

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM. H/M. 23rd July, 1946. Ref:8/367. In my like to see his in connection with C. 257/1/42 CONFIDENTIAL. nge ional atriched. ? Mr by. Life 6/8 ffairs, My dear Stephenson, With reference to my letter of ken This is not so lead, though the the 12th July on the subject of speeches made by the High Commissioner for India and his ions reference to the position of Indians in the Union of Sauter daughter, you may be interested to read the enclosed copy of a speech which Sir Raghunath
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The present problem of Indians overseas has only a history of about 100 years. When slavery was abolished, it was found difficult to have enough labour especially of an agricultural kind in countries which formerly depended upon Negro slave labour. The emancipated slaves were unwilling to work as paid labourers and the attention of these colonies turned to the vast reserve of labouring population in India and China. Applications were made to the then Government of India, which was at that time entirely controlled by the East India Company and the British Government, for recruiting labour to serve on many of the plantations in foreign countries. One of the earliest applications came from Natal whose sugar industry was on the point of a breakdown for want of adequate labour and the Government of India allowed Indian labourers to proceed there under conditions of indenture which more or less amounted to semi-slavery. The men recruited were illiterate and ignorant and did not realise what they were undertaking. Rosy prospects of prosperity were dangled before them and many of them left the shores of their native land to make their fortune in a distant land. The principal conditions of indenture were that they were to work for an employer for three to five years, their passage was to be paid and at the end of the period of indenture they had the option of either returning to India at the expense of their employer or to settle down in the country as free men with a certain amount of land. Most of these men, having burnt their boats when they first migrated, preferred, when the time came for them to make a decision, to settle down in their new land. And the propserity of Natal, which is called the 'garden colony' of South Africa, is mainly due to the labours of these humble India labourers. Similar is the origin of the large Indian populations in other parts of the Empire like British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, Mauritius, Fiji, Malaya, and even Burma and Ceylon, though in the case of the last three, their proximity to India encouraged many Indians of trading and professional classes also to go there.

In east Africa, especially in the Colony of Kenya, Indians went there as traders or as workers on railways and public works or as lower government servants. In all these regions, the Indian settlers today suffer from analogous difficulties though their severity might be less in some parts than in others. As these regions advanced in prosperity, the people of other races became jealous of the Indian settlers there and began to make conditions difficult for them. Matters have now come to a breaking point in the case of South Africa and the history of the Indian settlers there during the last 50 or 60 years is one lamentable record of White jealousy, tyranny and broken promises and undertakings. It is curious to recall that one of the points in the British case as put forward by Joseph Chamberlain against the Boers was the disabilities suffered by Indians in Transvaal under President Kruger, and when Britain soon after the close of the Boer War gave virtual independence to South Africa, the treatment of Indians was specially reserved to the British Government, a guarantee which remained merely on paper and has had no real effect in succeeding years. It was in South Africa that Gandhi first came into prominence by his campaign of passive resistance against certain oppressive measures of the South African Government. It would be too long to go into the history of all the incidents, negotiations and representations made by the Indian Government both to the Home Government and the South African Government, but the White population there, both Boer and British, seem determined to deny to the Indians any rights or privileges whatsoever and any position that they may have secured as a result of their labours during these years appears to be an eye-sore to the white communities. Every conceivable device has been used to deprive Indian traders of their means of livelihood and every conceivable argument adduced to justify their repression. They have been segregated in locations and bazaars on "sanitary" grounds and no "sanitary" facilities provided for them. Licenses to own lands, licenses to own or occupy houses, licenses to trade and so on have been placed in the hands of bodies upon which they have no representation while their trade rivals have. It has been said that they lower the standard of living but the Union Government have failed to offer any inducement to Indians to improve their standard of living. Indians are segregated by every social means that can most wound their human sentiments. They may not enter European theatres, cinemas, shops or hotels. They may not use lifts but must take the stairs. They are excluded from European schools and largely from Universities. They have separate accommodation

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on trains and trams and buses, separate counters at post-offices even and are subjected to daily humiliations by petty officials. The Government of India, it must be acknowledged, has always supported the South African Indians in their struggle but the powers of a dependent Government are naturally unequal in a contest with a Dominion Government. The indenture system, of course, has long been given up and the South African Indians in question are not new arrivals but are the descendants of old indentured labourers who came to the help of South Africa in its dire need. They have no other country to go to and in spite of the efforts of the Union Government it has been found impossible to squeeze them out of South Africa.

The recent break with South Africa has its origin in a new legislation recently passed by the Union Parliament in the effect of which would be the complete segregation of Indians away from the white quarters and any properties which they might have acquired could be compulsorily taken away from them not only for the purposes of occupation but for purposes of possession. With Indian opinion having greater influence in the Indian legislature, the Government of India have most reluctantly been compelled to put into operation the Reciprocity Act which places similar disabilities upon South African whites resident in India and have withdrawn their High Commissioner from South Africa. The Indians in Durban, where the so-called Pegging Act most affects them, have again entered on a campaign of passive resistance and these passive resisters are being continually sent to jail. It is hoped that better counsels will prevail with the Union Government still and will not require this question to be brought up before the United Nations Organisation as the Indian representative has given notice. The way in which the Dominion of South Africa deals with this problem of Indians within its boundaries is likely to have considerable influence in swaying Indian opinion on the question whether the independent India of the future should continue to remain in the British Commonwealth or not.

Although South Africa is by far the most acute question at the present moment, other parts of the British Empire have their Indian problem as well. In the Colony of Kenya, for instance, where the whites and Indians are numerically approximately equal and are far out-numbered by the indigenous Negro population, all the desirable highlands which constitute a large proportion of the habitable part of the colony, have been practically reserved for the whites. The white settlers there, with the help of the white officials, are able here again to have things practically their own way and to subject Indians to many legal and practical disabilities. I could speak about other parts of the British Empire, if I had the time. I recently had occasion to visit Fiji where Indians also went as indentured labourers 80 years ago but are now free men mostly engaged in agricultural pursuits. Their condition is distinctly better than what we read of in other colonies though there again one can see some traces of racial prejudice. The educational system, for instance, is founded upon the complete segregation of Europeans, native Fijians and Indians. The poll tax, which has been introduced there, specifically exempts the native Fijians and practically exempts most Europeans as they pay income-tax. They have also their difficulties about land tenure but I have great hopes that many of these difficulties willtsoon disappear under sympathetic treatment by the local Government and the Colonial Office.

The case of Burma and Ceylon are somewhat different and are of very extensive proportions. Both these countries still depend for their economic prosperity to a great extent upon Indian labour. There were over a million Indians in Burma before the war and about 2 of a million in Ceylon but they suffer from various disabilities. Both these governments desire to have Indian labourers but no Indian professional people. In Ceylon, only an Indian in the second generation can be employed in Government service and political frachise is very difficult for them to acquire. In Burma, the Indians are regarded with jealousy because they are hard working and just before the war, there were violent anti-Indian riots in Rangoon and other places. Both Burma and Ceylon, being near neighbours to India, are naturally dependent upon India and their defence in particular cannot be dissociated from the military resources of India. If therefore both these countries desire to have the advantage of Indian labour for their rubber. tea and rice plantations and the benefit of India's might in their defence. they should also be prepared to treat other Indian professional men fairly

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The case of Burma and Cevlon are somewhat different and are of very extensive propertions. Both those countries still derend for their economic prosperity to a great extent upon Indian labour. There were over a million Indians in Burma hefore the war and about 2 of a million in Cevlon but they suffer from various disabilities. Both these governments desire to have Indian labourers but no Indian professional people. In Ceylon, only an Indian in the second generation can be employed in Covernment service and political frachise is very difficult for them to acquire. In Burma, bee maidrew bred ore venit seessed vauoleet diw bebrever ere bere bere resing and just before the wer, there were violent-itne intote in Rangoon and other places. Both Burms and Ceylon, being near neighbours to India, are ed toddes refueltred at ecosteb riedt bas eifel dogu taebaegeb villeruten dissociated from the military resources of India. If therefore both these countries desire to have the advantage of Indian labour for their rubber. . some fish gient aid the im e'sibbul to fifened and the anoitetasig oply bus set they should also be prepared to treat other Indian proressionel men fairly and with justice. They ought to be granted full political rights provided they make up their minds to settle down in the country as permanent residents. At the back of all this prejudice against Indians is either racial prejudice or commercial rivalry on the part of their competitors in trade or simply envy owing to the fact that Indians prosper by reason of their industry and thrift. Whatever ostensible grounds may be reason of their industry and thrift. Whatever ostensible grounds may be alleged against Indians and their way of living to justify their invidious treatment, their main offence is not their vices but their virtues.

I may say that the Indians in all these various countries desire to identify themselves with their new homes and nothing would please them better than a state of affairs in which they would not have to look to the Government of India to support their claims. They desire to be treated as citizens with full political and other rights and I am sure that they will prove very useful citizens of the land of their adoption. They may continue to regard India as their spiritual home for a few generations but they will remain as staunch and loyal citizens as any other element of the population. It is only because they are subject to disabilities owing to their being Indians that the Indian Government has to interest itself on their behalf. I might in this connection refer to Australia and New Zealand where Indians permanetly settled in the country suffer practically no difficulties and where consequently I am happily free from having to make any representations on their behalf. The only point on which India can have, and has, any sentimental feeling is the slight involved in the term White Australia policy, which debars any fresh Indian, however high his position or social and economic standing, from settling in this country. Here again I may say that India has readily accepted the Statute of Westminister which empowers every Decin Dominion to regulate the composition of its population. But one wishes that the process of this regulation did not involve an implicit affront to the susceptibilities of other peoples. I might refer in this connection to a recent law enacted in the United States of America by which a maximum of Eurasians have been permitted to enter that country as prospective citizens every year. This had removed the one sentimental grievance which Indians had against America and this Act of wise statesmanship has greatly raised America in the estimation of the Indian people.

It is obvious that migration will not solve the problem of India's population and if anybody thinks that with, reasonable opportunities Indians will flood other vacant lands of the world and lower the standard of living in those countries, I am sure that such fear is absolutely groundless. Even if a million Indians were to migrate in the course of ten years - a thing which is almost inconceivable - it will not help to solve the growing pressure of population on India. All that India desires is to be a self-respecting member of the comity of nations, to be treated as an equal and to be allowed to make its contribution to the civilisation and progress of mankind. She wants to live amicably with all other nations, for in her whole history she has never waged a single offensive war against any of her neighbours, and it is only because the treatment of Indians in other countries and especially in several parts of the British Commonwealth wounds the pride of Indians that this question has far greater importance than the numbers involved which, being about 3 millions at the present time, is a mere drop in the ocean compared with her 400 millions resident in India.