with the independent administration thereof. The alternative suggested by the Ormsby-Gore Commission of achieving co-ordination by conferences should be given a further trial. In the opinion of the Association with some added powers such conferences will be of great help in achieving co-ordination of policy, especially in scientific research and uniformity of legislation in matters like insolvency jurisdiction, etc. Zanzibar may be represented when necessary on all such conferences ; but all arrangements arrived at between Zanzibar and other territories should be on a voluntary basis.

It may be pointed out that Zanzibar already participates in the development of the Amani Agricultural research farm. She also participates in the East African information Bureau and gives grants in aid to the following other institutions :—

Imperial Bureau of Entomology.

Imperial Bureau of Mycology.

Tropical Diseases Research Fund.

Bureau of Hygiene and Tropical Diseases.

The Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad.

Colonial Advisory Medical and Sanitary Com.

Imperial Institute.

East African Meteorological Service.

International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

Secretariat of Governors' Conference.

D.—*Natives.*

In Zanzibar there is no question of the Native Trusteeship as in the adjoining countries. His Highness the Sultan holds the position of their ruler and for all other purposes the Senior Commissioner in Zanzibar and the District Commissioner in Pemba represent them. Of late, District Courts with native representation on them have been established. The Indian National Association considers the establishment of Native councils on the lines of those in Uganda advisable. Such Councils, in its opinion, with the Shehas and Akidas as their Presidents would help the evolution of the natives of the country and would result in due course in great good to the Government. Through the co-operation of such councils the voluntary enforcement of the Compulsory Education Decree in these Islands can be secured. There is therefore no doubt that the main object of His Majesty's Government in these provinces, namely, the uplift of the natives can be easily achieved through the instrumentality of such councils and with the passage of time they can directly represent themselves on the local Legislature.

E.—*Powers and Composition of the Local Legislative Council.*

The Zanzibar Legislative Council contains at present six nominated members. The maintenance of the existing official majority is desirable in the best interests of the communities. The question of the further association of the immigrant communities in the trusteeship of the Government does not arise. No desire for such association has been expressed by any section of the community. The Natives are equally eligible with others for membership of the Legislative Council. There is no special native question and no conflict of interests between the Natives and the other races in the island.

F.—*Conclusion.*

In conclusion, the Indian National Association invites attention to the following instructions to the Commission by the Secretary of State, viz. :—

“ While the ultimate possibility of federation of all the six territories concerned should be borne in mind closer union may prove on examination to be practicable, in the first instance, only between Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, leaving it open to Zanzibar, Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia to come into any structure as and when the development of communications permit.”

In view of this statement and the reasons already given Zanzibar should be allowed to remain out of any scheme of federation or Closer Union.

The Association whole-heartedly endorses the speech delivered by His Excellency Sir Claud Hollis, the British Resident at the Governors' Conference when he observed :—

“ Many of the more important matters to be discussed at this conference will not affect Zanzibar, but Zanzibar regards herself as the Mother of the other Dependencies and is keenly interested in the welfare of her daughters. ”

The Indian National Association welcomes the Commission's suggestion for co-ordination by means of conferences but is opposed to any form of organic closer union.