

1921-22

## KENYA

C.O.  
3127

GOVERNOR NORTHEY	CONF 303	DATE 13TH DECEMBER 1921	RECD Dec 21 JI 22
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IN CIRCULATION:	SUBJECT
Mr. Bottomley	<u>LOCAL ALLOWANCE</u>
Mr.	
Mr.	
Mr. G. H. Read	
Sir W. Merton Smith	
Mr. ...	
Mr. ...	

Premiere Paper Q.M. 1649/21 02/9/	MINUTES
Copy of Circular	<p>There is nothing new or free in the way of arguments and I do not think it is necessary to do more than reply that the points raised are dealt with in our desk. and 5028/21. I ask that the petitioners may be informed that the S. of C. has received their memorial but that for the reasons given in that despatch he regrets that he is unable to reconsider the matter.</p>

Subsequent Paper No. 5082 Tang.	<p>[See your minute on 1649 as to this being a try-on.]</p> <p>Copy 26.1.22 Sir Guyana's Office, the Uganda post, bldgs</p>
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303.

~~CONFIDENTIAL.~~

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

NAIROBI,

KENYA.

3127

1st December, 1921

Recd. 21/12/21 J/22

Sir,

With reference to your despatch of the 1st October on the subject of the reduction of the local allowance as from 1st April next, I have the honour to transmit herewith, at the request of the petitioners, a memorial from the European (S.E.A.) Civil Servants Association praying for reconsideration of the decision that has been taken in this matter.

2. Your Confidential despatch of 8th November 1921, was received simultaneously with the memorial from the Civil Servants Association, and I am at present considering means for giving effect to the instructions contained in paragraph 4 of that despatch.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your humble, obedient servant,

GOVERNOR,

RIGHT HONOURABLE

WINSTON CHURCHILL, P.C., M.P.,

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,

DOWNING STREET, LONDON, S.W.

a recognition of the relative importance of  
of the Asiatic and the European and of the relative  
standard of living.

5. The unofficial members of the Legislative Council  
unanimously supported by the Press and public opinion  
generally will in favour of reduction of the local  
allowance in the case of the more highly paid grades  
of the service excepted opposites as being firmly  
opposed to a reduction in the lower grades at present.

6. Examples are appended of the effect of the  
proposed reduction of the local allowance on April 1st  
next.

(a) An unmarried Clerk engaged in January 1920 on the  
minimum salary of Rs. 30/- per month would receive

	P.A.	Total Rs. or/-
On 31/12/20	190 plus Cap Bonus 120	310
On 1/1/21	plus 15/- to the	325
On 1/4/21	plus 10% 3.1. 1920 345/-/10s.	345
On 1/4/22	plus 25/- a £.25	425

He will thus be drawing 400 fewer coins of  
similar purchasing power in April 1st. 1922 than in March  
1920 in spite of 5% increase in substantive salary and  
two increments.

(b) An unmarried District Commissioner on the list.  
March 1920 drew 850/- P.A. substantive salary  
plus 40/- Duty allowance  
50/- War Bonus

	Rs. or/-	
On 31/12/20	600 @ Rs. 15/-	- Rs. 15/-
On 1/4/21	625 plus 312/10s.	+ Rs. 312/10s.
On 1/4/22	650 plus 162/-	+ £.16 12/-

He will thus receive 725 fewer coins in 1922  
than in 1920.

NO.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3122

1st December 1921

1. I first saw the European Proposals at a meeting of the Indian Association on 26th August.

2. On my return here in October I held meetings with the leading Europeans and Indians, acquainted them confidentially with the terms of your Memorandum dated 26th August, and advised them to send to you agreement.

3. For some time I hoped that the European Community would accept the proposals to set up, I did all I could to persuade them to do so, but finally they decided they could not accept them. Their views are set out in their Memorandum which I attach with a copy of a letter addressed to myself (also attached). Their attitude is, *prima facie*, one of the most definite refusal to accept any compromise; their views will, no doubt, be given you more fully by the delegation (Lord Delamere and Col. Griffiths, C.M.G.).

4. If you could agree to substitute ~~a communal~~ for common franchise I think the remaining proposals in your memorandum would be accepted by the Europeans, but I cannot persuade them to enter into the idea of any form of communal franchise; that is the rock upon which our  
10s.

5. The Indian community here, under the auspices of the Indian Association, considered the proposals *seriatim*, and I enclose copy of their

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WINSTON CHURCHILL, P.C., M.P.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

DOWNING STREET.

LONDON. S.W.

letter.....

certain percentage, on to the voter's roll. Whatever form of franchise is given, if any, the Kenya Indians being under the thumb of the Political Agitator will vote for him.

With regard to the Indian franchise, I do not believe it should be given on the legislative council. I would suggest, one for the Coast, one for Nairobi, and one for Mombasa, and one for Lamu and districts. There are no other electoral areas in Kenya in which Indian interests are at present of sufficient importance to justify representation on the Council. But, in order not to disenfranchise qualified voters, I would divide the whole Colony and Protectorate into the required number of electoral areas, ten European and three Indian, of the latter two, the Coast (including Mombasa), and Nairobi, would each elect two Members. The Indian constituencies would be based on the present European electoral boundaries, but would include two or more of them. European Areas - If at any future time the number of qualified Indian voters justified it, the number of their electoral areas can be increased by subdivision.

10. With regard to an Indian member on the Executive Council, there is one, and only one, in the Country, whom I would recommend that His Majesty be asked to nominate, viz., Mr. Phadke. If he should refuse, or if the Indians object to his nomination, as I think they would, for he is a moderate man, I should not be prepared to suggest another name.

11. I do not think a resounding place between the Nairobi and the coast would be a good Indian seat. Also, the location of no town, save Mombasa, would be suitable for such a seat. It would be better to have a detailed proposal for the division of the town into wards.

12. I have made this despatch as short as possible, as you have already so much correspondence on the subject; my views are well known to you both from previous despatches and from our recent conversations.

I have the honour to be,

Lic.

Yours very truly & sincerely

C. F. G.

Despatched 29th November 1921.

"Indian Policy. I regret delay in reporting due entirely to length of time taken by Europeans and Indians to consult their constituents. Agreement by compromise has proved impossible. Indian demands are as follows: common electoral roll with qualification of £100 capital or £100 annual income and reasonable knowledge of reading and writing English, of which half Indians. Executive and Legislative Councils to remain as at present. Laws to remain as they are. Highlands to be left to Indians. To receive at Almora, Law, if satisfactory to Indians, which no restriction it transfer. The Europeans in the N.W.P. held entirely obstructing meetings and would not agree to give Indians one nomination. They urge permanent and exclusive representation of Europeans by Native or European. No European in the entire community of Indians and Europeans can be reasonably expected to take up residence in India. Indians have, which will be done, to nominate against delegations so formed. Indians are to be represented by a nominated member. In January the Indians to meet at Almora and a deputation is given. Deputation represents very well the whole European Community, who wish to represent their case to you after the most careful consideration. I recommend that you postpone decision till you have seen the deputation. But if final decision must be made and announced immediately I advise that Indians be given one nominated seat on Executive Council and five elected.....

## CONVENTION OF ASSOCIATIONS.

Nairobi, Kenya Colony.  
23rd November 1921.

His Excellency Major General

Government Sir Edward Briscoe, G.C.B.  
Nairobi, Kenya Colony.

My Excellency,

We have thought it advisable to send you an answer to the memorandum which you handed us from Mr. Churchill on October 7th in order that there may be no mistake as to the exact wording of our reply and a copy of it is enclosed herewith. This takes the form of a statement (A) and a criticism (B) of the general basis of Policy which accompany this letter. We recognise how much has been done to bring about a favourable issue on this question, and we very much regret that we find it impossible to accept Mr. Churchill's proposals as they stand.

The general basis of policy and the granting to Indians of a "common electoral roll" with Europeans cut away the very foundations on which we feel our future is fixed; and, from the broader Imperial standpoint, are certain to perpetuate the difficulties and dangers they are intended to allay; so that we feel that we should be traitors to our race, and to the civilisation which we represent if we voluntarily accepted such proposals.

The Union of South Africa, the only self-governing Dominion which has tried this policy in practice, has protested against it at the Imperial Conference. To the other self-governing Dominions who, in fact, deny these rights to Asiatics, this question is no longer a living issue; and we submit that they were not in a position to judge the effect of this policy in Africa on the facts before them. To us it seems to show a wanton neglect of the lessons of the past in other Colonies, and to be the certain forerunner of years of political strife.

The policy outlined in Mr. Churchill's memorandum, as it stands, can have no real finality. It does not, in fact, give the equality which it professes to lay down as the basis of policy, and, therefore, it cannot satisfy the Indians, even though they may accept it as a stepping stone to further concessions. It takes from the Europeans definite political rights which they already possess. It destroys the value of the constitutional changes of the past which forebade the loss through the European community in the future of the right of Indian

We have now replied to the memorandum concerning Indian community representation in order that they may be assured that respects they hold in the Colony, but we cannot admit their political equality with ourselves in a position which has been reached from savagery by European initiative and self-sacrifice, and where the great native populations depend entirely on European ideals of Government for justice and advancement in civilisation.

We.....

We cannot seriously believe that His Majesty's Government intends to extend the political chaos in India to Kenya, or will consider enforcing a policy which signifies the European community - which, after all, has no possible hopes or future except under the Flag - to do so. We openly protest against the dismantlement of the Kenyan State. We are sure that Your Excellency will agree with us in our view that it is a whole illogicality to suppose that the European community is sincere in its desire to serve the Kenyan people.

In view of the fact that it is difficult for us to secure a position in England's favour in this case, and that Your Excellency is no longer able to carry on the negotiations in England which have done so much to alter the attitude of His Majesty's Government, we have decided to despatch a delegation to Eng. and to lay our case before Mr. Churchill, and personally to explain to him in detail our objections to the policy which it is intended to introduce, and to press for its modification.

We should be very grateful if Your Excellency would give the delegation the status necessary by a letter to Mr. Churchill, and in this connection we may say that we regard the statement in Mr. Churchill's proposals as an undertaking that no change in the constitution will be made before the end of next year. This being so, we would urge Your Excellency to use your influence to have any decision on the matter delayed until such time as the members of the delegation have reached home, and have had the fullest opportunity of discussing the subject in all its bearings with the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The delegation is composed of the Right Honourable Lord Delamere and Colonel Griffiths, C.M.G., from this Colony, and may be strengthened by the addition of another member on its arrival in England.

The more detailed criticisms of Mr. Churchill's proposals will be conveyed to him by the members of the delegation personally.

To A.R.W.

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

(SGD)	DELAMERE.
(SGD)	C. KENYONTH ARGYLL.

2 ENCLOSURES.

The Elected Members of the Legislative Council and the Convention of Associations of Kenya have carefully considered the terms proposed for a settlement of the Indian question, contained in a memorandum entitled "Indian Policy in Kenya", which was handed by His Excellency to a meeting of Legislative Councillors, and of Members of the Executive Committee of the Convention of Associations, and of certain delegates of the Convention, called by him at Government House on October 7th last.

Deeply conscious of the heavy burden of responsibility laid upon them by the vital issues at stake, and of the grave consequences which may follow any rash decision, they have brought to their deliberations a very genuine desire to find in these terms some common ground on which to base discussion and to seek compromise on all matters which are not essential to the great principles on which rests British Dominion in Africa.

Nevertheless, after examining in detail every clause of the terms, they are constrained to inform His Excellency that they are driven by the dictates of loyalty to the Crown, and of duty to their countrymen in Africa and to the African native races, to adhere to the previous declaration on this subject, as up to date resolutions passed by the Convention at its special session in June last, and confirmed at its special session of August last, as the only wise policy, because they are fully and definitely convinced that, only by adhering to the policy thus enunciated, can the honour and safety of the British Commonwealth in Eastern and Southern Africa be assured.

2. Moreover, having regard to the complicated agitations of disloyalty in India, and having regard to repeated seditious attempts by the Indians, who return here, to stir up dissatisfaction amongst the African natives of this Colony by means of a mendacious propaganda, and having regard to the numerous and vehement protestations of disaffection by these same Indians. For the more extreme agitators in India, it is considered that the advantages of adopting clauses 2 of the Convention's policy, viz., two Indian members of the Legislative Council, selected by nomination instead of two Indian members elected on a communal franchise as laid down by Lord Milner's speech of May 1920, and accepted by Convention as part of the irreducible minimum, are emphasized; and it is submitted that the trend of events during the last few months makes it more than ever certain that it is neither safe nor wise to entrust a communal franchise to the Indian community of this Colony.

It is feared that in the present state of Indian ageling, the mass uprisings and the few violent agitations, communal elections might result in the return of two extreme politicians, whose presence on the Council would tend to further the interests neither of the Indian community nor of the Colony. On the other hand, by nomination it may be possible to select two Indian councillors from the more stable sections of the Indian community, who will promote the welfare of their compatriots.

3. However the European community of Kenya welcomes further discussion with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the belief that the act of putting forward these terms and

the.....

the manner in which they have been put forward are indications that the imperial Government fully shares Kenya's desire to settle this question on broad lines of Imperial policy. It has therefore been arranged with the approval of His Excellency the Governor that a Delegation proceed immediately to London to put before the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies the views of this Colony in more detail than is possible within the compass of a written document.

4. In view of the fact that the intentions of the Imperial Government may be clearly set out in accordance with the fundamental objects which it is拟 to achieve, a discussion may be established on the lines of the following:

A. The right of the Colony to determine its own affairs of home rule on the basis of Indian self-government, to negotiate a separate and distinct policy.

B. The right of the Colony to determine its own affairs of home rule on the basis of Indian self-government, to negotiate on the lines of the Magna Carta of 1215, and to have the Constitution upon which the present agreement has been built, to be confirmed by the Imperial Government without modification or alteration to its own adoption from its original form, any future agreement being subject to the same conditions as the original, to stand in the highest and unchallengeable regard in the minds of the people of the Colony, and to be carried into effect in accordance with the principles of the Convention.

5. In this connection reference is made to the two basic objectives set out in paragraph 4, Section 2, sub-section 1 of the Convention.

(1) The preservation of the majority of the Colony under European administration, with gradual evolution into European self-government; and  
 (2) the recognition of English as the language to promote the ethical and material development of civilization for the native African and each of the different Western ideals of civility and character, by the competition of knowledge, skill, and cultural immigration.

6. Their Excellencies do accordingly request that:

As evidence of the friendly and conciliatory negotiations referred to in clause 1, the memorandum agreed on October 7th, 1923 at Nairobi, Kenya, namely, the Working of 1923, shall be submitted to the Indian Government for their consideration, and that, in consequence of the above, the Indian Government will be entitled to a Legislative Council in the following terms:—

"The Indian Legislative Council shall be publicly summoned in the year 1924, and the session of the Council for the year 1924 shall begin at the end of 1923, and that it will sit in any way or fashion in accordance with any contemplated new Constitution."

For the same reason the principle of restricted immigration on equal terms for Indians and Europeans contained in clause 4 of the Terms, provided that detailed regulations for its operation are drawn to conform with the two basic objectives set out in paragraph 4, Section 2, sub-section 1 and 2 above of this memorandum; and as a step towards the fulfilment of clause 1 of the Convention's policy.

**"Equal rights for civilised men."**

This is one of those political formulas which may mean a great deal or nothing at all, in accordance with the method under which it is administered in practice and which therefor, leads to many political differences and unrest.

The peace of the World is still being disturbed by the struggle so divine "Xoil" determines from different points of view, and in our opinion, the basis for "civilised men" is neither peace nor equality. It is evident that according to the law of interpretation, it seems to us impossible to fit such a definition accurately as civilised man by any word, and will not easily be accepted as binding.

Civilised man in the view of the European community would be one who is capable and willing of helping India and Africa as a whole to advance along the path of a civilisation based on Western morality, no ideals.

Can any Asiatic be so defined or would he accept such a definition? His aspirations and his ideas of civilisation widely diverge from our own, and cannot be blended with them without loss to the ideals of our own civilisation.

The phrase "equal rights for civilised men" presumably includes social as well as political rights. Does this mean that the Imperial Government wishes to encourage inter-marriage and the mixing of the races? This is a policy to which we could never agree, and yet it is the natural outcome of "equal rights for civilised men". Without this, the proposed policy only emphasises the gulf between the races.

The self-governing Dominions which have agreed to this "basis of policy" in theory have always in fact denied this equality to Asiatics. The Union of South Africa which has had practical experience of this policy refused to subscribe to it at the Imperial Conference of '32.

A satisfactory statutory definition of "civilised man" is in our opinion an impossibility. An arbitrary qualification intended to admit 10% of the Indian population to equal political rights is no solution. Under these circumstances we feel we cannot accept a "basis of policy" which has been abandoned, and which is liable to expansion or contraction at the will of any individual or party who may be temporarily responsible for the government of this Colony at any time. The demand by India for such further alterations in the constitution of Kenya is bound to arise whenever the political position in England favours it, if only from the very fact that the details of policy indicated in Mr. Churchill's memorandum on that country, which is as far as the basis of policy in Kenya.

We believe that this formula by which the policy is to be carried can only lead to political discord and strife. If it is honestly applied, and should it be submitted to India, mean the ultimate annihilation of the European community and the betrayal of the native races.

If it is not honestly carried out can any one believe that it will allay Indian discontent? We cannot see far enough into the future to determine the ultimate policy of an

Empire composed of different races, but we have the practical experience of other Colonies to show us that it is not practicable at present to attempt to mix Asiatics and Europeans on an equal footing in one community.

The Imperial Conference laid this down in 1917, when it enunciated the policy of the inherent right of every community to determine the composition of its own population. This policy undoubtedly meant that in the self-governing Colonies and India, "we to advance side by side as ~~as~~ <sup>the</sup> states within the Empire on a friendly footing it was necessary to avoid friction by keeping their respective inhabitants in their own zones by reciprocal control of immigration."

Admit all the same applied at the time only to self-governing units within the Empire, yet it laid down a basis of policy formed on the experience of the past, which was that no efforts of the Imperial Government had succeeded in settling Asiatic colonies which were ultimately to be given self-governing rights, and that a modus vivendi had to be found, as much like as the future solved the problem. This method was in fact segregation by countries within the Empire.

This system of segregation between the self-governing Colonies and India has so far succeeded that the delegates of Australia, New Zealand and Canada were able to meet the delegates of India on common ground in England at the Imperial Conference of 1921 and to work in agreement with them.

General Smuts, representing the Union of South Africa, was on the other hand unable to do so, because the causes of friction were still existent in South Africa. This was not because South Africa had given less in the past to Asiatics, but because she had given more. The result of having given so much in the past is that South Africa, in order to apply the segregation policy between East and West within the Empire, is bound to push forward strict control of immigration and to work towards the determination of her own population, which means great temporary friction until she has done so.

This proves to the bill the wisdom of the policy of the segregation by countries of the Asiatic and European inhabitants of the Empire. Where this has been done the friction has subsided - the cause of friction still exists where it has not been carried out. The object of course in the near future between East and West is the ultimate to eliminate the causes of friction as far as possible.

India is engaged in a great experiment. It will take some years to determine whether India is capable of self-government on the basis of equality. As an experiment it may be justified as a trial to see if India a voluntary member of the Commonwealth can fit up the British Empire.

But she has still to prove herself, and no valid argument can be produced for giving her equal political rights with Europeans in Africa who have proved their capacity for government over other races for whom the Imperial Government is responsible.

We.....

We feel therefore:-

1. That the experience of the past has proved the impossibility of mixing Europeans and Asiatics in one Colony on any footing which is acceptable to both.
- That, therefore, the Imperial Conference has in fact laid down a policy of segregation by countries between East and West, by reciprocal control of Immigration at India, not having proved themselves fit to govern others.
- That the policy of segregation laid down by the Imperial Conference should not be prejdictive to India in countries which have been given constitutional rights which are, in reality a pledge of self-government in the future.
- That the new supplementary policy of the Imperial Conference in 1921 is contradictory to the spirit of the policy laid down in 1917, as it is applied to countries, which, as in Kenya, have been given any such measure of popular European representation as foreshadowed self-government in the future by the European community.
- That the introduction of any form of Eastern control in Africa is a real potential danger to the Empire. No one can say with certainty to-day that India will side with us when the inevitable struggle between East and West takes place; and even if the chance of her not doing so in a small box is nowise remote, even the slightest risk of throwing Africa into the scale on the wrong side. European Colonies in Africa can only strengthen the Empire. Asiatic control over any part of Africa may easily be a source of weakness. The experiences of the past tell us that you cannot have both within the same boundaries without creating that very friction you wish to avoid.
- That the Imperial Government should not prejudice the future of the African by sharing its burden and responsibility of Government with a race which has, no right, by conquest or by peaceful means, to rule except under British Protection, & which is entitled to rule in Africa. But, in the first, Africans should share in the government of their own continent in keeping with Imperial policy; and that in the meanwhile they should fill the posts which their capacity allows as ~~surely~~ <sup>in</sup> Africa's right. European settlement in Central Africa is undoubtedly complained of African advancement. It is undoubtedly detrimental to African interests.
- That the basis of policy of Kenya should not be a ridiculous formula, which introduces the troubles which Africa is undergoing now, and which the self-governing Dominions have had to overcome in the past, thereby creating continual friction between India and the other units of the Empire.

The....

The "basis of policy" should be the recognition of the true spirit of the finding of the Imperial Conference of 1917, which was that European and Asiatic cannot live together on any footing of equality within the same boundaries, without creating a friction which is harmful to the Empire.

In the case of Crown Colonies such as Kenya, "equal rights for civilised men" as applied to Asiatics can only keep alive that friction which it is intended to lay to rest, and prejudice the future peaceful political advancement of the country, besides taking from the European community political rights which the past policy of the Empire has led the world to expect.

Once this is recognised, a fair and equitable policy can be laid down for the Asiatics already largely immigrating in Kenya. Once India is informed that she has to prove her own competency for self-government, that a demand for rights over other inhabitants of the Empire cannot be considered, and that throughout this is the unavoidable determination of the Indian Government, that aggression to take part in the government of Africa will not be countenanced, then the question of Asiatics in Africa can be satisfactorily settled.

The past policy of the Imperial Government has attempted to force upon European communities political rights for Asiatics who failed; and, besides creating Tripartite within the Empire itself, is to-day attempting also to do the same policy of England, a close organization with the United States of America for the advancement of our mixed civilization.

The "basis of policy" should be the recognition of the true spirit of the finding of the Imperial Conference of 1917, which was that European and Asiatic cannot live together on any footing of equality within the same boundaries, without creating a friction which is harmful to the Empire.

In the case of Crown Colonies such as Kenya, "equal rights for civilised men" as applied to Asiatics can only keep alive that friction which it is intended to lay to retard and prejudice the future peaceful political advancement of the country, besides taking from the European community political rights which the past policy of the Empire has led the

Once this is recognised, a fair and equitable policy can be laid down for the Asiatics already legally enfranchised in Kenya. Once India is informed that she has to prove her own capacity for self-government, that a demand for rights over other inhabitants of the Empire cannot be considered, and that in general this is the unalterable determination of the Imperial Government, it is legitimate to take part in the government of Africa, will do well, quite as the application of strict justice in Abyssinia and Somaliland would do.

The just policy of the Imperial Government in attempt to force on European communities political rights for Asiatics has failed; and, besides creating friction with the Society Italy, is tending steadily towards the True World Policy of England, a close agreement with the United States of America for the advancement of our public civilisation.

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## EASTERN AFRICA INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Standing Committee's Office.  
Mombasa. 17th November 1921.

His Excellency,

The Governor of the Colony of Kenya  
and British Protectorate.

1921.

19. We are glad at the news, for we are now  
able to get the Indian people to subscribe

to the election of Mr. M. H. DABHIA, the  
representative by a constituency of large  
number of Indian subjects of India against, under  
the said Act, the provisions of my committee on  
the franchise. The Policy seems to us

to be the ground for the  
total reorganization, now and for  
the future, of the Indian nation for admission to the roll to be

Proprietary £100 - capital £400 income.

and reasonable knowledge of written  
and spoken English.

members of any British and professional men  
should be allowed to vote without income qualifications.

Subject to these qualifications any British subject  
or protected person, male or female, of the age of 21 would be  
eligible to vote.

In this connection my Committee is of the opinion  
that a literacy + English literacy test, they have taken a  
test which will be very large numbers of otherwise  
good and law-abiding citizens of the right to vote. Consequently this has  
been very difficult, its only justification being to assist  
the Government to arrive at a representation.

GENTS. We beg to suggest the number of constituencies  
to be 7, 8, and electoral areas should be so arranged  
that the members returned should be Europeans and half  
Indians.

We agree to the new constitution to be introduced  
at the end of 1922. On the beginning of 1923 when the next general  
election under the present constitution would have been due in  
the normal course of affairs, in 1922.

of one India. We are  
representatives already on the register  
not to be disfranchised. Qualification must same property  
and educational qualification as any other until more generally  
applicable to the  
electoral roll.

#### INDIAN RECOMMENDATION NEW CONSTITUTION.

introduction of the new constitution on  
recommendation. Respective associations, five Indian members  
should be appointed to the Legislative Council, which will be  
distributed as under:-

- 2 Seats Mombasa.
- 2 " Nairobi.
- 1 " Kisumu.

I would.....

I would here respectfully remind Your Excellency that five seats were actually offered by you at the Round Table Conference.

368

We agree to official majority to be maintained on the Council.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. My Committee agrees that Indians should be appointed to the Executive Council, and that they should be consulted before the appointment is made.

IMMIGRATION. The immigration laws should remain as they are at present, as they have worked quite satisfactorily so far. No additional restrictions of any kind should be placed in the way of Indian immigration, which will be unimportant.

SEGREGATION. My Committee is firmly of the opinion that there should be no commercial or residential segregation. We however willingly agreed that strict sanitation laws may be enforced in commercial and residential areas.

The whole community is against the segregation question, and it is absolutely impossible for us to agree to any modification. The terms offered in the proposal allowing the voters to stay where they like, would be strongly resented by the whole community, as starting segregation between Indians and Hindus.

HIGHLANDS. After a very careful consideration and discussion, we have agreed to repeat the alleged pledge. We do not object to Crown lands in Highlands to be alienated in the first instance to Europeans only, and lowlands to be alienated in the first instance to Non-Europeans British subjects and protected persons only.

We are compelled that the attempt to maintain the legal restrictions embodied in the Governor's veto, in the Land-Ordinance of 1915, is against the spirit and in violation of the pledge to the Indian community. Therefore we submit that the transfers between British subjects of different races should be open and unrestricted by the Governor's veto.

MUNICIPALITIES. We are awaiting details, and we shall communicate decisions on receipt of particulars.

I have the honour to be,  
Your most obedient &  
humble servant,

(Sgd) J.B. DAVY,

Honorary Secretary, Secretary.

AMOU

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COPY.

## EASTERN AFRICA INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

TELEGRAM.

GENERAL SECRETARY THE GOVERNOR.

"THE COMMITTEE EASTERN AFRICA INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
 "AGREED FOLLOWING MODIFICATIONS INDIAN POLICY AS FOLLOWS  
 "STOP COMMON ELECTORAL ROLL FOR EUROPEANS AND INDIANS STOP  
 "QUALIFICATIONS PROPERTY IN HINDS FIVE HUNDRED SIXTY POUNDS OR EIGHT  
 "HUNDRED LIVRE AND REASONS LE KNOWLEDGE WRITTEN AND SPOKEN  
 "ENGLISH STOP CONSTITUENCIES AGREED SUBJECT TO HALF THE SEATS  
 "BEING RESERVED FOR EUROPEANS AND HALF FOR INDIANS STOP E AND  
 "Y AGREED STOP INDIAN REPRESENTATION AGREED SUBJECT TO FIVE  
 "MEMBERS BEING APPOINTED INSTEAD OF FOUR STOP OFFICIAL  
 "MAJORITY AGREED STOP INDIAN MEMBER EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AGREED  
 "PROVIDED WE ARE CONSULTED BEFORE APPOINTMENT STOP IMMIGRATION  
 "LAWS AT PRESENT IN FORCE TO STAND AS THEY HAVE WORKED  
 "SATISFACTORILY NO ADDITIONAL RESTRICTIONS TO BE PLACED IN THE  
 "WAY OF INDIAN IMMIGRANTS STOP SEGREGATION NO SEGREGATION  
 "WE WILL BE WILLING TO IMPOSE STRICT SANITATION LAWS STOP  
 "RESPECTING THE ALLEGED UNHYGIENE WE DO NOT OBJECT  
 "CROWN LANDS HIGHWAYS TO BE OPEN TO ALL  
 "TO EUROPEANS ONLY STOP CROWN LANDS IN DOMAINS  
 "THIS IS A POSITION AND POSITION WHICH WE AGREE BUT WE DO NOT  
 "WANT IT TO BE KNOWN AS A POSITION WHICH SHOULD NOT BE  
 "HELD AS A POSITION WHICH WE AGREE  
 "REGARDING MUNICIPALITIES STOP WRITING LETTER EXPLAINING ABOVE  
 "DETAILED."

GENERAL SECRETARY.

EASTERN AFRICA INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

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Standing Committee's Office  
Mombasa, 17th November 1921.

His Excellency

The Governor of the Colony of Kenya  
& Kenya Protectorate.

Kenya Colony

Dear Excellency,

INTERIM PROPOSALS.

I beg to confirm my telegram of 16th Inst.,  
as follows:-

RECORDING INTERIM REPRESENTATIONS THE STANDING  
COMMITTEE HAS AGREED TO ACCEPT AS PROPOSED IN  
TELEGRAM OF DATE ACTTER AGREEMENT ON MAY  
PROPOSALS HAS BEEN ADVISED."

I have the honour to be  
Your most obedient &  
humble servant,

(SGD) J.B. PANDYA.  
General Secretary.

Heading.	Mr. Churchill's memorandum suggests.	Views of Kenya Europeans.	Views of Kenya Indians.	Governor's remarks.
Franchise & representation on Legislative Council.	Common Electoral Roll. Qualifications £1000 Capital or <del>over</del> income, & reasonable knowledge of written & spoken English. 8 Electoral areas of which about 3 would be Indians.	There should be as at present, eleven elected Europeans, but only two nominated Indians.	Common Electoral Roll £500 capital or £100 income, with reasonable knowledge of written & spoken English. Twelve constituencies of which half should be European & half Indian.	Election of five Indian Members of Legislative Council on Communal Register. Retention of ten seats by Europeans, the present eleventh seat (the <del>last</del> ) to be one of the five Indian seats.
Immigration.	Same qualifications as for Voters Roll.	Restricted as suggested in Mr. Churchill's memorandum.	Immigration laws to remain as at present.	No alteration.
Executive Duties.	1 Indian Member.	No Indian.	1 Indian.	1 Indian.
Plains.	To be reserved for Europeans.	To be definitely reserved by Statute for Europeans.	All land was able to be sold freely to Europeans afterwards unrestrictedly or transferred.	To be reserved for Europeans.
Segregation.	Indians under 12, but members of the segregated in Residential areas, do segregated by Communal houses.	Absolute segregation in Residential & Residential Areas.	No Segregation of any sort.	Segregation in Residential but not in Commercial Areas of Townships.

Municipal representation under discussion between the Indian representatives and the Nairobi Municipal Council. Basis for settlement, division of Town into wards.