18-6-37

21 First St
Fairwood
Johannesburg

Dear Sir [illegible]

I have been ill for 7 weeks with pneumonia, or would have sent you cuttings before. I am thankful to read of the stand you are taking re transfer of Protectorates to Union.

Better-class public opinion is dead against it, & the natives unanimously so. The very little concessions made to natives lately, are simply so much "eye wash" for the British - directly the Protectorates are handed over, they will all be withdrawn. Read these cuttings; such & similar ones appear everyday; I could send thousands.—

Above all dont be misled by any drivel talked by W. Carey, ex Bp of Bloemfontein. He was intensely unpopular with the British when he was out here, & a most futile & useless Bishop - & in order to "get even" with the British critics he started to "suck up" (excuse phrase!) to the Dutch, who of course despised him for it, & were not in the least taken in. He boasts of being intimate with Hertzog, but that is untrue. no English parson of whatever rank, is ever intimate with a Dutchman their "predikants" who are all-powerful see to that!

Hertzog is no friend to the British, & even if he were, dare not show it. The racial hate between Boer & Briton is worse now than I remember in 30 years out here. & the police force, 98% Dutch, are simply vile to natives.

Carry on the good work, & may [illegible] & prosper

Yrs

E. Brehmer

MALIGN DESTINY

Outlanders: A Study of Imperial Expansion in South Africa, 1877-1902. By C. E. Vulliamy. (Cape. 12s. 6d.)

"WHAT is there, I wonder, in South Africa that makes blackguards of all who get involved in its politics?" So, as we learn from Mr. Garvin's Life, Chamberlain wrote to Fairfield of the Colonial Office on August 22nd, 1896. "Blackguards" is a strong term and it was used under the sting of a threat of blackmail. But if a milder term were substituted, a term that gave the sense of a malign destiny and not merely that of wilful wickedness, the sentence would not be inappropriate to the story told in Mr. Vulliamy's full and vivid narrative. Chamberlain was referring to Rhodes and the various conspirators of the Chartered Company, but when the whole history of this period is reviewed, it may be said that there is hardly a public man in its pages who does not leave on South African history the mark rather of his defects than of his virtues. Rhodes seemed in many ways the very man to settle the racial feud in South Africa. The obstacle to all plans for uniting South Africa was the influence of memories that made differences of habit and sentiment so bitter and acute. Rhodes was outside all this angry history. He had neither the resentful mind of the colonists nor the stiff mind of the bureaucrat. He neither disliked nor despised the Dutch farmers. He was an Englishman who understood them and won their confidence and respect. He was in sight of an immense success as an Englishman holding office as Prime Minister at the Cape with the support of the Dutch when some devil left in his soul by his past as a financial buccaneer, helped perhaps by the impatience that is one of the effects of heart disease, tempted him to his fatal fall. Milner, lacking the generosities of Rhodes' nature, had the virtues, the want of which ruined Rhodes, but just as the great reconciling work done by Rhodes was destroyed by the consequences of his crime, so Milner left behind him, as his chief memory, the obstinate arrogance that had wrecked all hope of peace between the two races. The excellent administrative and constructive work he did was less important to the world than the spirit he brought into African politics; the spirit that ruined Chamberlain's efforts for settlement, resisted the large sympathy of Kitchener at Vereeniging, and the larger sympathy of Campbell-Bannerman in 1906. The same fatality pursued all the other characters who took great talents and reputations of one kind or another to this sinister scene; either their own faults or the faults of others or the sheer spite of fate robbed South Africa of the benefits of the courage and the skill and the experience and the ideas of men like Bartle Frere, Garnet Wolseley, Evelyn Wood and Pomeroy Colley, and others who pass through Mr. Vulliamy's tragical pages. Mr. Vulliamy is very happy in sketching their temperaments, their plans and their misfortunes.

Behind these several tragedies there was one general cause of British failure. Whether any other European Power could have managed this perplexing knot of problems better nobody can say. But nobody looking back on this story can deny that neither the Disraeli nor the Gladstone Governments gave to their task courageous, consistent and honest thought. It looks as if the malaria, whose disabling effects are described so graphically in Dr. Leopoldi's illuminating study, *The Bushveld Doctor*, infected those Governments whenever they turned their minds to South Africa. Vacillation, inattention, weakness and the dodging of responsibility marked the behaviour of the Disraeli Government alike in their treatment of their problems and their servants. When the Gladstone Government took office in 1880, though they had both given strong reason to expect that they would reverse the annexation of the Transvaal, Gladstone and Hartington let themselves be persuaded without any serious study of the evidence that the Boers were now content. The Colonial Office was in the hands of Kimberley, who wanted to keep the Transvaal because he was told by bad advisers that it would upset the hope of federation if it was given back. Chamberlain with his direct mind was much wiser and more alert than Gladstone and he pressed from the first for the policy that was adopted later. That the Gladstone Government were right in refusing to let the mishap of Majuba alter their plans few will doubt, but the circumstances which the Liberal Government gave effect to the policy it had seemed to promise before the election of 1880 made a concession that was right, and in the circumstances highly courageous, a new cause of discord.

Until Chamberlain went to the Colonial Office in 1895 South African affairs were never in the hands of a Minister who was at once a man of action and a man able to make his colleagues listen to him. Yet with all his energy he, too, fell under the African curse. Rhodes and his friends took advantage of Chamberlain's natural impatience and drew him by subtle methods into their power. We know from Mr. Garvin's Life that, deceived by the Rhodesians about the prospects and the seriousness of the proposed rising in the Transvaal, he was so imprudent as to give advice about the time of that rising. With this background the great failure of this strong Government and the action or inaction of the Committee of Inquiry become intelligible. If this fact had become known, how could the world have been persuaded that the Government were not behind the Jameson plot? From a letter Chamberlain wrote to Lord Grey on October 13th, 1896, we know that it was his view that the Chartered Company had forfeited their charter by the conduct of their agents. Yet the Company got off scot free, and the impression that the Government were implicated in the Raid itself spread in consequence through South Africa. This flinching is in strong contrast with the conduct of a Government of the eighteenth century in most respects far weaker. The Fox-North Government knew in 1783 that the King was going to trip it up at the first opportunity and yet it faced all the social power of a wealthy interest in order to reform the Government of India. It was an act of immense spirit and it destroyed its authors. The Salisbury Government in 1896 was exceedingly strong in itself and in its popularity, and it knew that it could count on the full support of the Opposition if it had taken action to vindicate the authority of the Crown and to punish this gross misconduct. Ten years later Campbell-Bannerman faced the combined influences of social power and political fear and insisted on giving self-government to the Boers. That act did not solve the South African problem, as we know well today, for that problem is not a problem merely of regulating the relations of two white races. But it saved South Africa from the civil war that would have followed if the advice of Milner and Balfour had been taken, and a less courageous policy pursued.

J. L. HAMMOND.

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Memorandum

prepared by

THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE
FOR STUDYING

THE POSITION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROTECTORATES

AUGUST - 1934

MEMORANDUM

PREPARED BY THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE FOR STUDYING THE POSITION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROTECTORATES

August, 1934

THE Parliamentary Committee has given some preliminary consideration to the problem involved in the proposed early transfer to the Union of South Africa of the South African Protectorates, of Basutoland, or of Swaziland, or of Bechuanaland. Pending a detailed statement of the point of view of the Government of the Union of South Africa it is unable to arrive at any conclusions upon the subject. It considers, however, that it may contribute to a satisfactory solution if it issues the following statement as to the constitutional position as it sees it.

The preamble to the South African Act, 1909, states that:

> "Whereas it is desirable for the welfare and future progress of South Africa that the several British Colonies therein should be united under one Government in a legislative union under the Crown of Great Britain and Ireland.
>
> And whereas it is expedient to provide for the eventual admission into the Union or transfer to the Union of such parts of South Africa as are not originally included therein."

Section 151 of that Act reads as follows:

> "The King, with the advice of the Privy Council, may, on addresses from the Houses of Parliament of the Union, transfer to the Union the Government of any territories, other than the territories administered by the British South Africa Company, belonging to or under the protection of His Majesty and inhabited wholly or in part by natives, and upon such transfer the Governor-General in Council may undertake the Government of such territory upon the terms and conditions embodied in the Schedule to this Act."

These extracts make it plain that at the time of the passage of the Act it was contemplated that eventually the responsibility for the Government of Basutoland, or of Bechuanaland, or of Swaziland might be

transferred from H.M.G. in Great Britain to H.M.G. in South Africa. It is important, however, to note carefully the circumstances under which such an eventual transfer was contemplated.

In the first place the transfer is to be to a South African Union under the Crown.

In the second place the time and circumstances of transfer are to be a matter of arrangement between H.M.G. in South Africa and H.M.G. in Great Britain. Each Government has its own responsibility and authority in the matter. This is the case with the South African Government because the matter can only be set in motion by addresses to the Crown from the Houses of Parliament of the Union of South Africa, advised thereto, of course, by the South African Government of the day. But the King cannot accede to the request for transfer except on the advice of the Privy Council at Westminster, that is, except on the advice of his British Ministers; and they of course cannot give that advice unless they are assured of the approval and support of Parliament. That is clearly how H.M. present Government at Westminster interpret the Act for it has been stated* publicly that the assent of Parliament will be necessary to transfer, which means that the definite approval of the House of Commons must be secured.

The Schedule to the South Africa Act, 1909, in twenty-five Articles, laid down the conditions under which any territory transferred under the terms of Section 151 should be governed after transfer. These conditions are very important. Briefly they may be summarized as follows.

The legislative authority for the Protectorates was to be the Governor-General in Council and not the Union Parliament.

The Prime Minister of the Union was charged with the responsibility of administration, advised by a Statutory Commission with an independent status, and governing through Resident Commissioners.

It was made illegal to alienate any land in Basutoland, or any land forming part of the native reserves in Bechuanaland or Swaziland, from the native tribes inhabiting those territories.

The sale of intoxicating liquor to natives was to be prohibited.

The existing native assemblies were to be maintained.

No differential duties or imports were to be levied on the produce of the territories, to which the laws of the Union relating to customs and excise were to be applied.

There was to be free intercourse for the inhabitants of the territories with the rest of South Africa subject to the laws, including the pass laws, of the Union.

* The Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, House of Commons, 30th April, 1934.

All revenues derived from the territories were to be expended for and on behalf of these territories.

In addition to these conditions, which laid down the essential principles of Government which were to be given effect to after transfer had taken place, there were two other Articles, 20 and 25, to which attention should be directed.

Article 20:

> "The King may disallow any law made by the Governor-General in Council by proclamation for any territory within one year from the date of the proclamation, and such disallowance on being made known by the Governor-General by proclamation shall annul the law from the day when the disallowance is so made known."

Article 25:

> "All Bills to amend or alter the provisions of this Schedule shall be reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure."

The obvious intention of these two Articles was to give H.M.G. in Westminster a constitutional opportunity for a friendly exchange of views with H.M.G. in South Africa in respect of the territories after transfer had taken place.

Finally there were certain clauses in the body of the South Africa Act, 1909, dealing with questions affecting natives living in the Union.

Section 24 of the South Africa Act, 1909, provides for the inclusion in the Senate of four Senators

> "selected on the ground mainly of their thorough acquaintance, by reason of their official experience or otherwise, with the reasonable wants and wishes of the coloured races in South Africa."

Section 35 enacts a special parliamentary process by which alone natives in the province of the Cape of Good Hope can be disqualified for the franchise. Section 147 deals with the administration of native affairs within the Union. Sections 64, 65 and 66 make provision for the reservation of Bills for the signification of the King's pleasure and for the power of the King to disallow a law. Finally, Section 152 gave full power to the Parliament of the Union of South Africa (with certain stipulations for a special procedure in certain cases) to make laws repealing or altering any of the provisions of the South Africa Act, 1909. The object of these careful provisions for reservation and disallowance was clearly to give H.M.G. at Westminster a status for friendly discussions and negotiations with H.M.G. in South Africa, if any amendment of the South Africa Act, 1909, was proposed, on which H.M.G. at Westminster wished to be heard, and there can be no doubt that all educated natives and their European advisers have attached great importance to these provisions.

The enactment of the Statute of Westminster and of the South African Status Act, 1934, have had a profound effect on all these provisions. Their effect has been to repeal all those sections or Articles of the South

Africa Act, 1909, which made provision for reservation to, or disallowance by, the King, advised by H.M.G. at Westminster. Henceforth the Parliament of the Union of South Africa may repeal or make any amendment it chooses of the Sections, and Articles of the Schedule, of the South Africa Act, 1909, and neither H.M.G. nor the Parliament at Westminster will have any constitutional status for expressing any opinion on the subject. But the passage of the Statute of Westminster and of the Status Act, 1934, does not alter the fact that certain basic principles for the future government of the Protectorates after transfer were agreed between the South African Convention and the British Parliament and ratified by the Parliaments of the four South African Colonies, and that the time and conditions of transfer were to be settled by agreement between H.M.G. in the Union and H.M.G. at Westminster.

The Statute of Westminster and the South African Status Act, 1934, however, will certainly be a matter of profound interest to the natives of the Protectorates, whose views have to be taken into account before transfer takes place. For the native inhabitants of the Protectorates can no longer regard the Schedule of the South Africa Act, 1909, as their safeguard. Moreover, they cannot fail to consider the attitude of the South African Government and Parliament to those Sections of the South Africa Act, 1909, which affect the natives living within the Union and which we have set forth in this Memorandum. The question which will fill the minds of the native inhabitants of the Protectorates is this:

> "What is going to be the permanent and deliberately adopted policy of the Government and Parliament of the Union of South Africa towards all South African natives, whether at present living within the territories of the Union or within the territories of the Protectorates?"

Nothing else will seem as important to them as the answer to this question. At present they do not know and cannot know the answer. For this momentous problem was referred several years ago by the Parliament of South Africa to a Select Committee, on which all parties comprised within the South African Parliament are represented, but the Committee has not yet reported.

In this connection it is important to note that H.M.G. of Great Britain have publicly* pledged themselves not to transfer any of these territories until they have given an opportunity both to the native and European inhabitants of these territories to express their opinion on the proposed transfer. H.M.G. of Great Britain have never adopted the position that they will not transfer the territories unless the inhabitants of those territories consent to transfer, but they have definitely promised those inhabitants that they shall be heard on the subject and that any representations they may make shall be duly considered. It does not seem reasonable to ask either the native or the European inhabitants of

* The Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, House of Commons, 30th April, 1934.

the territories to express an opinion on the proposed transfer before the report of the Select Committee has been published or before they know the native policy which the South African Government and Parliament have adopted.

In recent discussions in South Africa on the subject of the transfer of the Protectorates the opinion has been expressed that the native territories were actually given to the Union at the time of the passing of the South Africa Act, 1909, and that, if the two Houses of the Union Parliament were to pass an address to the King in the terms of Section 151 of that Act, their transfer would, as it were, automatically take place. We suggest that this is a mis-reading of the Act. By the preamble and Section 151 of the South Africa Act, 1909, these native territories were not given to the Union of South Africa in 1909, but the way was prepared for an eventual transfer at a time and under circumstances to be mutually agreed between H.M. Government in South Africa and H.M. Government at Westminster.

We have set forth in a previous paragraph of this Memorandum some reasons for holding this opinion, but we are fortified in it by comparing the words of Section 151 of the South Africa Act, 1909, with the words of Section 150. As Section 151 contemplates the eventual transfer of the native Protectorates to the Union of South Africa, so Section 150 contemplates the eventual admission into the Union of the territories at that time administered by the British South Africa Company, that is, of Rhodesia. In the case of the native Protectorates certain conditions were settled beforehand between H.M.G. at Westminster and the statesmen of South Africa and were embodied in the Schedule. In the case of Rhodesia no terms or conditions were settled in advance and therefore it is provided in Section 150 that they will have to be settled when the time for admission comes between H.M.G. in South Africa and H.M.G. at Westminster. But the opening words of Section 150 are identical with those of Section 151:

> "The King, with the advice of the Privy Council, may, on addresses from the Houses of Parliament of the Union, admit into the Union the territories administered by the British South Africa Company, etc."

In fact, the form of Sections 150 and 151 are, *mutatis mutandis,* identical. It is quite clear that Rhodesia was not given to the Union at the time of the passing of the South Africa Act, 1909. Nor were the Protectorates. In both sections alike the words "with the advice of the Privy Council" provided the constitutional opportunity for the Government and Parliament of Great Britain to consult with the Government and Parliament of South Africa upon the subject.

Indeed, what Mr. Asquith said when speaking as Prime Minister on the Second Reading of the South Africa Bill in the House of Commons on August 16th, 1909, is conclusive.

"As regards the Protectorates . . . we—I assert this most strongly—stand in the position of trustees with regard to these natives" (he went on in very forcible language and then continued) "but the important point is that you cannot bring any one of these Protectorates or Territories into a state of subordination to the Union Government or Parliament, as Clause 151 shows, unless the King with the advice of the Privy Council—that is of the Cabinet here—agrees. That is a most proper recognition on the part of the South African Communities that the Imperial Government has a voice, and the ultimate voice, in relation to this matter. They do not deny our right in the least; on the contrary on the very face of the Act they admit it and invite us to exercise it."

SELBORNE, *Chairman.*
V. A. CAZALET, LOTHIAN, W. LUNN, *Hon. Secretaries.*

Parliamentary Committee for studying the position of the South African Protectorates.

Westminster, 31st July, 1934.

HEADLEY BROTHERS, 109 KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C 2; AND ASHFORD, KENT.

World Affairs

Roosevelt or Landon?

By FRAZIER HUNT

Part of a talk broadcast from Pittsburg on June 29 in co-operation with the National Broadcasting Company

HERE in the States we now face four months of high-powered, expensive and vociferous electioneering. Then, slightly groggy and more than a little confused by a thousand-and-one promises, threats, accusations, and denouncements, on the third day of November some forty million of us will go to the voting polls and register our choice for President.

Now I suppose it is almost impossible for anyone not brought up under the mysteries and complexities of the political system of this part of America ever to understand fully one of these strange national conventions of ours. For instance, why is it that the Democratic Convention, which just ended its deliberations and its ballyhoo the day before yesterday, should have been less exciting, but the Party platform more concise and straightforward, than the Republican Convention and its platform of two weeks before?

The Republican Party was out of power, and largely out of hand. I mean that the Republican Old Guard Managers, and even the titular head of the Party, ex-President Herbert Hoover, had lost control. To a large degree this power had been secured by a group of younger outsiders, and these Republican outsiders were Landon men. These Landon men were able to push through their candidate for the President; and when it comes to the platform, or Party declaration of faith, they were forced to compromise, so that the platform was not a simple and direct plan of single purpose and definite promise.

Now take the set-up of the Democratic Convention at Philadelphia. The Party, the delegates, and the plain voters in the deep and often forgotten background, were all under the spell and complete domination of Franklin D. Roosevelt. More than half of the 1,100 delegates were professional politicians. I mean that they were either on Federal, State, County or Local City Democratic pay-rolls. Many of them were Federal appointees, such as postmasters, judges, Federal Marshals, collectors of ports and so forth. Many others were elected Democratic officials, whose political and financial future was tied up with the return of the Democrats to power; and so, being professional politicians, these particular delegates were also practical politicians. And it was practical and professional for them to carry out the wishes of the President's official representative—Mr. James Farley. This meant that every moment, every word, and every action of the Democratic Convention was in the able hands of Mr. Farley. It meant, too, that the platform was in reality the work and the inspiration of Mr. Roosevelt personally.

Now, in the opinion of many fairly unprejudiced observers, this Democratic platform was a beautifully-worded and highly-spirited document—a new Rooseveltian declaration of purpose. The same friendly critics are not unmindful of its omissions, but I believe that most fair-minded students of American political affairs would rank it as a sincere attempt to state the beliefs and hopes and promises of the Democratic Party that has been largely changed and re-oriented under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt; for whether anyone likes it or not, the cold truth is that the name 'Democratic Party' is a misnomer today. It is, and might well be called, the Roosevelt Party. You might say that this Democratic gathering that has just ended its long and weary five days of speechmaking and cheering is a one-man affair. This is the reason why it lacked the dramatic, sensational possibilities of the Republican Convention two weeks earlier.

Franklin Roosevelt turns definitely and directly to two great groups of voters for help. He turns to the working men both in the industrial cities and elsewhere, and he turns to the small farmers, particularly in the great Middle West. To defeat Roosevelt, Governor Landon has, as his first line of attackers, the men of wealth, including the majority of the upper middle-class. At this present moment he probably has, as well, the majority of the lower middle-class—a group numbering possibly 5 or 8 millions or more voters out of the grand total of some 70 million actual voters in this country. Landon can also count on a great many people who are not so much for him as they are against Roosevelt. Probably most of you have been reading at least something about the dramatic walk-out of what one wit at the Convention called the 'aged quintuplets'—former-Governor Al Smith and his four disgruntled political associates. These distinguished Democrats belong to this large 'ag'in-Roosevelt' group. They represent a certain section of the Democratic elder statesmen who are genuinely and sincerely against the whole social programme and outlook of Mr. Roosevelt. They might be called the fighting Right-wingers. But within the Democratic ranks it is not these disgruntled elder statesmen who are causing the real worry. It is another group of 'ag'in-ers'—the Left-wingers in the Party. I am, of course, referring to Congressman Lemke, the militant and Radical farm leader of North Dakota, and his somewhat strange bedfellow, the Rev. Father Coughlin, whose Union for Social Justice has formally joined hands with Mr. Lemke's Radical Farm Group, to form the New Union Party. And even at this early date, when the campaign is really only beginning, it is clear that this Union Party will drain many more votes from Roosevelt than from his Republican opponent, Governor Landon.

If this new Union Party should secure the full support of that latest phenomenon of the American thirst for cure-alls and miracle workers, Dr. Townsend, and his beautiful plan to pay everyone over 60 years old 200 dollars, or £40 sterling, a month as long as he lives—now, if Dr. Townsend joins with Lemke and Father Coughlin, and then in turn the remnants of Huey Long's Share-the-Wealthers join up, well, all four of these well-wishers and high-promisers might conceivably pull enough votes from President Roosevelt for Roosevelt to lose several such States as Minnesota and the two Dakotas.

Already Roosevelt's supporters are spreading the doctrine that a vote for Lemke is a vote for Landon. They hope that many of these Lemke-ites and Coughlin-ites and Townsend-ites, and Share-the-Wealth-ites, and many others on what is called here the 'lunatic fringe', will prefer Democratic Roosevelt despite the fact that they are against him, rather than chance electing the more conservative and less-known Republican nominee, Governor Landon.

The Republican nominee, Governor Landon, has yet to make his own personality deeply and securely felt. He has not, as yet, come alive in the imagination of many voters. In three weeks Mr. Landon will make his first actual bid for personal popularity, when he formally accepts the Republican nomination at Topeka, where he now lives as Governor of Kansas.

But in all probability the election will, strangely enough, be fought on the issue of a single man against a Party and against a tradition. This single man is Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the Party and the tradition he opposes is the Republican Party. Many voters will like and respect the genial and kindly Governor of Kansas but will be fearful of the old Republican Party tradition that Mr. Landon has partially disavowed. He will be embarrassed—that is Mr. Landon—by the conservative reputation of the Republican Party of yesterday. He will not know exactly what to do with some of his political friends. Governor Landon may easily become the victim of these new friends of his—such friends as the Liberty Leaguers and the Roosevelt-haters, and the old-fashioned Conservatives of every kind and description.

With four months still to go before the campaign is ended, many unexpected and unprecedented things may happen in this election. But, as it stands today, it would seem that President Roosevelt, with the majority of the Middle Western and Far Western farmers behind him, and with the solid South and with most of the workers on his side, certainly it seems that he is well in the lead; and unless something entirely unforeseen does happen, Franklin Roosevelt will, in all probability, be re-elected President of the United States.

[*The above is taken from shorthand notes and checked by an electrical recording. At the time of going to press we have received no confirmatory script from America, and cannot therefore guarantee the literal accuracy of everything in our report.*]

Commonwealth and Colonial Empire

Trusteeship for Backward Peoples

By Professor R. COUPLAND

THE idea of Trusteeship as the principle which should inspire the government of backward peoples was first suggested by Edmund Burke. Speaking of British rule in India in 1783, he said that all government is in the nature of a trust for the welfare of the governed. In the world of politics and business overseas, this was a new idea: for hitherto the pursuit of trade had seemed the only purpose of our imperial expansion: and its application to other fields than India was soon apparent. It so happened that at that time a movement had just begun to put a stop to what I have always regarded as the greatest crime in history. From the sixteenth century onwards the sea-going nations of Europe had been engaged in stealing or buying men and women and children in West Africa, bundling them in crowded slave-ships across the Atlantic, and selling them to work as slaves on the plantations of the West Indies and North and South America. Before this Slave Trade was finally extinguished, about 1865, many millions of Africans had thus been carried overseas, and at least as many more had been killed, or died, in the process. When Britain became the largest sea-power, she obtained the lion's share of this very lucrative trade: but she was the first to abandon it. A group of humanitarians, led by William Wilberforce, set themselves to make a direct appeal to the national conscience; and in 1807, after twenty years of persistent agitation, they secured an Act of Parliament abolishing the British trade in slaves. Then they took up the second part of their crusade, as a result of which in 1833 Parliament abolished slavery itself in the British Colonies and about eight hundred thousand slaves in British ownership were freed. Now those achievements prove that, despite all the cynics may say, it *is* possible for a nation to obey its conscience. A price had to be paid for it—first, the loss of the great profits of the slave trade, and then the compensation of the slave-owners to the tune of twenty million pounds paid out of British taxpayers' pockets. Remarkable (wasn't it?) but true. The historian Lecky described 'the unwearying, unostentatious and inglorious crusade of England against slavery' as 'among the three or four perfectly virtuous pages comprised in the history of nations'.

The Humanitarian Tradition

That started a humanitarian tradition to which I think the British people—I don't say every individual Briton who has had dealings with backward peoples, not by any means, but what may be called the main body of public opinion—has remained loyal. I think it was this tradition, for example, confirmed and strengthened by David Livingstone who made the same sort of impression on the British public as Wilberforce before him, that enabled us (when, in the course of the nineteenth century, our rule over tropical countries, especially in Africa, was greatly extended) to remember, *as a rule*, our moral duties as well as our material profits, and to maintain a quality of government which did, *as a rule*, conform to the principle of Trusteeship. Then came the War and the Peace, bringing hopes, which seem pathetic now, of a new and better order in the world, and not for the white races only. Multitudes of coloured people, through no fault of theirs, had been caught in the vortex of strife and death created by the quarrels of the white peoples: and at the end of the War some of the territories they lived in had passed from the control of the defeated powers to that of the victors. After previous wars, such territories were simply annexed by right of conquest, and on this occasion Germany, on her side, renounced in the Treaty of Versailles 'all her rights and titles over her oversea possessions' to the chief Allied and Associated Powers. But then a new principle was adopted. It was thought—and by many people quite sincerely thought—that the old plan of 'annexing' such conquered territories simply as prizes of victory which the victor would do what he liked with, was out-of-date. It not only ignored any claims the rest of the world might have to share in the development of backward areas. Worse, it ignored, or at least quite subordinated, the interests of the inhabitants of the territories. It treated the question, in fact, as if it were an exchange of land alone, of 'property', of 'possessions', rather than of millions of human beings. Accordingly, it was declared in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, that to the conquered territories which are 'inhabited by people not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation', and that, accordingly, they should be entrusted to the 'tutelage' of certain Powers who would act as 'mandatories' on behalf of the League. On this principle the territories were handed over by the Allied and Associated Powers to the British Empire, France, Belgium and Japan, under written *Mandates*, approved by the League Council.

Administration of Mandates

The Mandates fell into three groups. First, the 'A' Mandates, covering the old mainly Arab provinces of the Turkish Empire, of which Iraq, Transjordania and Palestine were assigned to Britain. It was expected that these communities, with the 'advice and assistance' of the Mandatory, would soon be 'able to stand alone' as 'independent nations'; and this has already happened in the case of Iraq which was freed from British control and admitted as an independent member of the League of Nations in 1932. Transjordania is not quite so advanced; and in Palestine, as you know from the newspapers, serious trouble has repeatedly occurred owing to the double purpose of the Mandate which requires both that Arab interests should be safeguarded and that a 'national home' for the Jews should be established in the country. Clearly Palestine cannot 'stand alone' like Iraq until Arabs and Jews have learned to live peaceably together.

The third group, the 'C' Mandates (subject to safeguards in native interests, and to supervision by the League), were to be administered, for various 'realistic' reasons, as if the territory concerned was an 'integral part' of the Mandatory's territory. In this group South West Africa went to the Union of South Africa, New Guinea to Australia, Samoa to New Zealand, and Nauru to Britain, Australia and New Zealand conjointly.

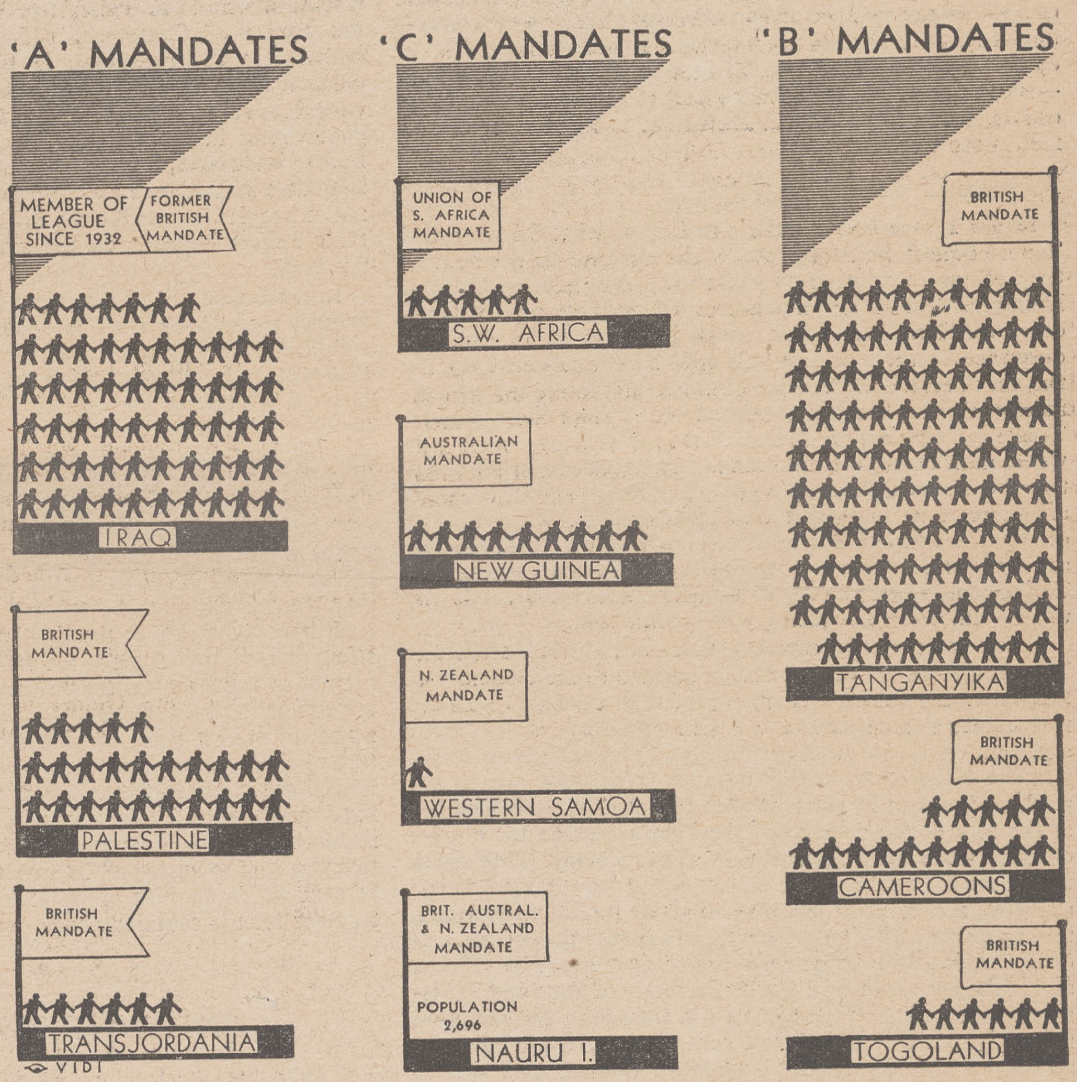
The second group, the 'B' Mandates, have attracted most attention. They cover the ex-German Colonies in Tropical Africa, of which most of German East Africa (renamed Tanganyika) and the smaller part of Cameroon and Togoland were entrusted to Britain. The terms of these Mandates are the stiffest and most explicit. They require the Mandatory, amongst other things: (1) to 'promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being of the inhabitants'; (2) to abstain from 'militarisation' or fortification except for police or defence purposes; (3) to repress slavery and the slave-trade and the use of forced labour except for public purposes; (4) to maintain equal economic opportunity for all States Members of the League, and, by subsequent arrangement, the United States. Finally, the Mandatory Government is obliged to submit an annual report on the execution of its trust to the Mandates Commission, a body of ten members, some of whom have had experience in Colonial Administration—Lord Lugard is the British member—and who study the reports, question the Mandatories' representatives, and inform and advise the Council as to the operation of the whole system.

It may not have worked quite as effectively as its authors hoped. For instance, as Mr. Hodson explained, even when the 'door' is honestly 'open', the Mandatory nation almost inevitably obtains a bigger share in the economic development of the territory than other nations. Real equality would require a more elaborate scheme of international control. But certainly the system has not failed. The Commission has worked hard: its criticisms have often been bold and useful: and the effect of them on public opinion has tended to raise the general standard of colonial administration.

Now observe this—there is nothing *new* in the principles of this Mandate System. Mandate is another word for Trust. The declarations and commitments of the Covenant and the

Mandate-deeds only define and codify the principles of 'Trusteeship'. And the new promises therein set forth are not much more than the old practices of our Colonial Rule, not everywhere, perhaps, but at its best. In West Africa, Uganda, the Sudan, for instance, or Malaya, not to mention an advanced community like Ceylon, we did not deliberately subordinate native interests to our own. We did not 'militarise'; we did not permit forced labour for private purposes; we destroyed the slave trade and put a term to slavery; and by maintaining, as Mr. Hodson pointed out, the 'Open Door', we even fulfilled the economic obligations of the Mandates. It was possible, therefore, for us to accept the view that morally there ought to be no difference between a Mandated Territory and those territories which had come under British rule before the War. Thus, in 1923, the Government officially declared that 'as in the Uganda Protectorate, so in the Kenya Colony, the principle of Trusteeships for the natives, no less than in the Mandated Territory of Tanganyika, is unassailable'. And ten years later, the Governor of Nigeria told his Legislative Council that 'in Nigeria proper, as in the Mandated Territory (Cameroons), our duty is gradually to train the people so that . . . they may ultimately be able to "stand by themselves" in the words of Article 22 of the Covenant'.

So far, so good. But there is a risk, I sometimes think, of our being too complacent about it. It is easy to talk about Trusteeship: it is harder to make sure that less exalted motives may not here or there be operating to undermine or violate the Trust. In some quarters, indeed, one hears talk of 'developing our imperial estates' which seems to ignore the Trust completely. So, lest we should be suspected of that unctuous hypocrisy which seems sometimes to be regarded abroad as an habitual failing of the British nation, let us ask ourselves again, quite frankly, what Trusteeship means.



British Mandates

Each small figure represents approximately 50,000 inhabitants. In some cases the size of the population is only an estimate and the figures given are therefore necessarily approximate, but they illustrate the relative importance of the different territories

Let us admit at once that it does not mean pure altruism. We did not undertake the rule of tropical territories, nor do we now maintain it, *solely* in order to help the natives, *solely* as a 'white man's burden'. But to admit that we desired and desire economic profit from it does not necessarily mean that Trusteeship is a sham. It merely points to where the risk of dishonesty lies. As Mr. Hodson explained a fortnight ago, the resources of the tropics *can* be exploited without exploiting its peoples. But to do the one and not the other, to keep the balance, is not too easy. I am not referring to deliberate and brutal exploitation such as occurred too often in the past. I do not think we shall allow the methods of the old slave system to be tolerated anywhere in the Colonial Empire nowadays. But injury can be done to native interests without intending it. To encourage, for example, too great a concentration by native producers on crops for export, though it may seem to benefit them as much as it benefits the outer world, may conceivably dislocate their economic life, lead to a shortage of home-grown food-supplies, and expose them too much to the fluctuations of world prices. Mineral development, again, may be harmful. The native cannot himself produce gold and copper as he can cotton and coffee and palm-oil. It needs European capital, machinery, skill and supervision, and also European occupation of the land beneath which the mineral lies. And, without sufficient care and control, this may mean that the natives' rights in the land are not fully respected, that they do not get a fair share of the profit, that too many of them are drawn off to work on the mines, to the detriment of their homes and village-life.

Those are some of the obvious risks. The Trustee's duty is equally obvious. An honest execution of the first principle of the Trust—the promotion of native welfare—implies the planning and control of economic development so that, as far as can be foreseen, it helps, not hurts, the native. Mineral development, in particular, should be so regulated that, when all allowance has been made for its uncertainties and costs, and the requisite measures taken to safeguard native rights and interests, the residue of profit should be secured to the Government and passed on through public services to the native population.

One further point. Should the honest Trustee be content to do his best for the advancement of the native peoples with the resources available on the spot? What about such communities —I have in mind some of the West Indian islands and those areas of Northern Rhodesia that profit little from the 'copperbelt'—as are too poor to pay for public services sufficient to meet their needs? Ought not the Trustee to be willing, in case of proved necessity, to give help from his own pocket, remembering that he has no moral claim to retain the Trust if its object is not attained with reasonable efficiency?

On the external or international side of the economic

question—tariffs, export duties, quotas—I have nothing to add to what Mr. Hodson said. It is clearly no easy task to weigh the conflicting arguments—on the one hand the new situation created by economic nationalism throughout the Temperate world, on the other hand the claim that all its nations should have a fair economic opportunity in the Tropical world—but, if we are honest Trustees, we have at least a guiding principle. We must try to do what we would do if we were in the natives' shoes.

So much for economics. The political obligation of the Trust is no less evident. It implies a genuine determination—to use the words used by a great British civil servant in India long ago—to help the native peoples to acquire the capacity in course of time to govern and protect themselves. This involves a more careful attention to education than perhaps we gave to it in India. It is not for a layman to assess the rival claims of other public services—to weigh a school, say, against a hospital or anti-malaria work or an experimental farm or a new road—but the honest Trustee must recognise that the right kind of education—and he must do his best to provide the right kind—is as necessary as the advancement of material prosperity to enable backward peoples in due course to stand on their own feet in the world.

Problem of 'Mixed States'

So far I have been thinking mainly of what I have called 'Native States'. In 'Mixed States' the risks are greater because they contain a number of white men who have made their homes there and are themselves engaged in production—owners of land, cultivating crops, breeding cattle. And unquestionably their energy and skill have quickened up the process of economic development. But their interests may conflict—they have at times conflicted—with those of the natives. They may want too much land or too much labour. They may want unfair restrictions on native competition. In such a situation the honest Trustee's duty may be difficult—those colonists are of his own race—but it is plain enough. While not, of course, disregarding their interests or refusing them the fair share of service they are entitled to claim from government, Trusteeship requires that, if a conflict does occur, it is the natives' interests, not theirs, which come first.

A few years ago the representatives of the white settlers in Northern Rhodesia declared in an address to the Secretary of State that 'the British Empire is primarily concerned with the furtherance of the interests of British subjects of British race', and went on to assert that the duties of Trusteeship were vested in them rather than in this country. That leads one to the political problem in Mixed States because the same idea lies at the root of the demand of the Kenya Settlers for a more effective share in the government of the Colony. They claim to care for the welfare of the natives as much as philanthropists at home, and to know much more about it. Not unnaturally, too, being mostly Britons, they want to govern themselves, and dislike their affairs being settled over their heads by officials and in the last resort by a distant Secretary of State and Parliament. Hence, just as the colonists in Canada in the past were released from Downing Street control, so they ask now for an elected majority on the Legislative Council as a step to Responsible Government. But, of course, there is no real likeness between Canada, where the Red Indians were a tiny fraction of the population, and Kenya, where the Africans outnumber the Europeans by at least one hundred and seventy to one. One wonders, indeed (quite apart from its bearing on the question of Assimilation *versus* Indirect Rule which I discussed in my last talk*), whether parliamentary government is really suited to a 'Mixed State'. What sort of future do the settlers look forward to? Do they contemplate that the natives, as their education and material prosperity advance, will be admitted to the Council, to the ultimate House of Commons, on equal terms with themselves? If so, is not a black majority in the House, and a black ministry responsible to it, the inevitable outcome? And on that point, as I said before, there is something to be learned from present tendencies in the West Indies. Or do they mean to work their parliamentary government as it is worked in South Africa, to maintain that there can be no equality between black and white, to keep themselves the masters of parliament and government and the natives as a subject class of the community? But these questions belong to the future. At the moment it has been decided, after prolonged inquiry by Commissions and by a Select Committee of Parliament, that the responsibility for Trusteeship must still be vested in this country and that the white minority in Kenya cannot be conceded an elected majority in the Council or the Responsible Government to which it would lead.

Who is the Trustee?

One last point on which we must clear our minds. When we talk about Trusteeship, do we realise precisely where the responsibility for its honest exercise lies? Who in the last resort is the Trustee? The answer is simple. We are. The local agents of the Trust—the Governors with their officials under them—are responsible to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who is responsible to Parliament and primarily to the House of Commons, which is responsible to public opinion, to the electorate, to the British people. On any colonial issue, if the British people see it clearly and care enough about it, they can have their way. So, when something goes wrong in the Colonial Empire—as, of course, in any human institution, it sometimes must—do not let us shrug our shoulders as if it were no concern of ours. The Trust for the native peoples is vested in the British people. In the last resort, their welfare depends on the sincerity and strength of our goodwill.

In conclusion, may I assert my own opinion that the British people, recognising their responsibility, will discharge it? I will give you my reasons. First, the humanitarian movement is, as I said at the outset of this talk, the noblest tradition in our history. We cannot go back on it. We cannot dishonour the memory of Wilberforce and Livingstone. We cannot confess that our idealism is feebler than our fathers'. Secondly, honest Trusteeship is our only moral answer to the claim that our Colonial Empire is too big and ought to be cut up and shared with others. Only the honest Trustee can say that the decisive factor in that question, as in any other that concerns the future of the Tropics, is the welfare of the native people concerned. And thirdly, the more we think it over, the more, I think, we shall be convinced that the differences in colour, civilisation, strength or wealth between the various peoples of the Empire are not so important as their common humanity, and that all are equally entitled to be treated as ends in themselves, not means to others' ends, to have their individuality respected, to be helped to stand on their own feet and make their own special contribution to the life of the world. That is what I have meant when I have spoken of native peoples as fellow-members with ourselves in one great society—a society whose function it is to enable all its varying parts, within the shelter of a single framework of peace and law, to live and work together for the common good.

* Printed in THE LISTENER of June 24

Contemporary Death

All day long despite the fat fingers
On the paunches, the servile pens, the figures that leap,
We have watched him die.

The lean God will take his own;
The ruthless, the nurtured, the business acumen
Must remain and go faster:

Retrieving bread-seconds from schedules,
Enticing lever-granted leisure,
The surfeit of the switch.

Those that look up go down:
The deprived senses must succumb, preserve
The birthright of breath.

All night long the wind has waved the branches
And we have gazed at each other across the bare table,
You and I.

FRANCIS DAVIES

TRANSFER OF PROTECTORATES

Gen. Hertzog Hints at Request to King

HOPE THAT MATTER WILL BE SOLVED BY CO-OPERATION

GENERAL HERTZOG

Bloemfontein, Tuesday.

THE Prime Minister, General Hertzog, made a full statement regarding the Protectorates at Bloemfontein to-day. He was cordially received on his arrival at the station this morning by more than a hundred leading citizens, who sang "Dat's Heren zegen op uw daal" as the train steamed in.

This was followed by lusty cheers, and the Prime Minister, looking happy and well, shook all who welcomed him by the hand.

Interviewed later in the day, the following question was put to the Prime Minister: "How far have you advanced with the transfer of the Administration of the Native Territories to the Union?"

General Hertzog thereupon gave the following considered reply: "It is clear to me that in British circles in England the question of the transfer is being played with in a manner which does not keep adequate count with the right of the Union to demand that transfer shall not be delayed longer and that the Union's request thereto be fulfilled.

"The Union's request on this matter was directed to the British Government by me as far back as 1925, and in 1926, on the occasion of the Imperial Conference it was discussed by me with the British Minister concerned. It was then represented to me that the time for this was not propitious, inter alia, because a General Election there was imminent. I then gave the assurance that I was unwilling to see the British Government involved in difficulty at the elections because of this question, and that I was, therefore, prepared to adopt a waiting attitude with my request for transfer until the elections were over.

"The elections came and went, and since that time three Imperial Conferences were held, on the occasion of each of which the question was brought up by me with the responsible Minister. Both in 1935 and now I emphatically pointed to the necessity for a speedy transfer if the ruin ('ondergang') of numbers of European inhabitants in some territories concerned were to be prevented.

"In 1935 the then British Minister concerned, with the consent of his colleagues, gave me a written assurance which was later made public and in which the prospect was set out that the transfer would possibly occur after a few years—at least so far as one or two of the Territories are concerned. Moreover, I was told at the time that in order to expedite and assure transfer as much as possible instructions would be given to the British officials entrusted with the administration of the Territories to use such influence with the natives under their jurisdiction as would advance the establishment of a disposition towards the Union that would facilitate the achievement of the said purpose.

"To my sorrow I must now learn that no such instructions had been given, and that it will still take a long time before transfer will be possible. As the reason why the promised instructions had not been issued I was informed that if this were done the Government would be accused of using the officials in the Territories for exercising improper compulsion on the natives under their control!

SERIOUS DEPARTURE

"I need not enter here into the objections and differences of opinion advanced by me against all this. Suffice it for me here to focus attention on the serious departure of this latest reply from that of two years ago. That this action of the British Minister—so much in conflict with what was projected in 1935—is due to nothing so much as to political considerations in connection with the ballot box is sufficiently clear from the reason advanced as to why the promised instructions had not been given to the officals in the Territories.

"When it is taken into consideration, moreover, how much it has become an almost fixed custom in the House of Lords whenever an Imperial Conference takes place and at the least whisper of the transfer of the Native Territories the opportunity is taken of formally raising a voice of protest against transfer, then the official concession to political considerations in England can be better understood in South Africa but not better appreciated.

INDISPUTABLE RIGHT

"It is obvious that the matter cannot be left at this. The Union's right to the transfer of the administrations of the Territories to it is indisputable. That the time for transfer to the Union has already expired was conceded two years ago. That it is, therefore, the duty of Great Britain to see to it that everything is done to advance the transfer which she undertook under the South Africa Act, or to which she thereby agreed, and that her officials shall be instructed to act in the spirit of her obligations, nobody shall deny.

"In these circumstances it is inconceivable for me to believe that there should be much further delay in the transfer of the Territories, or that the Union Government should be compelled to have recourse to the South Africa Act to request the King, by means of a decision of Parliament, to accede to the transfer.

"The consequences, both to Great Britain and to South Africa, that will follow from such a step are so incalculable that for the time being I am not prepared to accept that the reply just given by the British Minister concerned is final. However disappointing that reply may be, I still remain hopeful that the matter will soon be solved in friendly co-operation."—Reuter.

GENERAL E. A. CONROY whose health is still causing anxiety. His son, Dr. Conroy, is expected to arrive in Parys to-day from oversea when the General will seek his advice before undergoing an operation.

Llewellyn Leaves for Cape To-day

VID LLEWLLYN, the well- airman, is to leave the t at 7 o'clock this morn- own to prepare for his at the record for the ape to London, which by Mrs. Amy Molli-

is crash at Serowe don, Mr. Llewellyn's chine, City of Mon- ndergoing repairs frican Flying Ser- at the Rand Air- afternoon Mr. machine up for a and afterwards isfaction with its

aving Capetown on ope to reach London Mr. Llewellyn re- e "Rand Daily Mail On this occasion I am amophone with me to adly monotony of the been a long, tiring wait ery pleased to be able e move again.

like you to thank the annesburg for their won- ss to me during my en- . Everybody has been kind and what might have ious wait has been really ant time."

OKIO FLIGHT

ellyn said that as a result bles he had received since en in Johannesburg, he ex- make preparations for a Tokio soon after his arrival d.

shing bid to beat Mrs. Mol- ord from England to the fay, Mr. Llewellyn failed on p from Johannesburg to the set up a new time for the On this occasion, owing to ass pivot becoming jammed, is bearings and found he was rt Elizabeth when he should en over Capetown.

y 29 he set off from Cape- an attempt to break the for the return flight, and it May 30 when news came that he had crashed at Southern Rhodesia.

Buildings Coming Down

SHOP SHORTAGE IN CENTRE OF CITY

SO many buildings are being de molished in Johannesburg tha there is an unprecedented shortage o shops in the central portion of the cit

Yesterday a "Rand Daily Mail" r porter was told by managers of firr in a building which is shortly to demolished that they cannot find su able premises in the shopping cer of Johannesburg.

One of the managers said: "We w only given three months notice. that time it is impossible to premises in the centre of Johar burg large enough for our stocks. shall either have to move into a ment or to the first or s of some g

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es for Trade

eek.

ages scale.

annual leave on

eatures of the retail al agreement which on Monday. The retail meat trade ted on July 2 and oughout the Wit- m Randfontein to

onal agreement of e.

ail merchants may Secretary of the In- Johannesburg.

escape owing to the ndows 21 of 26 patients mental hospital at were burnt to ding took fire yes-

ainer Damaged at

IS CARDS ON THE TABLE

um Sent to Hitler and Mussolini

Atlantic Test Pilot Describes His "Joyride"

"BEST OF LUCK" RADIO FROM BRITISH PLANE

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

London, Tuesday.

AS a rehearsal of regular Atlantic flying, the two-way crossing successfully complet to-day by the Caledonia and the Ame clipper was a complete triumph. Not on the aeroplanes behave perfectly, but every condition predicted by the mete proved absolutely accurate.

Pilots found the head wind they cipated, rain where they expect passed through patches of fog as w It was one of the most successf charts prepared for any great fly ture.

The difference of two hours and 2 in times is accounted for by three fac British machine had to face a head w course was 30 miles longer than the southerly route of the American mach her landing was delayed for 40 minutes off Newfoundland.

Mr. De Valera and Mr. Sean Lemass, Free State Minister of Commerce, and representatives of the British Air Ministry and Imperial Airways met the Americans as they stepped from their machine at Foynes, smiling and looking quite comfortable. Captain Gray, the commander, spoke of the trip as a "joyride." He said the crossing was entirely uneventful, adding "It was a very pleasant journey, in fact a rather small 'hop' compared with Pacific runs of 2,400 miles which we have been doing for two years.

"We had a glorious night and saw Arctic lights on the horizon all night long.

"We do ourselves well these trips and had a very nice dinner last night consisting of celery, olives, soup, salads, steak and strawberries and cream.

"We did not finish up with cigars and liqueurs as we never smoke on survey flights."

Crowds cheered the Americans on the quayside and the crew were later entertained to a public luncheon.

The Caledonia made a perfect land ing at Botwood where there was a big turnout of local people to watch the flyingboat descend from a clear sunlit sky, the mists having dispersed. All through the night radio messages from both flyingboats came through with clockwork regularity.

As they passed in mid-ocean Captain Wilcockson wirelessed Commander Gray: "Best of luck to you and crew old man from Caledonia." He then gave minute details of the weather conditions.

Both pilots received telegrams of congratulation from Viscount Swinton, Secretary of State for Air, on behalf of the British Government.

"Despots forced America and Britain to undertake rearmament and, having undertaken it, we must necessarily win the rearmament race," declared Mr. Bingham, the American Ambassador, in a speech at an Independence Day dinner in London yesterday.—Reuter.

HITLER'S HEALTH

A BERLIN DENIAL

Berlin, Tuesday.

THERE was laughter in official quarters in Berlin to-day when Herr Hitler's rumoured ill-health was mentioned.

It was declared that nothing of the kind was known.

"Insomnia sometimes occurs with people who are hardworking," said a spokesman of the Propaganda Ministry.—Reuter.

Ex-Prince A Prince Again

A ROYAL ROMANCE

Stockholm, Tuesday.

BY marrying a commoner to-day Prince Charles, nephew of the King of Sweden, lost his title and prerogatives as a member of the Swedish Royal Family, although the King has sanctioned the marriage.

By a striking gesture, his brother-in-law, the King of the Belgians, has conferred on him the title of Prince. The bridegroom thus becomes Prince Charles Bernadotte. His wife, who was Countess Elsa von Rosen, daughter of the Court Master of Ceremonies and formerly married to Agols von Rosen, becomes Princess Elsa.

The wedding reception was held in the castle of the bridegroom's father. Many Scandinavian royalties were present.

The bride is 35—7 years older than her husband.—Reuter.

REBEL ADVANCE ON SANTANDER

Salamanca, Tuesday.

The Nationalist forces are continuing their advance on Santander, according to an Insurgent communiqué, which claims that they have dislodged the enemy from the natural fortifications on Castroallen Hill, and in the Leon district they inflicted 300 casualties, took 79 prisoners and a large amount of war material.

On the Madrid front the Insurgents claim to have heavily repulsed enemy attacks which were preceded by 14 Russian tanks at Cuesta Delareina.—Reuter.

HARD FIGHTING NEAR CAPITAL

Republicans Claim Success

Madrid, Tuesday.

Heavy fighting continues to the st of the capital. Following the oture of Brunete, an important ition 20 miles to the west, where e artillery officers were taken oner, the Republican troops have ed on to the Villa Nueva de la da, which they are now attack-

In the course of the fighting, Government and one insurgent were brought down.—Reuter.

TOP PRESS

DE VALE IN MINOR OF ON

New Elect Expected Soon

Dublin, T

THE final position in the Fianna Fail 69 seats a partie. together 69, but as total includes the Speak Valer will have a min and will need an unders Labour if he is to gove

Should Mr. De Valera with Labour his pos considerably strength Labourites were retu pared with eight at t But such Labour supp th drastic amendme Valera's draft constit widely believed that are taken at present election will be hel months.—Reuter.

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Life, Literature and Affairs

THE CHALLENGE OF THE "PROTECTORATES"

South Africa's Problem—and Ours

By Sir JOHN HARRIS

GENERAL HERTZOG'S demand that the British Government should forthwith hand over to him the "Protectorates" of South Africa raises issues of no little gravity for the British Government and people—and especially for the missionary societies.

During the months of discussion before us there are four outstanding features which must never be overlooked. The initial one is that only a part of the 293,000 square miles of High Commission territory belongs by any right of conquest, cession, or of annexation, to the British or South African Governments. Furthermore, thousands of the Protectorate people* are not British subjects at all! The second is that the Schedule to the South Africa Act enshrines half a dozen fundamental safeguards for native rights which must never be surrendered.

The third basic fact is that these High Commission territories are for Great Britain a sacred trust which can only be surrendered by the British Parliament upon certain conditions, and in accordance with treaty rights and official commitments associated with such honoured names as Queen Victoria, Lord Selborne, Sir Charles Warren, Sir Godfrey Lagden, and the missionaries—Livingstone, the Moffats, Jacottet, and others.

The only survivor of this brilliant group is the Earl of Selborne, who, in spite of advancing years, is standing firm as a rock in the pursuit of a "square deal" for the natives.

Finally, it must be remembered that the Statute of Westminster, under which sovereign status was accorded to the Dominions of the Empire, is restricted in its scope to Cape Colony, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Natal.

I.

Although General Hertzog is showing some impatience, coupled with curious lapses of memory about definite commitments to which he and his colleagues were consenting parties, he can assuredly rely upon his demand being given every consideration by all sections of the British Parliament and people. But the first thing they will require to know is the one thing that has never been disclosed to anybody, namely, to what native policy is it proposed that this country should surrender the territories in question. The Selborne Committee† put this quite plainly in the following passage:—

> "What is going to be the permanent and deliberately adopted policy of the Government and Parliament of the Union of South Africa towards all South African natives, whether at present living within the territories of the Union or within the territories of the Protectorates?"

There is nothing to be gained by burking the real issue; it is once again the challenge of the "Broad stone of Empire" (Bruce).

Do we, or do we not, hold that the African has a mind and a body capable of industrial and civic advancement, and a soul capable of Christian salvation? Once the British mind is made up on that bed-rock position, duty becomes clear, and the fate will be decided of the 10,000,000 Africans south of the Equator.

The "Broad stone of Empire" is that there shall be no discrimination either in law or in the administration of the law which reposes upon race or creed or colour. That policy applies to-day to all territories outside the Union. Within the Union, and recently reaffirmed by both Mr. Pirow and Mr. Groebler, the latter claiming the support of Calvin for the doctrine, the policy has been definitely stated—"There can be no equality in Church or State between White and Black." "Which," says Lord Selborne, in effect, "is to be the policy you propose applying to the High Commission territories if and when our trusteeship should be passed on to your Government?"

II

To-day, the 5,000,000 natives below the equator and outside the Union territory are in possession of written guarantees that, given character and capacity, there is no position to which they may not aspire. To-day the 5,000,000 natives inside the Union have been told with every authority that, having attained to all physical and mental levels open to man, and having reached the spiritual plane of Christian leaders—that having done all this, they are debarred in industry from becoming skilled workers; in the State, from the enjoyment of full civic liberty, and in the Church from equal membership with their fellows, solely because of the colour of their skin—the one thing they cannot alter!

There can assuredly be nothing unreasonable in asking General Hertzog which of these two native policies he proposes to apply to the 500,000 Basutos, 150,000 Swazis and 200,000 Bechuanas.

The importance of this answer lies in the fact that if the "Colour Bar" policy were extended to the Protectorates, nothing could stop its spread throughout the whole of the native territories south of, and possibly beyond, the equator.

Articles 150 and 151 of the South Africa Act are those which provide for extension of the boundaries of the Union of South Africa. Article 151 sets forth the conditions under which the Protectorates might be transferred to the Union, and concludes with the following words—"upon the terms and conditions embodied in the Schedule to this Act." Thus, the Schedule becomes a Charter of native rights if the British Parliament should agree to the transfer.

This Charter, which it is well known was drafted by Lord Selborne, reposes in the Governor-General all legislative authority for the Protectorates, retaining at the same time the right of the Crown to disallow any law passed for the Protectorates. The native rights to land are safeguarded; the sale of alcohol and differential duties are both of them prohibited. Responsibility for the administration is to be with the Premier of South Africa, who would be advised by a Commission appointed by the Governor-General, the Commissioners being appointed for 10 years, and any dispute between the Commissioners and the Premier would be referred for decision to the Governor-General.

The Schedule also provides rules governing the procedure of the Commission. Finally, the Schedule makes obligatory the retention of all native Pitsos or Parliaments.

III.

The Aide-memoire is the most recent official document and is the State record of the Hertzog-Thomas agreement of 1935. It contains a re-affirmation of pledges as handed to General Smuts in 1933. First to the Commons, that there will be no transfer without the fullest opportunity for discussion, with the right of refusal. Second to the natives, that the natives will be consulted and their wishes most carefully considered. The Aide-memoire admits that the Statute of Westminster has affected the South Africa Act, but that any agreement upon a transfer must be the subject of special agreement under which the general scheme of the Schedule will be preserved.

The recent demand by General Hertzog appears to ignore this Aide-memoire, to the drafting of which he was a consenting party, and to the terms of which he formally adhered. Not only so, but he himself actually stated that the acquiescence of the inhabitants was essential! On March 25, 1925, he declared in the South African Parliament:—

> "Our position has always been as a party, that we are not prepared to incorporate in the Union any territory unless the inhabitants of the territory are prepared to come in."

Lord Dufferin, in the debate initiated in the House of Lords by Lord Noel-Buxton on June 9,‡ set forth the British Government's policy, every line of which was in complete harmony with the Aide-memoire. He said: "I would ask your Lordships to mark those words—it (transfer) could only be effected with the full acquiescence of the populations of the territories concerned."

IV.

British trusteeship in this grave matter is perfectly clear, and it has nowhere been more clearly expressed than by Mr. Asquith, who, speaking with all the authority of Britain's Prime Minister, at the time said that Britain stands as Trustee for the natives, that not one of the Protectorates could be subordinated either to the Union or its Parliament unless the King, the Privy Council, and the British Cabinet agreed, and that the South African authorities had fully accepted that position.

Constitutionally therefore this position is unchanged, and will remain so until the members of the British Parliament in London and the natives of the Protectorates are ready to accord their "full acquiescence" to the surrender of that sacred trust.

---

* How far Basutoland with its people was dis-annexed after the Gun War is still a matter of controversy.

† A Parliamentary body drawn from all parties and serving under the chairmanship of the Earl of Selborne.

‡ Reprints of which can be obtained from the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge-road, London, S.W.1.

COPY

Dear Mr Kneen,

I am enclosing my annual subscription to the Movement, and at the same time, I am sending you a copy of a resolution which was very carefully considered and unanimously adopted at a recent Conference of the League of Coloured Peoples.

I hope it will be possible for you to put this resolution to your Council, and if adopted to forward same to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, at the same time informing us of your action.

I think you will agree with me, when you reflect upon the recent Trinidad report, the present condition of people in the West Indies and in India, when you think of the tremendous wealth of Africa, and put side by side therewith the appalling poverty of the African, that it is our Christian duty to take some positive action to correct this disastrous and distressing state of affairs. If the Christian Church does not tackle this problem now, I am convinced that, by their inaction, the problem will be thrown into the hands of organisations less capable of dealing with it in a proper manner.

My concern is not so much with the means we have suggested for working out this problem as it is for the problem itself. There is no doubt that as long as there uneducated, disenfranchised people in Africa and elsewhere, exploitation will continue to exist and one of the profilic causes of war will remain with us.

Christ came to emphasise the importance of the individual and the inestimable value of his soul, and this is the main reason for my bringing before you the need for considering such a resolution.

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD A.MOODY.
(Signed)

COPY

THE LEAGUE OF COLOURED PEOPLE

RESOLUTION

This Conference of the League of Coloured Peoples meeting at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, on March 26th, 1938, desires to record its opinion that the Colonial Policy of the British Government should contain the following two provisions:

1. Universal free education for the entire Colonial population

2. The immediate enfranchisement of all literate Colonial citizens, in places where this does not yet obtain

We should aim at the achievement of these ends within ten years so as to prepare a people who would be fitted to determine their own destiny through self-government

The large cost of this educational programme could, in the opinion of the Conference, be met by;-

1. A considerable reduction in the cost of maintaining military forces in the Colonies much larger than is required for police purposes

2. The rigorous control, especially of the profits, of the companies operating in the Colonies

3. A rapid increase in the employment of Colonials in their own civil and public services.

of Conf^a

NOTE ON THE "CO-OPERATION" (AMALGAMATION) OF THE RHODESIAS.

Terms of Reference:-

> "To inquire and report whether any, and if so what, form of closer co-operation or association between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland is desirable and feasible, with due regard to the interests of all the inhabitants irrespective of race, of the Territories concerned and to the special responsibility of His Majesty'd Government in the United Kingdom for the interests of the native inhabitants."

The memoranda prepared by three members of the Conference show some divergence of views.

(1) It is common ground that the demand for consideration of the matter derived its impulse mainly from Southern Rhodesia.

(2) Broadly, the conflict of views seems to be between (a) a form of amalgamation based upon the situation which obtains in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, as against (b) an amalgamation of the two Rhodesias with an orientation towards the segregationist policy of the Union territories.

(3) There is a conflict of views upon present-day conditions of the natives of Southern Rhodesia as compared with those of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. But it is agreed that much would depend upon the terms of amalgamation, i.e. whether they directed policy towards those of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, West Africa, or whether they opened the door still further to those of the Union territories. These views are summed up by one member as follows:-

> "It is suggested that what is needed is a blend of the two policies based on the ideal held north of the Zambesi and influenced by practical acts of grace in the south; if such can be accomplished the natives north of the river will not suffer, while those south of it will be definite gainers by finding an open door at the end of their not unattractive cul-de-sac. And there is need to remember that, otherwise, there is a risk of Southern Rhodesia leaning more and more towards the native policy of the Union with which its links are strong."

The danger of policy being based on the ideas of the Union is stated as follows:-

> "The native economic policy of Southern Rhodesia has aimed consistently at maintaining the paramountcy of the Europeans - in land, labour and marketing. This is the policy that it is intended to spread to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
>
> Recently the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia announced that he would eventually be satisfied with nothing short of amalgamation, and when the recent attempt at this was begun he declared that he would insist upon the full Native policy of

Southern Rhodesia. Under cover of the term "segregation" and such phrases as "developing the natives in their own areas" and "parallel and equal developement" a plausible tale is frequently made out. It must be judged by the basic facts."

Sundry points :-

"Native lands in Southern Rhodesia are about 30.3% of all Southern Rhodesia."

"The Native lands are inferior in every respect to European."

"The natives' portion of land can in no way compare with that of Europeans".

"The native poll tax at £1 a year for each male native over 14 years of age amounted to £390,298 in 1936."

"Wages for ordinary labour will probably average between 10/- and 17/- per month, with some sort of quarters and food."

"The Maize Control Act allows but a small proportion of native crops to enter the internal market....."

"The cattle levy tends to exclude native cattle from the internal market, but subsidises European export trade."

"Colour bar practices in industry are spreading."

"Licences have never been given to natives to mine for gold."

"For some years emigration (white) has exceeded immigration, the population growing mainly by natural increase."

"So far as can be judged, the big interests in Northern Rhodesia - Copper Mining Companies, the Railway, the British South Africa Co. - do not hanker after amalgamation."

"There is a good deal to be said for piecemeal amalgamation by departments, as advocated by Colonel Gore-Browne, but on balance it is suggested that the disadvantages of this suggestion outweigh the advantages....."

"The Imperial Government should buy out the mining rights, royalties and land rights, and not the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia."..... "The Government could have had the mining, land and railway rights in Northern Rhodesia for an extra £1,000,000 in 1924."

(A Director of the British South Africa Company has, however, recently described the figure now representing the value of royalties as "astronomical".)

Secretary to be introduced by Lord Selborne on his return to this country.

(c) That steps should be taken to ascertain whether it would be possible to secure a wider and more accurate publicity in South Africa of the attitude adopted in this country by friends of the African races.

(d) That private representations should be made to the B.B.C. with a view to securing a debate for and against transfer of the High Commission Territories.

5. Kenya - The Native Betterment Fund.

In reply to a question by Mr. Creech Jones, it would appear that the Government does not intend to proceed with Lord Moyne's recommendation, made five years ago, that a Native Betterment Fund should be created. The Committee will be asked to consider what action should be taken in this matter.

6. Finance.

The Treasurer will report upon the Society's present financial position and the response to date to the appeal.

7. China Slaves Home.

A further request from Miss Findall for a grant for rice has been received, although no reply to the Society's letter is yet to hand from Yunnanfu.

8. The Annual Meeting.

All the recommendations of the Committee have now been carried out. The meeting will be held on Thursday, 28th April, in the Assembly Hall of the Royal Empire Society. Lord Moyne has consented to preside, Dr. W. van Waterschoot van der Gracht, Professor Julian Huxley and Dr. John Baker will speak. Further details will be reported to the Committee.

...hat, should war com... ...d anywhere be said that it ...uld not or even might not have ...come had Hitler known.

...ts ...great signifi... ...others that are the hard... ...which hangs the issue, in the ...t case between peace and war. ...peeches of German leaders ...the week-end tell us little ...ng about the coming decision. ...tler praises German unity ...s warm sympathy to the ...he declares that Austria ... beginning," and, knowing ...s to unite all Germans in ... only inquire whether it ... or by violence that he ...k. The truculence of Dr. ... Field Marshal Göring ...ed rather than resented. ...he man, and it would ... to expect that in the ... Nuremberg either of ... mealy mouthed about ...of Germany's present ... Göring assures the ... that their Air Force ...a the world and their ...able; he declares ...cho-Slovakia stand ... "eternal Jewish- ... destruction," and ... that while we ...s "murder and ...ine. Goebbels, ...o the German ...y against the ...s, attacks the ...and that they ...elves with ... the German ...vonder why. ...eches suggest ...s know how ... "the democ- ... policy, which ... the speeches ...broidery; the

...emberg to-day ...because it may ...ks about the ...ue and what he ...eneral views are ...ke to absorb the ...gions, but he has ...is demand. He is ... "eight points" of ...speech. He may ...her he demands ...unqualified and ... they are not, he ...e," and, if so, by ...s the first and ...tial points. The ...ions are being ...is subordinate to ... matters greatly ... the extensive ... made towards ... demands are ... conference the ...he general con- ...one who resorts, ...sort, to war. The ...evidence of growing ... considerable out- ... Sudetens suffered ... the pretext for a ... The fourth is the ... Sudeten and Nazi ...argue that the Czech ... is losing control and ... long, not be a governing ...can be recognised; this, ...der, might prelude inter- ...The fifth essential point is ... the military assemblage on ...an frontiers which is now ... its greatest strength, but ... movements which have been ... during the last few days ... although denied, reported ...ately. Whether Hitler has yet ... up his mind or not, and what- ...decision he may reach, it is as ...ain as ever, and rather more ...in, that he is attempting to force ...tlement under the most urgent ...ts of war.

... British Government during the ...end made some negative state- ... with great clarity. It has not ... up any new declaration of ...and Sir Nevile Henderson has ... Herr Hitler in order to make ...he understands beyond a per- ... that in a general war he ...ount on British neutrality. ...ially told that in view of ..." made by Sir Nevile ... Nuremberg "there is ...n to feel assured that ...f his Majesty's Govern- ... been fully conveyed in ... quarter." No one can ...ed" so long as we do not ... Hitler has been personally ... Lord Samuel says that

...nat anywhere be said that it ...ould not or even might not have ...come had Hitler known.

South Africa and the Protectorates

A point of some importance in the relationship between the self-governing nations that comprise the British Commonwealth is clarified in the correspondence which we publish to-day between Sir John Harris and Professor Berriedale Keith. The Statute of Westminster passed in 1931 made clear and formal the right of the Dominions to full self-government in all matters affecting their own territories and the obligation of the Crown to act in such matters upon the advice of its Ministers in the countries concerned. The statute did not create a new relationship so much as confirm an established one. But its formal assertion of complete Dominion autonomy was of the first value in such countries as Eire and the Union of South Africa, where a strong sentiment existed for severing entirely the British connection, and they made haste, by legislation of their own, to incorporate in the Constitutions clauses formally asserting the full measure of freedom to which the statute entitles them. Such developments are implicit in Dominion autonomy and, whatever controversy they may arouse in the country adopting them, are no concern of the British Government. But in the case of South Africa a problem arises that has no counterpart elsewhere. Enclosed by or lying adjacent to her territory are three native protectorates, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland, for the government of which the British Crown is directly responsible. That responsibility, unwillingly entered upon in the first instance, is based upon long-standing treaties with the paramount chiefs, who craved British protection against the pressure upon them of early South African settlement.

When the Act constituting the South African State was passed by the British Parliament in 1909 ... schedule to it contemplated the fac... that at some future date the prote... torates should, under certain care... fully formulated safeguards, fulfi... their natural geographical destiny ... and be administered by the new ... Union. Within the Union, however, ... the trend of native policy has of late ... been almost wholly reactionary. The ... native in the protectorates sees his ... fellows across the border debarred ... from skilled labour, deprived of ... the vote in the only province ... where they had it, driven ... from the towns except where ... their labour is wanted, prevented ... from acquiring land and inadequately ... supplied with reserves, reduced in ... rural areas to the condition of labour ... tenants, and everywhere subject ... to repressive pass laws which are ... harsh and arbitrary in their ... administration. The Union Govern- ...ment meanwhile is eager that the ... intention regarding the protectorates ... expressed in the Act of 1909 should ... be soon fulfilled, and the question ... arises what would be the position of ... the Crown if a South African ... Ministry were to advise the handing ... over of the territories. It is, no ... doubt, a hypothetical question, but it ... is important. It is valuable, therefore, ... to have the opinion of so eminent a ... constitutional lawyer as Professor ... Berriedale Keith that such advice ... could not be entertained. The ... Statute of Westminster cuts both ... ways. The relations of the pro- ...tectorates are "solely with the ... Crown in the United Kingdom," and ... an "inevitable corollary" of the ... doctrine laid down in the Statute of ... Westminster is "the complete ... "exclusion of the Crown in the Union ... "from any intervention in the sphere ... "of operations of the Crown in the ... "United Kingdom." Or, in simpler ... words, each must mind its own affairs, ... and the protectorates are an affair of ... the British Crown. Transfer cannot ... be expedited by advice from a South ... African Ministry. It must await the ... convincing of the protectorate natives ... —and of the British Parliament—tha... native interests will not suffer by t... change. Professor Keith's opinion ... valuable as a reminder of ... considerable obstacles to be overc... before the protectorates can ... absorbed in the Union.

THE DOMINIONS AND THE CROWN

Their Right to "Advise"

THE CASE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROTECTORATES

The passage of the Statute of Westminster, which confers complete autonomy upon the Dominions of the British Commonwealth, and the legislation following upon it in South Africa have raised a hypothetical question of considerable interest. Would it be competent for a South African Ministry to advise the King, as King of South Africa, to transfer the native protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland, which are governed directly by the British Crown, to Union rule? An opinion upon the point has been sought by Sir John Harris, secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, from one of the most eminent authorities upon the constitutional relations of the Commonwealth, Professor Berriedale Keith, and we publish to-day the correspondence that has passed between them.

Sir John Harris's Question

Dear Professor Berriedale Keith,—During my recent tour in South Africa and the High Commission territories I heard frequently from responsible persons the suggestion that if the inhabitants of the protectorates continue to show such resolute opposition to incorporation into the Union of South Africa, Whitehall would be unable to agree to a transfer of the administration and that then the Government of that Dominion might probably feel it incumbent to avail itself of the Statute of Westminster and go past the British Government and Parliament direct to the Crown.

This point came up in a private discussion between certain legal authorities in Capetown who held that the Statute of Westminster was confined to subjects within the territorial sovereignty of the Dominion, and, further, that it would be straining the provisions of that instrument beyond conception to make a direct appeal to the Crown upon a subject outside its circumference.

I undertook to consult you upon this vital point, in the hope that you would feel able to express an opinion.—I am, yours sincerely,

JOHN HARRIS.

August 11, 1938.

Professor Keith's Opinion

Dear Sir John,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant regarding the High Commission territories in South Africa.

The suggestion that the Government of the Union of South Africa can avail itself of the Statute of Westminster to approach the Crown on this topic rests on a fundamental misunderstanding of the purpose and legal effect of that statute. Its enactment was pressed for by General Hertzog for the definite purpose of establishing in law the absolute distinction between the Crown in the Union and the Crown in the United Kingdom as independent sovereignties and to make it clear urbi et orbi that the Crown in the United Kingdom was totally excluded by law from any intervention in the affairs of the Union.

The distinction of the sovereignties was elucidated in the most effective manner by General Hertzog when he declared the absolute right of the Union to remain neutral in a war declared by the Crown in the United Kingdom and was challenged on the score of the British naval base at Simonstown. He pointed out that the Crown in the Union was no more affected by the rights of the Crown in the United Kingdom in respect of Simonstown than was the sovereign in Spain by British rights over Gibraltar, and from this doctrine he has never departed.

But the absolute independence of the Crown in the Union, which was formally declared in the Status of the Union Act, 1934, was even more signally asserted on the occasion of the abdication of King Edward VIII, when the Union Government and Parliament asserted their absolute freedom to determine the succession to the Crown in the Union and negatived the competence of the Crown in Parliament in the United Kingdom to deal with that subject. Moreover, the claim of absolute sovereignty has received endorsement from the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of the Union and is now undisputed.

The inevitable corollary to this doctrine is the complete exclusion of the Crown in the Union from any intervention in the sphere of operation of the Crown in the United Kingdom. In the case of the High Commission territories their relations are solely with the Crown in the United Kingdom.

They were acquired for the Empire by that Crown and they are governed under prerogative and statutory powers of that Crown only. Action in regard to them by the Crown or Parliament in the Union would be null and void.

Under these circumstances it would be wholly unconstitutional for the Union Ministry to tender any advice to the Crown regarding these territories, and it cannot be supposed that the Prime Minister of the Union would take so improper a course. In the unlikely event of advice being in fact tendered his Majesty would have no course open except to explain that, as the matter does not fall within the sphere of the Crown in the Union, he could treat the advice only as a recommendation for the consideration of his Government in the United Kingdom, to which it had therefore been communicated.

Distinction of the "Crowns"

It has been suggested—though the Union Government does not appear to have committed itself to the view—that the general power conferred by the Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act, 1934, of the Union on the Governor General in Council to perform in respect of the Union functions given under Imperial Acts to the King in Council might be invoked to operate the transfer of the territories to the Union under the power given by the South Africa Act, 1909, to the King in Council. The suggestion was at the time definitely negatived by the British Government, and is clearly legally untenable nor even capable of serious argument.

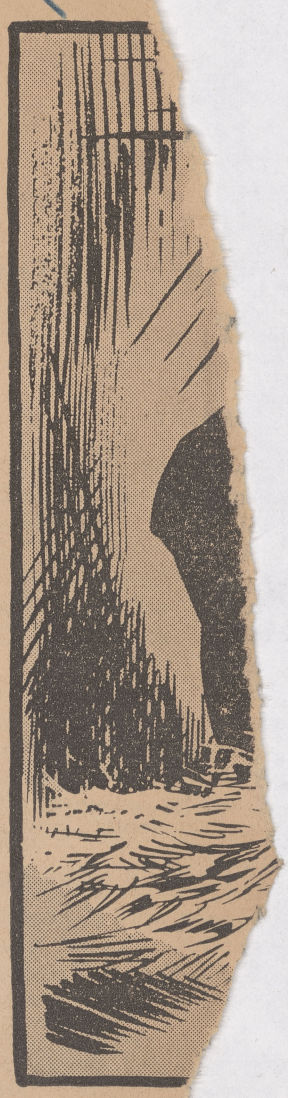
It is, of course, possible that all that is contemplated is that the Union Government, with the support of Parliament, should address strong representations to the British Government in favour of transfer, and that the King should be requested by the Union Ministry to exercise his influence over the British Ministry to secure its assent to transfer. In that case it must be observed that such a request would definitely be unconstitutional and would contradict the whole of General Hertzog's doctrine of the absolute distinction of the Crowns. It would be destructive of the position of the King if in his actions in regard to any part of the Commonwealth he were to be influenced by representations from the Government of any other part.

I may add that I note in the Union the prevalence of the idea that delay in the transfer of the territories is a breach of a promise made when the South Africa Act, 1909, was passed. There is no truth whatever in this belief. His Majesty's Ministers at that time neither desired to pledge themselves, nor would the House of Commons have allowed them to give any pledge. It was hoped that transfer might be possible, and the terms on which it would be effected were formally laid down. Since then the whole basis on which transfer was contemplated has disappeared. The anticipation of a generous native policy has been completely disappointed; the doctrine of Cecil Rhodes of equal rights for all civilised men has been discarded in favour of racial supremacy and exploitation of the native race. The Union has asserted complete independence of British control and has abolished the power of the Crown, on the advice of the British Government, to disallow legislation abolishing the safeguards for native rights provided for in 1909. For the British Government now to use the power given in 1909 to transfer the territories would clearly be an abuse of the trust then reposed in the Crown by Parliament. If transfer is to take place it should be based on fresh Parliamentary authority given after the acceptance by the natives of transfer has been ascertained.—Yours, &c.,

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

August 13.

[This subject is referred to in our leader columns.]



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Altrincham Show, which is
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next week at the Devisdale.
president is Sir Edward Gri

ITALY'S GAINS AND LOSSES

(Continued from previous page.)

the Arussi, Sidamo. An intensive cultivation might be practised there. Elsewhere there could only be, for the white men, extensive farming on the Kenya-South African model, unless Signor Mussolini is willing to abandon his new racial policy and to establish a mulatto Empire on the plateau. For that would be the only result of a white peasant system in Ethiopia.

Industry is at present represented by a magnificent cement works at Diredawa and by a project, as yet no more, to turn the sandy shoals of Assab into the greatest port on the Red Sea. Roads, in fact, and the new houses of the Italian administrators and traders at Harrar, Addis, Dessye are the only visible addition that the conquerors have made to the country. Even on some of the roads, for lack of funds, work has ceased. The Addis-Jimma road can no longer be used in the rainy season, and the Addis-Lekemti road is also unsafe. The only roads that have been completed are the great Addis-Dessye-Eritrea trunk road and, in Eritrea itself and therefore unrelated to the new "conquest," the road from Massawa to Tessenei on the frontier of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Like the superb coastal road of Libya, this represents a threat to a British possession; it serves no peaceful need.

The only road on which work now continues is that between Dessye and Assab, across the Danakil desert. Large numbers of Yemeni labourers are employed on this route, which it is hoped to finish by June next year.

ECONOMIC PLIGHT

What is the reason for this slowing down of the Italian effort? The answer is, above all, national resistance; the cost of the Army of Occupation—200,000 men, 300 'planes, 10,000 lorries—would be immeasurably beyond the powers of any sane Italian Government, would be intolerable even to a country as rich as Britain. Particularly so when the Ethiopian production of foodstuffs has been shattered and it is necessary for the conqueror to import flour, dourah, sugar, and rice in gross every week from Jibuti and Aden. Examined from another angle, the paralysis that is descending on Ethiopia is due to Italian lack of capital (in itself mainly attributable to wastage on the war for a country materially as worthless as Ethiopia). Before the war Ethiopia exported annually goods worth about £1,000,000. To-day she exports goods worth about a third of that sum. If she had been decently handled, if her ruling caste had not been harried, her caravaneer-tradesmen the "nagadis" not cheated, and her Galla nomads not deprived of their cattle, the economic life of the not have been reduce
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Australian aborigines.

Among Australians who interest themselves in the aborigines, there are three conflicting views.

One is that of the anthropologists, who wish to preserve the native in his primitive state as a specimen to be studied scientifically. They would carefully enclose the tribes in their reserves, like kangaroos in the Zoo, excluding the missionaries and all other aliens. This is the view which first attracted me, but after interviewing numerous authorities and reading an immense number of reports, I have come to the conclusion that this policy is impossible to carry out, even if desirable.

It might be possible, by a huge addition to the Police Force, to keep out the white prospectors and dingo-hunters who now enter the reserves illegally, but the blacks could only be kept in by being treated as prisoners. The problem is how to save them from themselves. Admittedly the tribal system cannot survive contact with white civilisation, but nevertheless the tribesmen desire such contact. Partly from curiosity, and partly from love of tobacco and other luxuries, the wild native who has once met white men wishes to meet them again, even though they may have swindled and exploited

him. Moreover he is above all things nomadic; there is nothing to keep him in one place, for he produces nothing from the earth and possesses nothing that he cannot carry in his hands. Wherever he takes a fancy to go, he will go, and the police can only prevent him from leaving the reserves by force. Such methods would not be tolerated to-day in Liberal Australia, and so the efforts of the anthropologists are doomed to failure in the not distant future.

It is only a matter of time before all the bush natives are contaminated by European or Oriental civilisation. They will certainly become less picturesque, but it is an open question whether, from the point of view of humanity, the diseases and vices which they get from us are worse than the sufferings which they now inflict on each other, e.g. ~~their initiation rites,~~ the common practice of infanticide and parricide, and the custom of giving all the girls in marriage to the old men at the age of ten!

Another point of view is that of the missionaries. I only met Presbyterians and Nonconformists, but I understand the R.C's hold much the same views, only more so. The primary concern of the missionaries generally is to convert the blacks to Christianity, and to impose upon them a Christian morality. This fact is apt to be forgotten, as they are so

much used by the Government for other purposes, such as education and poor relief, for which they receive grants. Moreover they are regarded primarily as pro-natives by the general public. In Adelaide the two pro-native societies, run respectively by the Revd. Sexton and Dr. Duguid, who cordially hate each other, are closely connected with the Protestant missions. Nevertheless, the real purpose of the missionaries is not to give secular education or to act as relieving officers, or to advocate reforms, but to teach Christianity, and their views on native policy are governed by this consideration.

In particular, they take the strongest possible objection to the illicit association of white men with native women. They regard this as the chief grievance of the natives, though the natives themselves do not generally regard it as a grievance at all. In order to check this abuse, the missionaries are segregationist, and to that extent agree with the anthropologists. But whereas the latter would prevent anyone from entering the reserves except for scientific research, the former wish to live there themselves, and to destroy whatever is un-Christian in tribal customs.

The missionaries have done magnificent work for the natives, and for a long period must have been almost the only

people who were well disposed towards them. In fact, it is probably due to them that 50,000 full-blood aborigines still exist. Of the two I talked with, one, the Rev. J.R.B. Love, from North-Western Australia, is a most admirable and reasonable man, and his book, Stone Age Bushmen of to-day, is perhaps the most readable book on the Aborigines. Of the other, also from West Australia, I will only say that she is a lady, whose personality is calculated to exasperate the most patient administrator. She and others, but not Mr. Love, are inclined to make reckless charges of injustice and oppression against the State authorities. I do not believe these accusations are justified now, though they may have been in the past. The laws dealing with aborigines are humane, and designed in their interests, though they are not always enforced in the "outback". So far as I can gather from the books and pamphlets and official reports I have collected, the officials concerned with the natives do the best they can to protect them with very limited financial resources. The real charge against the State Governments, and still more against the Federal Government, is that they do not do enough. In view of the shocking way in which Australians have treated their blacks in the past, they ought to do far more than they do.

My impression is that the Federal Government is rather bored by the problem of the aborigines, and will let things slide unless its hand is forced by public opinion. But this is not true of the Chief Protectors of natives in the various states, who recently held a most illuminating conference at Canberra. The report of this Conference reveals a strong opinion in favour of a definite long-term policy, the policy of "absorption" rather than segregation. This brings me to the third of the conflicting views to which I have referred.

The chief protagonist of the absorptionist policy is Mr. Neville, the Chief Protector of natives in West Australia, whom we interviewed in Perth. Whether his views are right or wrong, he is thinking of the distant future, say 50 years hence, more realistically than the anthropologists or the missionaries. The argument is as follows :-

The Aborigines are not negroid, but of Caucasian origin, like ourselves, and this will facilitate their ultimate absorption into the white population. Some half-castes are indistinguishable from whites and they never"throw-back".

The numbers of the coloured people are increasing, not only by the birth of illegitimate half-castes, but by marriage among themselves. The full-bloods will diminish in number whatever we may do, and the native problem is really the

problem of the half-castes, who will probably increase more rapidly than the whites.

The coloured children, if taken at an early age, are capable of being trained and educated, physically and mentally, so as to be assimilated into the white population; but the process of merging the two races is a gradual one, and must, therefore, be undertaken energetically and without delay.

If this policy is not undertaken, there will eventually be in Northern Australia a separate race of coloured people, outnumbering the whites, with a lower standard of living and an inferior status. In fact, Australia will be cursed with the evils now prevailing in South Africa or the Southern States.

Such is the absorptionist argument. In Western Australia, which has the largest coloured and the smallest white population of all the States, the policy is already being pursued deliberately in State institutions. At these establishments the young natives are encouraged to mix with the general community, and are helped to find jobs outside, so that they may earn their own living. The missionaries, on the other hand, keep them on the mission properties, and discourage them from seeking their fortunes elsewhere. (This would be difficult, in any case, as employers do not like mission natives.)

In the Northern Territory the Federal administration has adopted the same policy as West Australia, whereas the Queensland Government has shown more sympathy with missionary views.

The Queensland Chief Protector, indeed, has made it clear that he does not consider the half-castes generally to be capable of assimilation. On the other hand, he does consider them capable of becoming self-supporting by means other than hunting. The tribes on the Islands of the Torres Strait practise farming with success, but these tribes are Polynesian in strain, and it is doubtful whether the mainland aborigines can ever become independent agriculturists. If they can, then the Queensland policy (acceptable to the missionaries) of aboriginal settlements developing on native lines may prevail over the policy of absorption. This is a question which requires the most careful study.

But whichever policy is adopted, the financial burden of native education is too great for the poorer states, and the Federal Government should make grants for that purpose. The care of the natives should, indeed, be recognised as a national obligation by the Commonwealth. It is unfair that the richer states, N.S.W. and Victoria, having exterminated

their own aborigines, should escape all responsibility for those in other States. There are practically no coloured people in Victoria, which thus contributes only towards those under Federal administration, i.e. in the Northern Territory and Central Australia.

Anything that can be done at the present time to rouse public opinion, thus bringing pressure to bear on the Commonwealth Government, might have considerable effect. Australians appear to be developing a conscience, somewhat belatedly, with regard to the aborigines, and public opinion might easily become strong enough to get something done. Moreover, I do not think that intelligent criticism from "home" would be resented. The Australians are anxious to have a good name abroad, and do not, like the South Africans, ignore outside opinion about their treatment of natives. I regret to say, however, that our Anti-Slavery Society seems to be very unpopular, even among pro-natives. I gather that it made specific proposals which revealed its ignorance of local conditions, but I had not time to enquire into the circumstances. If it would confine itself to general principles, or, alternatively, make careful investigations on the spot before putting forward proposals, it might serve a very useful purpose.

1938

SWAZILAND IN SUSPENSE

Threat of Transfer

UNION'S MISTAKEN POLICY

"Economic Sanctions"

[This is the third of a series of articles by Sir John Harris on native problems in South Africa. Previous articles appeared on June 30 and July 18.]

By Sir John Harris

SWAZILAND, JULY.

Is there any country more lovely in Africa than Swaziland? If there is I do not know it. This little native territory is snugly tucked away beyond the whistle and smoke of railways and is approached over rolling plains of Transvaal veld. As at last one rises to the crest of a hill the vast panorama unfolds itself with almost startling swiftness. There on the far horizon of a dull and uninteresting plain range on range of mountains leap upwards, one after another, until, as one gets close to it, the illimitable spectacle resolves itself into something surely finer than the Jura in its vastness and infinitely more beautiful in the radiance of the setting sun. As far as the eye can reach towards the east there is range behind range dividing the Transvaal from Zululand, the whole mountain area throwing skywards a forest of lofty peaks.

The people, too, are different—155,000 of them crowded into 6,000 square miles as against the same number of Bechuanas spread over a territory larger than France. The Swazis are surely the cleanest natives of South Africa; one seldom sees a woman with a soiled frock or a man whose body does not gleam with cleanliness and polish. Sobhuza II, the Paramount Chief, attaches as much importance to deportment as did the exacting Mr. Turveydrop.

A COMPLICATED AFFAIR

The chieftaincy of Swaziland is one of the most rigidly held in Africa; it has little real hereditary title. The present successor to Sobhuza, for example, is unknown to any beyond the tiny group of chiefs who guard faithfully the secret of succession. If a son of Sobhuza has been selected the choice was not a restricted one, for this 38-year-old chief is said to have produced nearly 100 children from his fifty wives. But Sobhuza is not yet married! The diplomatic choice of wife has yet to be made, but rumour has it that this choice will not be long delayed and that when she arrives from her distant home she will be accompanied by many regiments of horse and foot and another nine brides, for the official marriage of the Swazi Paramount is to ten wives. Although the time for this marriage is drawing rapidly nearer, it is doubtful whether it can take place until the present disturbed conditions, due to political uncertainty, have died down.

The Swazis are as strongly opposed to their country and people joining the Union of South Africa as are the Bechuanas. But their respective positions differ rather markedly. They assert that Sir Marshall Clark gave them assurances on several occasions that, subject to loyal behaviour, their country and people would always remain under the British flag. They appear to hold that Great Britain cannot now, without dishonour, repudiate the "voice" of their beloved representative of the British Government. Next, they point out that even in the Convention of 1880 it was provided that provisional administration by the Transvaal was subject to the "consent" of the Swazis. Their third argument, based on history, is that this provisional administration by the Transvaal left an indelible mark on the memories and records of thousands of Swazis and, as one chief put it, "on their bodies also."

GROWING HOSTILITY

The Chief Sobhuza is in public very reticent, preferring that his people should do most of the talking upon the thorny problem of incorporation in the Union, but there is little doubt in the minds of the Swazis where the Paramount and, what is equally important, the Queen Mother stand with regard to the subject that is uppermost in the minds of the Swazi nation. Another factor which must be taken into consideration is that this feeling is rapidly hardening. This is mainly due to the utter inability in certain quarters to understand native psychology. The practice of a kind of "thumbscrew" policy is doing infinite harm. Some time ago it was decided to put a kind of economic sanction on the Swazis, the idea being to teach them how dependent they were on the Union market. Every now and then this "thumbscrew" is given a further twist, but instead of bringing the Swazis to heel it is merely, as they say, teaching them what to expect if they go under Union control.

Several illustrations of this procedure were given to me by settlers and natives. Although access to Union markets is provided for in the Customs Convention, under which there must be "free exchange" of products and manufactures of the respective countries, the Union has broken the convention by prohibiting the importation of breeding cattle, unless they are of pedigree stock, and the importation of tobacco, unless sold through a co-operative monopoly organisation which is under Union control. As cattle are the main source of the economic and social

(Continued at foot of next page.)

…criticism of one of Mussolini's policies has been heard.

NEW FASCIST ARGUMENTS

Signor Gayda, in his article, said:

The people have need to purify themselves and return to their origins if they are to restore peace. Internal decadence and the decline of order in Europe and the world began with the triumph of popular fronts. Popular fronts are associations which promote the growth of Bolshevism—and Bolshevism is run by Jews.

…believed that their warships may try to force an entrance, as the lake at present seriously obstructs the movements of the Japanese troops.

Twenty divisions of well-equipped Chinese troops are concentrated in the Hankow sector.

"SEGREGATION" IN AFRICA

White and Black

NATIVE RIGHTS IMPERILLED

The Two Rhodesias

By Sir John Harris

BULAWAYO (RHODESIA), JUNE.

No appreciation of Britain's task south of the Equator is possible without a clear perception of the titanic human struggle which is developing in all its intensity from "Cape Colony" to the copper fields of the Congo. The African is asking simply for the rights and privileges of a man. He believes (and, indeed, he thought his treaties and commitments with Britain accepted) the doctrine that "all men are created free and equal and are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The first blow to his equanimity was struck when in 1913 the principle of segregation was started in South Africa by dividing the land into white and black squares. Since then, like a prairie fire, segregation has spread to the Zambesi and now threatens the African right up to the Equator—segregation not merely of land but of all activities of life.

POSITION IN RHODESIA

It is true that here in Rhodesia the bold demand of its founder, "Equal rights for all civilised men," is still heard. But southwards the pledges given by Sir Charles Warren to Khama are imperilled, whilst away on the banks of the Caledon the Basutos and the Swazis northwards live in daily dread lest they too will be dragged into the vortex of racial discrimination and conflict. Lord Bledisloe and his Royal Commission are here, and it may well be that even their restricted reference will yet lead the way out not only for the Rhodesians but for other territories in the south. At least Lord Bledisloe's intimate knowledge of and affection for the Maoris should augur well for the Barotse, Matabele, and Mashona people.

The Bledisloe Royal Commission has been sent out in response to the demand of Southern Rhodesia for an amalgamation with Northern Rhodesia. The terms of reference, however, are restricted to "co-operation." Admittedly the real issue is amalgamation and the condition upon which it should take place. The combined territories of Rhodesia, North and South, exceed 440,000 square miles, and are occupied by more than 2,500,000 people, including the Barotse kingdom ruled by Yeta III under treaty. The white settler population is about 60,000, and apparently is not increasing. It would be a large order for the Colonial and Dominions Offices to agree to amalgamation and then to give Dominion status to a territory more than twice the size of France and confer the government of 2,500,000 people to a fluctuating settler population of less than 60,000 persons, yet many of the settlers are saying that amalgamation without Dominion status is not worth having. The whites in Southern Rhodesia do not, in fact, expect Dominion status yet. They think they may be offered (a) amalgamation or (b) Dominion status for Southern Rhodesia coupled with an "option" on Northern Rhodesia.

SAFEGUARDS FOR THE NATIVES

For the natives the issues are very much those of every other African territory—namely, what is to be their status. To-day they have two safeguards. Under the Churchill constitution all purely racial legislation is reserved for the final sanction of the Crown. Secondly, they possess in law the franchise, although only 43 have reached the electoral roll. These safeguards are appreciated chiefly because they are the symbols of the interest still felt in the Mother Country for natives and as a barrier against the inroad of racial segregation.

To land segregation if justly applied there seems to be little opposition amongst the natives. Indeed, during a road journey of 120 miles through one reserve I found the natives happy in the fact that they were miles from "civilisation," and a sentence quoted from Chief Mpesemi, in Northern Rhodesia, in Sir Alan Pim's report leapt to my mind with new force: "It is good that we should have our own land where the white man cannot come"—a striking, if pathetic, commentary.

MR. HUGGINS'S POLICY

South Rhodesia's native policy, or, more correctly, the policy of the Premier, is still in embryo. Mr. Huggins claims that it avoids the colour bar whilst satisfying the mutually destructive objective of the settlers—namely, a segregation which will provide the white community with the labour of the African without any inconvenient association with his person! The basis of this policy is land segregation, and the share of the Matabele and Mashona is to-day some 25 acres per head, rising possibly to something over 30 acres. In those areas no white man will be allowed to compete with the native farmer or industrialist. In the white areas the white worker is to have an unassailed monopoly. How this will work out nobody seems to have any clear idea. The racial control of maize, with its fixed racial quotas and fixed racial prices, was perhaps the most interesting practical experiment in this policy, and I can best describe what

(Continued at foot of next page.)

A GREAT NATIVE RULER

Tshekedi Khama

THE PROBLEMS OF BECHUANALAND

No Transfer!

By Sir John Harris

SEROWE, JULY.

To-day the outstanding name throughout native South Africa is Tshekedi Khama, who bids fair to outshine in native history even the position of his great father, King Khama. There is not and never has been a native ruler in Africa quite like Tshekedi Khama. In the first place, he has a most attractive personality; his merry laugh captivates everybody; his love of animals and children endears him as much to his 21 beautiful horses as it does to every child in his villages; above all, there is his outstanding statesmanship and sterling honesty. An American friend who spent an hour studying a draft statement of policy finished it with the exclamation: "No better-drafted document ever went out of our State Department in Washington!"

The capital of Bechuanaland is approached through vast sandy wastes, and not until one reaches Serowe is there any indication of its existence. Then suddenly it bursts into view as one enters a vast saucer-like formation, within which is located the largest native town south of the Equator. The circular beehive huts for 30,000 people, with their cattle-pens and granaries, make an imposing spectacle which gives one the impression of serenity and contentment.

SLOW PROGRESS

But Tshekedi and his fellow-chiefs are full of deep concern because of two of the gravest matters which have ever confronted Bechuanaland. The first is the slow progress of their people in agricultural methods, in habits of cleanliness and health, and all similar features of modern civilisation. They want money for reforms of every kind. Although they have a higher proportion of children in their schools than the South, they have no cultural institutions for higher education. They also want more wells for their splendid cattle, but, with an embargo against the sale of their animals based on weight and numbers, they cannot obtain money for large-scale improvements. They are only allowed to send into the Union 200 a week, each of which must weigh over 1,100lb. One result is that Dutch dealers are running a brisk smuggling trade!

But the cause for greatest concern is the political future of their country, which is larger than France. No such subject has ever preoccupied the daily thoughts of the 150,000 Bechuana since the fears of the Matabele invasions.

A GREAT KGOTHLA

I was fortunate in being able to attend one of the greatest Kgothlas (Parliaments) ever held in Bechuanaland. There were present nearly 1,500 members drawn from every part of Bechuanaland. The chiefs and members of councils came from the far west Batawana, which joins the mandated territory of South-west Africa, from Bakhatla, in the South-east, and from the Bakwena and the Bangwaketse, in the South.

The Kgothla was held in the open under spreading trees in the centre of a Parliament square, bounded on one side by Government buildings and on another by the house of the chief and the huts of the servants and retainers. At the moment fixed for the commencement of proceedings Tshekedi Khama and his visitors, who included the British Commissioner, moved to the head of the Kgothla, the whole audience standing and raising their hats until the chief and visitors were seated.

Tshekedi Khama then explained the latest developments in the proposed transfer of administration. There was, first, the British Government's promise of consultation with the inhabitants; secondly, the further stage of "full acquiescence" as announced in the House of Lords last year; and now (said Tshekedi Khama) Mr. MacDonald has arranged that General Hertzog shall put in writing the conditions under which he considers transfer of administration should take place. At this there was a perceptible movement throughout the Parliament, rather like a swarm of bees about to take a second flight—we were soon to learn the cause of this!

STRONG FEELING

Then Tshekedi Khama invited speakers to "begin, none being afraid, only express yourselves honestly." He further told them that he was not their master, he was their servant, hence, "Tell me your will, for I have no voice but yours." Immediately a giant Bakhatla rose, and then we understood that rumbling movement. In a voice vibrant with feeling he exclaimed, "You tell us that conditions will be put on paper. What is that to us? From Batawana to Bangwaketse there is but one voice; we will look at no 'conditions.' We will remain under the British flag."

Speaker after speaker fastened on the point that conditions were of no interest to the people, who were determined not to look at them. The very proposal to put "conditions" to them seemed to create a very ugly mood.

(Continued at foot of next page.)

S IN PALESTINE

and Robberies

Watch cordoned off streets in Jerusalem his morning and searched traffic and pedestrians.

The Arab Women's Committee has abled to the Colonial Secretary protesting against the "outrageous wave of errorism by Jews against Arabs in Haifa, Jaffa, and Jerusalem, and the nurdering of innocent men, women, and children."

Ten victims of Friday's bomb outrage n Jerusalem were buried secretly by noonlight in the Moslem cemetery under the shadow of the old city wall during curfew in order to prevent demonstrations.—Press Association Foreign Special.

MR. SAMUEL INSULL DEAD

Collapse in Paris

PARIS, JULY 16.

Mr. Samuel Insull, the American financier, collapsed on the Etoile station of the underground railway here to-day and died later in hospital. He was in his seventy-ninth year. The cause of his death is believed to have been heart trouble. The funeral will take place in London.—Reuter.

[A biographical notice appears on other page]

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THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

Africa Emergent. By Professor W. M. Macmillan. *Faber and Faber.* 15*s.*

Africans Learn to be French. By Dr. W. Bryant Mumford and Major G. St. J. Orde-Browne, O.B.E. *Evans Brothers.* 5*s.*

"Economic development, which the weaker countries are in no position to foster without help, is a necessary part of the process of securing their independent status in the world," says Professor Macmillan. The full significance of this opinion does not appear at the first glance; but it is illustrated in a hundred ways in this remarkable book. The trouble about the African is his poverty. I am reminded of the flash of conviction which came to me years ago, while living in South London, and worrying myself about the injustice suffered by my neighbours, when I first read the sentence "The trouble about the poor is their poverty." Whoever wrote it, there was never a truer word written, and it is the same with the African.

Poverty and backwardness prevent the African from taking his rightful share in Government; poverty and backwardness make him inevitably "exploitable." The despotism and the exploitation are not the root of the matter; there is something underlying both. "Africans are open to exploitation just because they have so little to offer except their labour and their ambition." At bottom, therefore, what we have to do is to give "a greater body of content to the idea of trusteeship." Development and progress "means no more and no less than the provision of what is absolutely necessary to lift the African people above an Hobbesian level of poverty and wretchedness."

This poverty and wretchedness is traced to geographical and historical causes in a most illuminating chapter, "The Roots of Backwardness." As to the "content" which we need to put into the idea of trusteeship, we must beware of thinking that it is something of a peculiar and mysterious quality, specially adapted to the African. It is nothing more nor less than what we understand by civilisation. We cannot teach what we do not know. This applies not only to economics, but to the best system of government, the best kind of education and the best form of religion: in the author's words, "what we are best equipped to do." If we do not know what is best, if we have disturbing doubts as to whether Western civilisation is a good thing or a bad thing, then the sooner we clear out of Africa, the better.

Here is an appropriate point for mentioning the second book referred to above. It is a book of extraordinary interest, though of much smaller scope. The French do know what they want, if we do not. Their aim is to make Africans into Frenchmen—*bons français*. They are quite prepared to use Native institutions as a starting point, but they are under no illusion as to the essential limitations of the African tribal system. Their aim is to supersede it. There is a great advantage in this clear and conscious pursuit of a definite goal. When the French have produced an educated African, they congratulate themselves on a triumph; when the British have produced such a person, they do not know what to do with him.

"France," says Dr. Mumford, "never stirred from the belief that superiority or inferiority of ability should and must be regarded as wholly independent of the colour of a person's skin or of any other physical characteristic."

Dr. Mumford's remarkable article in *Africa* for 1938, I may add, is a damning indictment of the action of ourselves as "trustees" in the matter of educating our "wards." He deals only with the most rudimentary type of school, that which provides "the basic tools of modern living—reading, writing and arithmetic"; and he shows that "as far as the mass of children in Africa is concerned, for more than 90 per cent. of them there are no schools whatever for them to attend."

In view of facts such as these, Professor Macmillan tells us that it is of relatively little use to discuss the minutiae of educational methods. What we want is a very simple thing—more education. Quantity, not quality, is the thing upon which we have to concentrate at this stage. "The sometimes unfortunate results can hardly be remedied as things are by any change in the method of imparting education; but only when the whole population has been brought nearer to some decent minimum standard. Making the rudiments of education more generally available is even more important than any special adaptation of method and content." The "gap" between the educated African and the "Bush" African is a constant theme of British settlers and administrators. We simply stare at it and deplore it; the French are confident of bridging it. The obvious way to bridge it is to bring up more and more Africans towards the level of the educated. The "gap" is already narrowing. There is growing feeling among the "trousered" Africans that their interests are identical with those of the mass.

As regards higher education, it is refreshing to find a Colonial Governor such as Sir Philip Mitchell, of Uganda, definitely giving his support to the view upheld by Professor Macmillan. He lately said:

> There is only one civilisation and one culture to which we are fitted to lead the people of these countries—our own: we know no other, and we cannot dissect the one we know and pick out this piece or that as being good or bad for Africans. There is good and bad in everything, and men must choose for themselves: it is the business of education to help them to that choice. . . . Our task, indeed, if we have any faith in our civilisation and in ourselves, is boldly to lead the African peoples forward along the road we are ourselves following, confident that if we do that we shall bring them ever closer to us in generations to come.

What is wanted in the educational service is not specialists brought up in the atmosphere of the Colonies, but the best men from our own educational world, to go out to Africa and inspire and organise.

It is a great gain that a mind such as Professor Macmillan's should have been directed to the great problems involved in the future of Africa. The few conclusions to which I have called attention are based upon a comprehensive and well-balanced presentation of the main facts, both about the life of Africans and about the life of Europeans in Africa; about the whole problem of Labour, and the place of Capital in African development; about the methods of British administration both on the political and economic side. There is political thinking of high value in the chapters on Self-government and Indirect Rule. Professor Macmillan has undertaken a task of a much more comprehensive and ambitious character than anything he has done before. My only criticism is that I should have liked him to be still more ambitious and comprehensive, and to have included much fuller references to French, Belgian and Portuguese methods, as well as the pre-War German methods. Even the Sudan is not sufficiently taken into account; the light which it throws on many problems, particularly that of Indirect Rule, is too important to be omitted. But when this is said, it remains true that the book is indispensable to those who wish to form an unbiased opinion on the question—a menacing as well as an absorbing one—of the future of Africa.

Charles Roden Buxton

EXTRACTS FROM LETTER FROM SIR JOHN HARRIS

Confidential

Bulawayo,
S. Rhodesia.

June 9th, 1938.

Now that I am finishing up in Rhodesia, I am sending this section of report to the Committee. I think this will be a more convenient plan than writing a long and necessarily involved one when I get back. I will keep it as short as I can, only putting in the most important points briefly.

RHODESIA.

We have received every kindness from everybody; the Governor, the Premier, the Mayor of Salisbury, the Native Officials, Merchants and Settlers, all combined to give us not merely a welcome, but, what was more important, facilities for seeing the native problem from every angle. In Bulawayo the Native Administration actually gave public facilities for the natives to state their grievances to us, which they did to the fullest extent! - occupying a whole day.

(a) Policy. I think I do at last understand the main lines of the Prime Minister's policy, even though few people seem to grasp its complications. However, I got him committed to two points -

(1) No colour bar.
(2) "Equal rights for all civilized men".

(b) Lobolo. It may surprise the Committee that I put this next in order. I do so because I am convinced of its menacing importance. The great enemy of the native areas is erosion, and erosion is largely due to the growing herds of cattle which in theory are "Bride price". In the old days Rinderpest came along and reduced the numbers, but Government measures have removed this and similar dangers. The situation is thus changing, and cattle are being sold more and more for the market, and as this process increases, coupled with the growing industrialization of the native, cash is taking the place

of cattle for woman purchase. The urbanized native is increasingly buying (and I fear selling) the women outright. I have found natives earning say £15 a year giving from £5 to £20 for a woman if she is strong and healthy. The dangers which this opens up leap to the eye.

This situation is extraordinarily difficult, and it seems to me to be just the kind of subject the African Conference might consider and report upon.

(c) Land. The Bledisloe Commission will, I am sure, from talks I have had with Lord Bledisloe and members of the Commission, report fully upon this, but broadly stated there is much conflict of evidence. At the same time, the situation in this respect is far superior to the Union, moreover, the interest and energy which this first-rate body of Commissioners is giving to improvements - water supplies, veterinary surgery, "demonstrations", ploughing, etc., are having a marked effect.

(d) Registration and Pass Laws. The criticism of these from without, the objections taken to certain sections of the Act by merchants, the lack of hostels, the unwillingness of most officials to put energy into its operation, these and other factors have led to large parts of the Act being withdrawn from operation, but we have a lot to do on this very objectionable legislation.

I have made certain suggestions which Mr. Bullock approves and which I have arranged shall be investigated as "Possibilities" by the Bledisloe Commission. I found Mr. Evans most helpful and receptive of ideas, but Mr. Ponsonby and I both felt that Mr. Mainwaring has all and more than all the knowledge and material he required. Lord Bledisloe too has been most kind.

I could add a great deal more upon many points and subjects discussed and investigated, but hesitate to burden you with too long a letter; I therefore limit myself to one matter only in conclusion - During one of my talks with the Prime Minister, it was agreed that I would submit to the Committee a

proposal that in future we should in the main write to him direct upon any subject affecting the natives. The Governor-General is delighted to know of this arrangement. I will, of course, explain to the Committee more fully the reasons for making this suggestion for the consideration of the Committee.

(Signed) JOHN HARRIS.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM SIR JOHN HARRIS,

JOHANNESBURG, 19th June, 1938.

Confidential.

"We have now reached Johannesburg from Bechuanaland and I am sending a short report on the position in that Protectorate.

Native Mental Attitude.

With every day that passes I am more and more impressed with the change in the native during the last 25 years. On every hand there is discontent and suspicion which, if it goes on, must lead to some sort of disaster - and nobody denies it!

Bechuanaland and Transfer.

We saw large numbers of native people in different capacities and in different circumstances. Finally, Tshekedi had summoned a great Kgotla (Parliament). I can put the position quite shortly. I knew the Bechuanas were opposed to transfer, but I never expected to find so overwhelming and vehement an opposition. The Bechuanas will oppose it to the very last man, and I was told today that the Basutos will not only oppose it, but will fight.

We must make the Dominions Office realise the danger in this situation. I wish I could describe that Kgotla - all tribes had sent their members; they came from "German South-West" border in the far West, from Mafeking in the South and all the other tribal areas between. They numbered over 1,400, one of the largest Parliaments ever held.

Tshekedi led us - the British Commissioner, Dr. and Mrs. Jones, Mr. Brayshaw, my wife and myself, to the raised part of this open-air Kgotla. Then Tshekedi opened the proceedings. What a brilliant fellow he is! He began very quietly and reviewed the successive stages of the discussion, and then told of the latest arrangement under which General Hertzog had agreed

to put in writing the conditions of Transfer he would suggest. This statement almost provoked an uproar, and when Tshekedi sat down, speaker after speaker declaimed at "conditions". "We want no conditions" - "Conditions have no interest for us" -"We are opposed to any form of transfer, therefore tell General Hertzog to keep his conditions" were the kind of exclamations in almost every speech.

Towards the end, Tshekedi rose again and emphasised that in my opening speech to the Kgotla I had said we wanted to hear all views, that I had not yet heard any speech for entering the Union. He went on to say that all should speak what was in their hearts, that not only were the visitors, but he, their spokesman, was, entitled to know. "Therefore speak up, speak honestly, and let none be afraid. - Remember, I am not your master; I am your servant. Your voice is my voice"!

It was all to no purpose, for the first one who rose after the short interval said "Of what use is it to ask for voices in favour when every native without exception is against incorporation. We remain under the British flag and no other." (This speaker was not strictly accurate, because Tshekedi told me that a deposed Sub-Chief living near Mafeking is in favour of joining the Union.)

In every meeting we held the same opinions were expressed - their attitude was quite logical in that they supported each argument with telling facts, mainly that Union legislation turned the African into a dog, that most of them had suffered degrading cruelties at the hands of the Dutch, and so forth.

I am to see General Hertzog next week. I don't relish it at all because as you know, he is a difficult person to manage - and sometimes fails to manage himself! I think I shall suggest that he should himself face a Kgotla and answer the question so often asked - "Why do you want to govern this country?" I cannot imagine anybody outside a mental home wishing to take on Bechuana-land!

Masarwa Slaves.

I am afraid I have an unpleasant surprise for the Committee. The Dominions Office, the League Secretariat and our own Committee have been thinking of these as the slaves of the Bamangwato. The report of Mr. Joyce gave us the total of 9,900 or say 10,000. I discussed the whole position with Mr. Joyce, the "Investigator" appointed by the Dominions Office, when he shocked me by saying that there are large numbers of Masarwa slaves in other areas beyond Bamangwato. He says there must be at least 10,000 in a certain area and probably in the whole of Bechuanaland there are nearly, if not more than, 25,000.

We discussed the problem of emancipation, and various suggestions were made, including Tshekedi's recommendation of giving them adequate facilities for the education of their children, but these we must discuss with the Department in Geneva.

Confidential.

SIR JOHN HARRIS'S VISIT TO SWAZILAND.

Another letter has been received at the Office from Sir John Harris, in continuation of his report. It is dated 29th June from Swaziland.

He writes that in that Protectorate the dominating issue at the moment is the question of incorporation. There are two powerful voices; that of the Queen, who is everywhere regarded as of almost equal influence with the Paramount, and the Paramount Sobhuza himself. The Queen occupies a very influential position. Owing to her illness she was unable to see Sir John Harris, but she sent him a message through the Paramount to the following effect:- "Tell him Swazis have but one voice; that voice is like mine - Never, Never, Never!"

The Swazis case against incorporation is in many respects similar to that of Tshekedi Khama, and especially in the intensity of its opposition. The case rests upon the past as well as the present. The Swazis regard as conclusive the official promises of Sir Marshall Clark and of their 1890 Convention, which precludes transfer except with the full consent of the Swazis. They have already had experience of transfer of administration. "That period of three years is still a bad dream. Nothing was done for the country."

"It seems surprising that the offer of £30,000 by General Hertzog for capital development of the Protectorates should have created bitter resentment, but every white man agrees that it was a most unhappy proposal." "The Swazis say 'We are not for sale'!

Another main argument against incorporation is the treatment of Swazis in the Union and the racial legislation of the Union. - "If General Hertzog loves us so much that he wants to marry us, why does he treat our brethren so badly?"

Sir John Harris says that he cannot emphasise to the Committee too strongly the utter impossibility of supporting incorporation;as things are at present it could only lead to disaster. "This is not merely my view; it is that of every

single person in authority, whether white, coloured or African. Some say the natives will "rise"; others that after a little bloodletting things will settle down, others believe incorporation will give rise to a universal "sit-down" strike, but none deny that disaster of some sort will follow incorporation under present conditions."

Sir John Harris has received much help from the former Resident, Mr. Marwick, who has settled in Swaziland and is quite prepared to devote his remaining years to the Swazis, in conjunction with our Society. The present Resident also, Mr. Bruton, has been unsparing in his efforts to be of help.

Sir John Harris had an interview with General Hertzog which was a pretty terrible disappointment. "He seemed to have the scantiest knowledge of native affairs, and very little, if any, interest in native problems. He seemed indifferent to what is universally agreed to be an outstanding fact, that native suspicion and discontent has increased to really frightening proportions during the last 25 years. His attitude to the question of the transfer of the Protectorates seemed equally indifferent." He was shocked by the suggestion made by Sir John Harris that he should himself pay a visit and hear what is being said.

Sir John Harris writes that he had a good deal of contact with natives and their friends in Johannesburg, from whom he derived much further information, mostly of a general character, but all of it confirming opinions which he has already sent. These natives seem equally determined to do all they can to prevent incorporation of the Protectorates.

SIR JOHN HARRIS'S VISIT TO BASUTOLAND.

Confidential.

A further letter from Sir John Harris, dated 6th July, relates his experiences in Basutoland. He writes:- "The position of the 660,000 Basutos is the same as that of the 150,000 Bechuanas and the 155,000 Swazis - they are resolutely opposed to any form of incorporation in the Union." The Basutos as a whole, he says, are now fully associated with Griffiths Lerothodi, since they are assured that Griffiths is resolutely opposed to transfer.

"Griffiths' first point was that he is the custodian of the tradition of Moshesh, the founder of the nation, and as such could never consent to a transfer of Basutoland to a foreign Government from whom they never have received and do not receive today anything but hostility. Neither Basutos, Swazis nor Bechuanas regard the Union as a British Government, and point to (a) the treatment of the British flag and the British National Anthem, (2) The composition of the Government, (3) The speeches by Malan and other members of Parliament."

"Griffiths' next point was the clearly stated engagements in numberless British declarations, many of which he quoted textually. His third point was the Native Policy of the Union. This, he declared, excluded natives from becoming free citizens, and thus the 100,000 Basutos in the Union were today being treated 'as horses or cattle'. The letters and statements of this 100,000 were being considered by Basutos everywhere inside Basutoland, and were making them realise what would happen in the event of incorporation. He further stated that even the Paramount Chief was not exempt from these indignities....."

"Finally, he pointed out that no Paramount could continue to rule Basutoland if the people were in any doubt as to his

attitude upon this great matter. We were later to get very definite evidence of this, for when we met the Basuto Progressive Association, we found them almost vehement against incorporation."

Sir John Harris speaks of having discovered one man who could look impartially at the problem and believe in the transfer, a trader of 40 years' experience in Basutoland, who stated the case for incorporation quite reasonably, pointing out the advantages to trade and to the natives, and finally, that anyhow, it was inevitable. "We were all delighted with his reasonable views, based as they were on his long experience". But he added a number of "conditions", one of which was that the reformed Basutoland must remain a Native State.

"The Missionaries, Clergy, Administrative Officials and most traders in Basutoland are solidly with the natives." One well-educated young man said to him "Every man, woman and child will refuse to join the Union."

Sir John Harris concludes his report by stating the principal objects which he has accomplished during his strenuous journey in the following order of value:-

"(1) The creation of a new relationship between Governments and our Society which will in every case lead to closer association, even though we may differ on essentials.

(2) A closer association with many bodies working for native welfare.

(3) A very long list of people who wish to work with our Committee in London on behalf of natives in the Union, Rhodesia and the Protectorates.

(4) A more intimate knowledge of native affairs South of the Zambesi."

Sir John expects to reach England sometime during the first week in August. The cost of his journey is not expected much to exceed £200.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTER FROM SIR JOHN HARRIS, from SALISBURY,
SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

2nd June, 1938.

"After leaving Kimberley I had two pieces of good luck; first, I found my travelling companion was the Chief Inspector of Mines throughout the Copper Belt right up to the Congo, and during two days he provided me with a mass of expert information. One suggestion he made privately for the consideration of the Committee -

> 'Today, no native South of the Equator is allowed to have a prospector's licence for gold. In many places, river beds, etc., there are minute quantities of gold which they could easily collect, and which the white man either overlooks or despises. - Why not let the poor beggars pick it up; nothing but good could come from it. Tell your Committee so'!

This may be worth following up.

The next piece of luck was that one day they hooked on a lot of trucks containing natives going back home from the mines. I am afraid I shocked many of the passengers by going down and sitting with them! I also found a Preacher going all the way to Blantyre, and felt a little ashamed that I could not take him to the tea car. There was also an interesting man from Barotseland. From all these I obtained a wealth of information.

I arrived here at 5.45.a.m. this morning. Later, went off to see the Prime Minister and the Governor-General, with whom I spent a very helpful time. I then went out with the Native Commissioner to Native Kraals, Municipal housing schemes, Government model village, and so forth. I have arranged to lunch with the Governor-General on Sunday, and am just off to dinner with the Bishop.

I think I do now understand Premier Huggins' Native policy of "parallel lines", but nobody can tell me when, how, where, or if at all, the lines are to meet. Sir Herbert Stanley has his own proposals which he outlined to me for the confidential information of the Committee.

I took up vigorously with Bullock the question of registration and passes. He explained many things to me that I did not understand whilst in England, but I did get a very clear impression of his own mind. I was told on all hands what a fine type of man he is, and how splendidly he fills the post of Chief Native Commissioner. The type of the man can be gathered from one fact - He wanted to found a Native village five miles or so from Salisbury, and when he had the offer of 2,000 acres of splendid land, the Government hesitated, so he said that he would buy it himself for the natives - that settled it. Today, he took me out to see it dotted with pretty little houses and gardens all along a river, the houses let to urbanized natives at 1/6d a week, with as much garden as they want - and a village green for native sports. I felt very sorry for him when he admitted that they often have to carry out policies they hate and have their pet welfare projects brusquely rejected.

I shall hope to get a definite answer on Monday from Mr. Huggins as to his intentions about "reserved legislation" and the franchise.

I had hoped to catch Lord Bledisloe's Commission here, but they had left for Victoria. I think I may catch them at Bulawayo on my way to Bechuanaland on the 11th."

of the world.

JOHANNA BRANDS.

Johannesburg

June 11 —— 1937

THE LADYSMITH SENTENCE

To the Editor of The Star

Sir,—Your short leader in The Star the other day, relative to the unwarranted severity of the sentence imposed on the native at Ladysmith for stealing about threepence worth of firewood, did my heart good, and I take my hat off to The Star as the champion for the underdog. Had it not been for your article, and previous articles, these severe sentences would pass unheeded by a selfish, self-centred public.

When all the trouble was on about Professor Botha's decision regarding the radio programmes, the Press was full of indignant letters. People raised their eyes to heaven, while cases like this are passed over with "It's only a kafir." The way to stop this sort of thing is for every Christian man and woman to live up to the standards of the Oxford Group, and face up purity, love and unselfishness to the absolute, and fill every available space in the Press with indignation for the way in which the native is being treated.

CECIL F. LINSLEY-NOAKES.

A SWEEPING STATEMENT

TEST ADMISSION

COLONIAL SYSTEM NEEDS REVISION

End of Migration Made Italy's Problem "Explosive"

"News Chronicle" Special

THE League of Nations could not possibly succeed as an instrument of peace so long as it was regarded as an instrument for maintaining, under threat of war, the state of things as they are.

That was one of the statements made by the Marquis of Lothian at a conference on Peace and the Colonial Problem at Livingstone Hall yesterday by the National Peace Council.

"It seems inconceivable," said Lord Lothian, "that the world can go on in the watertight compartment in which it is now trying to live."

FOUR BIG QUESTIONS

Freer trade and the removal of obstructions to trade, migration, the colonial question and a reasonable share for all nations in the framing of world policy were, he continued, the four great questions that confronted the world of today.

Italy's lack of opportunities for migration was, continued Lord Lothian, a "gigantic explosive force" in post-war Italy.

Fifty million people left Europe between 1850 and 1914.

It is perhaps not always realised that Italy alone, in the years 1900-1913, was sending an average of 670,000 nationals abroad each year to settle.

In one peak year over 800,000 Italians left Italy to seek a living. All that has been stopped.

NO OUTLET FOR "SURPLUS"

Our own migration during the same period was on nothing like the same scale. Yet we had felt, in our own unemployment figures, the result of restrictions on migration. What, therefore, must be the result in Italy?

Sir Arthur Salter, analysing the reasons which cause nations to seek for colonies, said it was a fallacy to suppose that they provided an outlet for "surplus" populations.

In the first place, emigration to colonies had always been a negligible factor; it was to self-governing Dominions or independent States, such as those of South America, that emigration had taken place.

Secondly, there could be no such thing as "surplus" populations so long as manufacturing countries had outlets for their products.

WITHOUT PROVOCATION

"Our Imperial policy during the last century," said Sir Arthur, "with free access to everyone to our colonial markets, was as little provocative to other nations as any system of Empire could be. That absence of provocativeness was a surer defence than even the British Navy."

Sir Arthur advocated that Great Britain should propose to administer all her tropical non-self-governing colonies under Mandate. He did not think that transfer of colonies to another Power would prove a satisfactory solution.

With regard to raw materials, he suggested that an international convention guaranteed by all colonial Powers should ensure freedom of access, even in time of war, except when the League imposed a blockade against an aggressor.

Tariffs and quotas were also indicted by **Mr. Leonard Barnes,** who said that by closing markets to overpopulated countries they compelled the latter to seek, in the absence of economic outlets, for territorial expansion.

"No one knows," said Mr. Barnes, "whether or how far colonies are of any real value. But this makes no odds.

"If a dependent empire is a decisive advantage, it is precisely the breaking of the present quasi-monopoly of it that the preservation of peace demands; if it is not, the 'haves' have nothing to lose by going through the motions of a share-out with the 'have-nots.'

"The covetousness of the latter would best be moderated if the 'haves' showed that they prized the thing coveted only lightly and perhaps were even prepared to renounce it."

"EXTEND MANDATES SYSTEM"

Professor Norman Bentwich, in pressing for the adoption of the Mandates system in British colonies, said it was in conformity with the general principles of the English Colonial Empire.

"The change," he said, "would mean not that we hand over our colonies to other countries, but that we would accept international supervision over the administration of our colonies; that we should apply again the practice of the open door and equal economic opportunity in the colonies for persons of all States members of the League."

There would, he said, be no question of transferring the native peoples without their consent and there would be little doubt that the native inhabitants of our colonies would welcome a modification of the present system on the lines of a Mandate. If it were desired the matter could be submitted to a plebiscite.

DR. SCHACHT BACKS REARMAMENT

"NO RE-EMPLOYMENT WITHOUT IT"

From Our Own Correspondent

BERLIN, Tuesday.

Dr. Schacht, Germany's economic dictator, tonight broadcast from all German stations the confession that "there is no re-employment for Nazi Germany except through rearmament."

German armaments, he proclaimed, protect the savings of the small man. "It protects our livelihood now and in the future."

Sometimes suspected of lukewarmness towards the Nazi regime, Dr. Schacht showed himself tonight fervently pro-Hitler.

The Nazi State, he declared, had given the Germans "freedom and bread." It was thoroughly sound financially, he maintained.

The Paris newspaper "Le Temps" was confiscated today for referring in a leading article to the German food difficulties.

Boom in Swiss Stamps.—A boom in Swiss stamps was indicated yesterday at Harmers, Bond Street, when a Zurich 1843 black was sold for £82 10s., double the previous record price.

STRICTIONS IN F SANCTIONS

Days Decreed

necessity would not arise because of the self-discipline of the people which had already been demonstrated.

He added that there would be no regulations yet for flour and bread, because the 1935 crop of, roughly, 7,700,000cwt. of wheat, in addition to reserves in hand, is considered ample to cover the needs of the nation.

RIGID ECONOMIES

Economies are ordered in other directions also.

A further decree will come into force on Tuesday, which will give the Government wide discretionary powers to effect rigid economies in all Government and other official organisations, such as the Ministries, public and private schools, village post offices and municipal administrations.

These, among other things, will be decreed:

It shall be obligatory to reduce the number of pages and size of all official periodical publications;

All non-essential official and semi-official publications are to be abolished without exception;

Reduction to a minimum of all supplies to Government administrations and offices, such as furniture, typewriters, machinery of all sorts, and other supplies;

All overtime work must be done only between regular shifts, no such work being permitted after hours, in order to save electric power, heating and other overhead expenses.—British United Press.

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Cols Arnold.

THE FUTURE OF TANGANYIKA.

An Appeal from The Peoples of Tanganyika.

At the beginning of May, 1936, the following cable was despatched to the Joint East African Board, London, and to various friends of Tanganyika :—

> " Fully representative territorial committee being organised immediately convey Imperial Government serious alarm aroused among all British Europeans, Indians and Natives by evasive attitude of His Majesty's Ministers regarding permanency British rule Tanganyika. Unanimous opinion that any consideration transfer mandates would be serious breach of faith and of repeated pledges. Present uncertain position gravely retarding economic development Territory. Committee desirous co-operate all bodies interested."

This telegram is sufficiently indicative of the anxiety caused in Tanganyika by the fact that at this date, so many years after the acceptance of the Mandate, questions could even be asked which suggest the remotest possibility of the non-permanence of the Mandate.

VIEWS OF INHABITANTS: It is desired in this Memorandum to submit the views of the inhabitants of the Territory in regard to the Mandate and its permanency.

" Article 3 of the Mandate provides the solemn undertaking that the Mandatory Power shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of its inhabitants. It is, therefore, claimed that any step taken in regard to the future of the Mandate which ignored the wishes, the hopes, the aspirations and the welfare of all the inhabitants of this Territory, or considered the surrender of the Mandate on the grounds of political expediency alone, would be an outrage and violation of Article 3 of the Mandate.

ORIGIN OF THE MANDATE: At the Peace Negotiations in Paris, a Resolution on Mandates by General Smuts was carried by complete agreement of the representatives of all the Powers. The first seven lines of this Resolution are as follows :—

(i) " Having regard to the record of the German Administration in Colonies formerly part of the German Empire, and to the menace which the possession by Germany of submarine bases in many parts of the world would necessarily constitute to the

freedom and security of all Nations, the Allied and Associated Powers are agreed that in no circumstances should any of the German Colonies be restored to Germany."

The suggestion that Mandated Territories are countries over which Germany has some sort of residuary right, territories temporarily transferred to the League which have been temporarily assigned by the League to other Powers and who are in the position of " tenants at will " of the League, and that, therefore, the League has a right to put an end to the temporary situation and revive Germany's latent claim, is an assumption entirely without foundation either historical, political, legal or equitable.

These Territories were not in the first place surrendered by Germany to the League. They were ceded by Germany outright to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, and were then conferred by them upon the individual Powers now exercising Mandates. The individual Powers selected for particular Mandates were inevitably and invariably the Powers who had conquered the country, the Mandate of which was entrusted to them. No date is given in the Tanganyika Mandate, nor is there any suggestion that the Mandate was anything but permanent.

The Covenant of the League, Article 22, provides that as a consequence of the Great War, to those Colonies and Territories which have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States formerly governing them, and which are inhabited by people not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERRITORY: It is probably not generally realised by those who suggest that Germany has some superior claim to Tanganyika because of her former association with the Territory, that the life of the Territory under the Mandate is to-day almost as long as the life of the Territory as a German Colony. Further, the British occupation of the Territory has been complete, while that of Germany was largely military and whole areas of the country were not administered. The development of the Territory has progressed immensely since its conquest twenty years ago, and the increased happiness, prosperity and numbers of the Native population bear ample witness to the success of the present Mandate.

CONSIDERED VIEW OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT: In 1920 it was stated by Mr. Amery and reiterated by Lord Milner that " Tanganyika Territory has now been permanently incorporated in the British Empire. It is an entire delusion that it is less British than any other Colony. It is **essentially a part of the British Empire,** and, though we have laid ourselves under an obligation to the League

of Nations, it is not one whit less British, nor does it make our tenure there one whit less permanent." This has been emphasised repeatedly by equally authoritative and unequivocable declarations by British Statesmen in and out of Parliament. Viscount Swinton (then Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister), as Secretary of State for the Colonies, speaking at the East Africa dinner in London in 1934, reiterated forcefully that the Tanganyika Mandate was a trust which every British Government would faithfully discharge, and which no British Government would ever surrender. " Residents of Tanganyika, both official and unofficial, **might count upon this as a fixed certainty.**"

PRO-GERMAN CLAIMS: The arguments advanced in Germany and repeated by uninformed opinion in Great Britain, for the surrender of Tanganyika, are briefly :—

(1) Need for outlet of surplus German population.
(2) Need for a German source of supply of tropical produce.
(3) Prestige involving the avoidance of an otherwise inevitable war.

In answer to the first we submit that it is a complete fallacy to suppose that Tanganyika offers any serious possibility of supporting a large German population. In the peak years of emigration the then British Vice-Consul in German East Africa, in his report for 1912/13, presented to both Houses of Parliament, wrote :—

> " The hopes entertained in some quarters in Germany that this Protectorate would become an outlet for numerous small settlers has not been fulfilled."

The density of population in Germany per square mile is less than that of Great Britain and only half that of Belgium. The German Government itself cannot be perturbed by the prospects of surplus population, otherwise it would not be paying a bonus for babies.

The second argument does not hold good, as Germany has every opportunity to purchase any or all of the various products, not only of Tanganyika, but also of Kenya and Uganda without restriction. The only occasion on which this right of purchase would be withdrawn would be in the event of German hostilities against Great Britain.

The third argument has many answers, but we are content to point out that Colonial prestige has been advanced by a comparatively small body of German ex-colonial officials. It carries no weight with responsible persons in Germany. Hitler himself in his book, " Mein Kampf " as published in Germany, declares again and again that the greatest folly Germany could commit would be to seek a new Colonial Empire. He further asserts that a fundamental error was committed when Bismarck was prevailed upon to take part in what Hitler describes as the " scramble for Africa," and that the error must not be repeated.

The avoidance of war cannot be secured by cession of territory. We submit that Great Britain has no right to sacrifice the welfare of 5,000,000 persons in Tanganyika alone to satisfy German aspiration and prestige.

We feel assured that the Germans themselves have been surprised that any support for a transfer has been obtainable in Great Britain and, not unnaturally, are inclined to make the most of the opportunity thus gratuitously offered to them. A firm declaration of no surrender made now by the British Government would put an end to all this unnecessary and insincere agitation.

FREEDOM OF TRADE: Under British Administration there exists complete economic equality of entry into Tanganyika of goods of all nationalities, including German. Any difficulties which Germany may be experiencing in her trade with Tanganyika are entirely due to her restrictions on currency and to her refusal to establish foreign credits.

EQUALITY OF CITIZENSHIP: There are no restrictions or distinctions on the ground of nationality in emigration to Tanganyika, or residence or acquisition of property therein. This, under Article 7 of the Mandate, is secured to all Nationals of States Members of the League of Nations. Germany is no longer a Member of the League, nevertheless equality of citizenship has in no way been restricted. Germans, in common with all other residents in Tanganyika, enjoy a political and religious and economic freedom which is in marked contrast to the present régime in their own country.

POPULATION OF TANGANYIKA TERRITORY: In the 365,000 square miles of the Territory is at present a population of about 5,000,000. The majority of the population is, of course, Native, but there are approximately 33,000 Asiatics, including 24,000 British Indians and 9,000 Europeans, of whom only 2,000 are Germans. Of the German Nationals many, for religious, racial and political reasons, are exiles from their own country and are opposed to any change in the present Mandate, as are also many other Germans for reasons such as personal and economic liberty.

The large mass of the Native population is practically inarticulate, but this Memorandum has been prepared on behalf and with the approval of the whole population of the Territory, except a proportion of the German Nationals—after acquiring opinions of the Natives, both directly and indirectly.

It must be realised that the European unofficials have chosen to invest their capital and to spend their life work in this Territory. The history of Tanganyika since the acquisition of the Mandate shows that

the British residents have entirely justified the trust for the welfare of the Native reposed in them.

Whilst the Indian community is not entirely at one with the European with regard to the advantages to be derived from an amalgamation of the East African territories, they are absolutely united with the Europeans in their desire that the Mandate should always remain British, and in their emphatic opposition to the suggestion that the question of transfer should even be considered.

MISSIONARY AND NATIVE OPINION: There are in the Territory six Roman Catholic missions, including French, Swiss, Italian and German, representing 350,000 Church Members, and asserting that they speak also for hundreds of thousands of Natives associated with the missions. These missions, including the German missions, are unanimously opposed to any consideration of the transfer of the Mandate, and to the re-entry of German control, which they view with horror. At a recent meeting in Dar es Salaam, at which thirteen Bishops and Heads of missions were present, a resolution to this effect was passed unanimously, and serious representations have been made to the Mother Houses.

The Protestant missions, with the exception of the German Lutheran Mission, which is under Nazi domination, are of the same opinion as the Catholic missions. Of the Protestant missions the Universities Mission to Central Africa and the Church Missionary Society have 80,000 Native followers. Not only do the missions speak for these, but for many thousands more Natives who are sympathisers and neighbours. Both these missions regard with dismay any proposal for the surrender of Tanganyika to German rule. The C.M.S. is staffed and financed by the Churches of Australia, who have thus identified themselves with the development of the Native race and are entitled to consultation before any irrevocable step is taken.

ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS AND PRIVATE CAPITAL: Since Britain was entrusted with the Mandate, about £9,000,000 of British taxpayers' money has been expended in Tanganyika Territory in developing the resources of the country and in promoting the educational, medical and social welfare of the Native.

The private capital invested since the War in trading, estates, plantation and mining enterprises exceeds £20,000,000 ; in the Sisal Industry alone over £6,000,000 of British capital has been invested.

The Prime Minister has denied on several occasions that any losses have accrued to the Territory as a result of the present position. This is not in accordance with the facts. As examples of the serious effect in retarding development, it may be instanced that three flotations of

Gold Mining Companies in Tanganyika have, within the past few weeks, had to be postponed solely on account of the uncertainty occasioned in the mind of the British investing public by the recent discussions on the possibility of transfer of the Mandate. £1,650,000 of new capital have been lost to the Territory on these three flotations alone, and the installation of their producing mills has been put back for at least a year.

Many options on partly developed mining propositions have not been taken up and development of other properties has been curtailed, involving loss of prospective capital. Negotiations for land purchase have been abandoned in several instances. Merchants in the Territory are continually receiving cancellation or postponement of orders for machinery, building materials, etc., as well as frequent letters from Great Britain urging a curtailment of general stockholding and restriction of trade in view of the uncertain position.

Compensation would, no doubt, be offered on generous terms, but compensation is not enough. No monetary payment could ever compensate the settlers or the companies for their years of effort in establishing homes and plantations, businesses and mines.

KENYA: Since Tanganyika became a British Mandate there has been very material development of the trade relations between Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. Nairobi and Mombasa have become distributing centres for a very large part of the trade in Tanganyika. Much of the capital in Nairobi in particular, and in Kenya in general, is bound up in the development of Tanganyika.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS: It is of value to compare the human expenses of the original occupations respectively of Kenya and Tanganyika. Britain succeeded in the occupation of British possessions in East and Central Africa with practically no loss of Native life. With Germany, apart from other instances, it is well known that during the Maji Maji Rebellion alone 200,000 Natives died.

Under the *Pax Britannica* discipline has been maintained entirely without bloodshed or cruelty. The warlike *bomas* or forts constructed throughout the Territory in German times have fallen into disuse or have become the peaceful offices of administrative officials who are striving to foster the best qualities of the African Native. To that end the systems of indirect rule were introduced, training and educating the Chiefs and the people in the art of self-government.

The frequent assertion that the discipline of the Native under the German régime was infinitely superior to that now existing under the British Mandate may be accepted as true if discipline of a dictatorial and military nature enforced by severe penal laws is contrasted with the complete equality of justice for all races under the British Administration.

Whilst it is not desired in this Memorandum to stress or question any unhappy features of Germany's internal and political struggles since the War, it cannot be overlooked that her treatment of racial minorities has shown a calculated cruelty which bodes ill for the honourable and equitable carrying-out of the solemn undertaking of the Mandate Article 3 to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and social progress of its inhabitants for, it is submitted, this Article connotes the whole of the inhabitants of the Territory without respect to colour, race or creed.

Among the results of surrender would be the effect on the educational and social development of the Native population. The widespread educational and civilising efforts by Government and by the various missionary societies during the past sixteen years have been based on the English language. Any change in this medium of education would set back for years the development of the Natives.

CONSEQUENCES OF SURRENDER: The many inevitable changes of ownership of plantations, businesses and mines consequent upon the transfer to German Government would disorganise the economic framework of the Territory, and would result in an almost complete cessation of British export trade to this country, thus increasing unemployment in the United Kingdom and creating a large number of unemployed in this country, who would have no alternative but to return and swell the ranks of the unemployed at home.

STRATEGICAL CONSIDERATIONS: The danger to the Empire generally, and to British East and Central Africa in particular, when Tanganyika was under German control, is within the memory of all, and it is obvious that to-day that danger would be greater and the consequences further reaching were Tanganyika surrendered to the Germans. The threat to Aden, the Persian Gulf, Near East, India, Burma, Singapore, South Africa, the Rhodesias and Australia is self-evident. The Defence Forces of the Empire, naval, military, and air, would have to be increased, and the additional expense to the taxpayers of Great Britain, Dominions and Colonies would be formidable. A vital thread of Empire communication, the All-Red route from the Cape to Cairo, and the Imperia Airways route, would be gravely endangered if Britain ever ceased to hold the Mandate.

OTHER BRITISH MANDATES: South Africa, Australia and New Zealand have their own Mandates. The very consideration of transfer of Tanganyika would introduce an element of uncertainty as to the permanency of their rule in South-West Africa, New Guinea and Samoa.

In setting our signatures to this Memorandum we declare our loyalty to His Majesty King Edward VIII, and earnestly appeal to the people of Great Britain and the Empire not to sacrifice the interests of the 5,000,000 inhabitants of Tanganyika as pawns in the game of European Politics, but to hold Tanganyika as an integral part of the British Empire and to maintain this freedom which is dear to us all.

Sir William C. Lead, M.C.	*Members, Legislative Council.*
The Rev. Canon C. R. M. Gibbons	
H. E. Rydon	
A. B. Massie	
A. A. Adamjee	
K. S. Bajwa	
A. King, M.C.	
The Rt. Rev. Bishop Heffernan ..	*Vicar Apostolic, Zanzibar.*
M. P. Chitale	*President, Indian Association.*
D. M. Anjaria	*Secretary, Indian Association.*
W. Bartholomew	*Editor, Tanganyika Standard.*
Durgas Das	*Editor, Tanganyika Opinion.*
C. E. Lane	*President, Dar es Salaam Chamber of Commerce.*
H. Bown, O.B.E.	*ex-Members, Legislative Council.*
Dr. S. B. Malik	
Habib Jamal	

J. B. McFie.	R. Napier Clark.	Kassum S. Samji.
W. M. Buchanan.	R. S. Patel.	T. B. Seth.
J. S. Davis.	N. S. Hewer.	A. Mosnier.
C. H. Bird.	Rev. Paolo Kihamba.	
A. Morrison.	J. R. Leslie, M.C.	

THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

Conflicting Aims

EXPLOITATION OR SERVICE?

League Supremacy

[This is the second of two articles contrasting the older methods of getting and exploiting colonial empire with the League ideal of international co-operation in service. The first article was published yesterday.]

By J. L. Hammond

The world, anxious to re-establish itself on some other basis than that of negotiable prestige, has not escaped from the conditions in which prestige dominated diplomacy. On the contrary; the cult of prestige is preached and practised with a thoroughness that was impossible before the war had taught Governments what can be done by propaganda. The doctrine that all politics are economics misleads some observers into thinking that if we can get rid of economic nationalism we can draw the teeth of this passion. They seem to others to underestimate its force. How strong is that force we can see if we ask a single question—How often does a statesman dare to defy it?

One example stands out, and it is instructive. In February, 1881, Gladstone gave the Boers an armistice and peace after a British defeat at Majuba, because he held that a Great Power was not justified in using its strength merely to avenge defeat. He said at the time that no Government which was not a strong Government could have taken that decision, and that no Government could so act without using up a great deal of its strength. If an election had come soon afterwards it would certainly have been fatal to his party.

NERVOUSNESS OVER "PRESTIGE"

Nobody who was alive in the nineties, when what Mussolini calls "sacro egoismo" was dominant in England, will forget what a large part the rankling memory of Majuba played in exciting the evil passions of the hour. Yet what was the position of the country that gave that example of forbearance? She was the mistress of India; her servants were rulers in every continent; her fleets had no rival in any sea. Yet so nervous are men about prestige that most Englishmen believed that a nation with all this power in its hands, all this dignity in its position, lost something of its self-respect, and something of the respect of its neighbours, by a self-restraint that might under very different circumstances have looked like fear. If such a nation was so afraid of the contempt of others, so ready to think that generosity would be taken for weakness, on what a volcano of sensitive pride must those nations live who look out on a world in which their power is ambiguous, their importance uncertain, and their ambitions unsatisfied. There are two peoples at this moment—there may be others to-morrow—in which slighted pride and balked ambition provide material for any ruler who likes to mobilise national passion.

We have thus in the world the League of Nations representing the idea of public law, which reposes on an idea of equality, and these fierce ambitions and passions surviving from the causes of war and quarrel in the old world.

TWO IMPULSES

Beneath these ambitions there are two impulses, the impulse to use and exploit, and the impulse to direct and help. In the first adventures of empire the first impulse is the driving force; in the later history the second plays a part of growing importance. The difference is seen when we contrast Verres with Agricola; Hawkins in the West with Bentinck in the East; the early Spanish marauders who plundered and destroyed wherever they went and the best Spanish governors of the middle period in the West Indies who set their faces against cruelty and injustice. In modern times we have men like Peters who belonged to the first class, men like Lugard and Lyautey who belonged to the second, and men like Rhodes who belonged to both. The difference between the history of Kenya and the history of Nigeria shows the two impulses at work in the same empire at the same time. The career of Rhodes shows them at work in the same man. The distinction between the two impulses may suggest a clue to our problem. So far as the desire for empire is the desire for profit, a great step towards pacification can be taken by imposing Free Trade, but no economic settlement will solve the other problem, that of satisfying the honourable desire of powerful peoples to help the world by their own gifts of initiative and energy. It is to that desire that Mussolini appeals when he talks of reviving the glories of the Roman Empire.

COMPARISON WITH ROME

It is not unnatural for Mussolini to use the Roman Empire when trying to excite the Italians with the spirit of Imperialism. For peoples that have a great past are apt to be sensitive about their present. Nothing irritated the Italians of last century more than the tendency of other peoples to look upon Italy not as a living nation but as a famous museum. But the analogy of the Roman Empire suggests another reflection. Is it not true to say that the place once occupied by the Roman Empire should be occupied to-day not by a single Power but by the League of Nations? The last century of the Roman Republic was spent in anarchy, exploitation, and war. The Roman Empire substituted peace, order, and relatively good and sympathetic government over the large part of the world where Roman armies had fought and Roman traders and bankers had plundered. The Great War was the climax of an age in which the competing appetites of different peoples, with the long train of suspicion, fear, and hatred that they spread, had created a moral anarchy. The League was an attempt to put an end to that anarchy, to do for this what the Roman Empire did for that world. But in

that empire men from all parts of the Roman world took part, men of different race and blood, united only in their acceptance of certain common ideas about government. If the League is to play the same part as a composing and creative force, we have to bring into its active service that desire to gain glory by benefiting the world which is at once so honourable and so dangerous an element in the life of States. We have to find in the League the means of satisfying this instinct in peoples and men. So far as the government of the weaker and backward races is concerned, there should ideally be only one Great Power, and that Power the League of Nations.

FLAG OF THE LEAGUE

If such a revolution were possible, we should see men of all countries administering the African territories, not under a national flag but under the flag of the League of Nations, men differing in blood, race, and other respects but united in accepting a certain common standard, certain common ideas of justice and duty, ideas that we roughly call European. If it is retorted that this is a vague standard, we must remember that the standard already exists, for the League of Nations has to-day to decide whether that standard is observed by British, French, and South Africans in ruling Togoland, or Tanganyika, or South-west Africa. Under this plan we should give to the good impulses of peoples, and to men with a taste for rule, a far wider opportunity than they possess to-day for serving the world. If we are proud of Lord Lugard, it is not merely because he was a great ruler; we are proud of him because he initiated new experiments and contributed new ideas about the government of African peoples. If we are proud of the British Empire, it is for the examples it has set and the lessons it has taught in a world where man has slowly become less savage and less selfish. With a common League of Nations service such ideas would pass quickly from place to place, and they would be studied in an international training college where French civil servants and British, Latin, and Scandinavian would learn from each other.

BOLD MEASURES NEEDED

Some observers have believed that an experiment on these lines might be tried in one or two mandated territories without danger, and Mr. Toynbee in the "Spectator" has suggested that the League might co-operate in other ways in territories that are not now under mandates. Mr. Ramsay Muir has suggested the extension of the present mandate system to all such possessions. It may be that jealousies and practical difficulties are too strong for any large scheme of this kind. It is ominous that Lord Lugard has taken this view in a searching article in the "Times." His authority is almost overwhelming. Yet it is difficult to resist the suspicion that we are at a turning-point in history when only bold measures can save us, experiments that seem too daring for prudence. Mr. Fisher observes in his "History of Europe" that when Columbus lighted on the New World Europe had a great opportunity for co-operative statesmanship. Our present danger gives her another. If we knew how to take it we might rob the rivalries of nations of their perils and keep only their virtues. For nations would be rivals not in power but in culture, proud of the achievements that men praised at the Council of Constance rather than of the strength that they feared. It is perhaps a hopeful augury that the greatest of the benefactors of Europe amid the misery and confusion that have followed the Great War was not a statesman from one of her rich and powerful empires but the man whose Viking blood had conquered the dark North, son of a small and simple people, owning nothing but the mysteries of its mountains and the sagas of its seas.

ASLEEP AT WHEEL OF CAR

Drink Charge Fails

Ernest Marshall, a motor dealer, of Oldham Road, Rochdale, was found not guilty by a jury at Lancaster Quarter Sessions yesterday on a charge of being under the influence of drink to such an extent as to be incapable of having proper control of a motor-car at Morecambe on August 10.

The prosecution alleged that Marshall was asleep in the driving seat and could not be awakened until he arrived at the police station, where Dr. McFadzean certified him as being incapable of having proper control of a car.

Marshall said that he was tired, and fearing that if he drove he might fall asleep at the wheel he took the car into a cul-de-sac. He then switched off the engine but left the car lights burning. When he awoke he found himself in the police station.

ANOTHER JUBILEE

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THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

"Prestige" Politics

COLONIES AS SIGN OF GREATNESS

Intrigues of the Past

[This is the first of two articles contrasting the older methods of getting and exploiting colonial empire with the League ideal of international co-operation in service.]

By J. L. Hammond

There is an amusing passage in Gibbon describing the arguments by which England justified her claim to be considered one of the great nations of Christendom at the time of the Council of Constance. One of the arguments was that she possessed 52,000 parish churches (a bold account, says Gibbon), besides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hospitals. This gives a pleasant picture of the innocent rivalries of the world in 1414. But Gibbon adds a sobering touch. "Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their argument."

It is impossible to understand the danger to which civilisation is exposed in Africa if we consider the problem as first and last a problem of commerce. The problem of commerce is there, and it is less simple than some writers have supposed. But there is the further problem, the problem created by the desire of nations to be considered one of the great nations of Christendom, or, as we now say, one of the Great Powers: the problem that we may call roughly the problem of prestige. Von Jagow defended the refusal of Germany to accept the proposal for a conference in 1914 on this ground. "A fresh diminution of our prestige was not endurable for our position in Europe and the world. The prosperity of States, their political and economic success are based upon the prestige they enjoy in the world." The problem that confronts civilisation in Africa is largely concerned with this temper.

"GREAT POWER" DEFINED

A Great Power in this sense may be described roughly as a Power whose strength is such that she can demand special consideration for her interests and convenience. If we look at the events that have created the North Africa we know to-day we see how the principle works. In 1880 both France and Italy had their eyes on Tunis. Both were Mediterranean Powers. France already had possessions in North Africa; Tunis was nearer to Italy than to France, and there were more Italians than Frenchmen living and trading there. In 1881 France seized Tunis and compelled the Bey to accept a French protectorate. There was no reason on the face of it why Tunis should go to France rather than to Italy. The balance was the other way. But there were two good reasons in history. For France had behind her Germany and Great Britain. Germany, wanting to make France forget the wound of Alsace-Lorraine, had encouraged her to create a new empire in Africa. Great Britain, for her part, had promised her assent in return for the assent of France to the Cyprus Convention. Thus France rather than Italy got Tunis because Bismarck had taken Alsace-Lorraine and we had taken Cyprus. France, in spite of her defeat in 1871, was still strong enough to be a danger to Germany in Europe and an obstacle to our plans in the Levant. She could claim compensation and she took it. It was said of Italy that she returned from Berlin with hands clean but empty. Her experience might have helped to convince her, if she needed to be convinced, that there are worse things in diplomacy than a little dirt on your fingers. But a cynic might argue that she had escaped temptation because neither Great Britain nor France thought her powerful enough to need consideration. (One Frenchman, Clemenceau, dissented, holding that to make an enemy of Italy was too high a price to pay for more empire in Africa.) Behind all these arrangements what basis of reason or justice can be found? It was a bad thing for the world that Germany took Alsace-Lorraine; Salisbury himself said later that we had backed the wrong horse in propping up the Turkish Empire, which was the only excuse we could give for taking Cyprus. Yet those events determined the fate of Tunis.

FRANCE AND MOROCCO

History repeated itself in the next generation. France wanted Morocco and there were good reasons for thinking that if Morocco was to be governed by a European people France was the best ruler she could find. Great Britain tried to make an alliance with Germany in order to prevent the extension of French influence in Morocco. When that effort failed we made an alliance with France for the opposite purpose of facilitating that extension. The fate of Morocco was indifferent to statesmen who considered at one moment the friendship of Germany, at another that of France, essential to our interests as a Great Power. In 1911 Italy went to war with Turkey in order to acquire what was left of North Africa. She gave three reasons: the first that France had added to her possessions in Morocco, the second that Germany might forestall her, the third that Turkey had not treated her with the respect that she showed to Germany, France, and Great Britain. The war left her in the possession of the islands of the Dodecanese, though, if justice ruled the world, those islands, as well as Cyprus, would obviously belong to Greece.

The acquisition, then, of this kind of influence follows a law that is outside the general convenience, and may be in conflict with it. No better example could be given of its working than the foreign policy pursued by Great Britain. That policy has been largely governed by our possession of India. We opposed measures or proposals likely to make our position more difficult, whether they were good or bad in themselves. Thus we resisted

for a long time the making of the Suez Canal. Even so pacific a Minister as Granville was disposed to resist France over Tunis before he knew the obligations into which we had entered. The only Minister who steadily resisted this argument was Gladstone, of whom Granville, writing to Hartington at the time, said, "Gladstone doubts our right to prevent all nations from getting any portion of the countries which approach one of our roads to India." It was in this spirit that he, almost alone, deprecated a selfish opposition to the project for the Suez Canal. All diplomacy was entangled in this system. Some statesmen were more unscrupulous, or more large-minded, than others, but the system everywhere was too strong for individuals to overthrow it or disregard it. It is significant that Salisbury, who made these disastrous dispositions at Berlin, showed himself afterwards a Foreign Minister of great wisdom and power.

The League of Nations represents an effort on the part of mankind to escape from this system. Its basis is the idea of public law. If it succeeds in its aims, no State, however strong, will be able to push its own interests or its own convenience in such a way as to bring danger and distress upon the world. Prestige will lose its sinister significance. A Great Power will not be a State strong enough to gain what it wants by threatening to make a nuisance of itself but a State able by its strength to give more help than its neighbours to the common work of civilisation.

FIRST ENGLISH GRAND PRIX

310-Mile Course

BRITISH DRIVERS' SUCCESS

Strong Foreign Challenge

British drivers gained the first three places in England's first Grand Prix road race, over a 310 miles course at Donington Park, near Derby, on Saturday, in spite of a strong challenge from the Continent. The result was:—

1, R. O. Shuttleworth (Alfa Romeo), 4hr. 47min. 12sec. (63.97 m.p.h.);
2, Lord Howe (Bugatti), 4hr. 47min. 57 4-5sec. (63.80 m.p.h.);
3, C. E. C. Martin (Bugatti), 4hr. 49min. 47 2-5sec. (63.39 m.p.h.).

Only one of the five British cars that took part retired, and that was during the closing stages of the race. At the start it looked as though the race would result in an easy win for the foreigners.

All the cars started together, and Giuseppe Farina, in a Maserati, quickly took the lead, followed closely by Raymond Sommer, a famous French driver, in an Alfa Romeo, with Shuttleworth third. For 34 laps these three positions remained unchanged as the cars sped round the twisting two and a half miles course through woods and past thousands of spectators.

Changes in the Lead

Then Shuttleworth stopped to make a complaint to the stewards that he had been forced on to the grass by another driver, and Charlie Martin went into third place.

Then Farina was forced to give up, on his 41st lap, owing to transmission trouble and Sommer took the lead. On the 60th lap Sommer, who had been flagged into the pits twice because his bonnet strap was undone, came into the pits again with trouble with his back axle, and had to retire. Martin captured the lead, with Lord Howe a close second, and Shuttleworth had his opportunity of returning to third place. Martin held the lead until the 107th of the 120 laps.

Then he skidded and turned round on a tricky corner. He had some difficulty in restarting and Shuttleworth and Lord Howe both passed him, and Shuttleworth did not again lose the lead.

Walter Handley, who, with Pat Driscoll, drove Freddie Dixon's Riley, thrilled the crowd several times by skidding on the tricky hairpin bend near the grand-stand. More than once he mounted the grass at the side of the road, and the Riley turned completely round.

Rain had turned some of the fields in the park almost into bogs, and when the race was over many people had difficulty in getting their cars away. In some instances it was found necessary to employ horses to haul cars out of the mud.

JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES

A German Paper's 'News"

"Judenkenner" means "knower of the Jews." A writer in the Berlin "Judenkenner" in its issue of September 25 conveys to its readers what he knows about the "Jewish Board of British Deputies," no doubt meaning the Board of Deputies of British Jews. He writes that the board, "without the knowledge of the British, not only intervenes in all State affairs but also exercises decisive influence on the course of British policy." Its president is

the notorious Laski, who has often saved this authority from all-too candid and chattering Jews. Alongside Chaim-Weizmann and Nahum Sokolow he is not only the most subtle and far-seeing leader of world Jewry, but is alone opposing—only, of course, by way of camouflage—the plan of setting up a Jewish World Congress (which has now been carried out, for all that, "against" his will).

Among the members and "fellow-conspirators" of this "secret association" are, the writer adds, "Lord Reading (more accurately Mond), who, as an external sign of his association with Jewry, officially went over again to Jewry on the day of Hitler's seizure of power. There is no doubt that the present English director of posts, Hoare, is also a member."

OVERWINDING ACCIDENT AT COLLIERY

An overwinding accident occurred at Brodsworth Colliery, near Doncaster, on Saturday.

A cage containing twelve men which was being wound to the surface on the last shift was carried beyond the normal landing-stage. Fortunately the safety device held firm and the men escaped with bruises and shock after being tossed about the cage.

All the men were treated by colliery ambulance officials and sent home.

COLONIES AND PEACE

A CONFERENCE AT WESTMINSTER

THE MANDATE SYSTEM

A conference arranged by the National Peace Council with the object of considering the relations of colonial problems to the general question of the peace of the world was held at Livingstone Hall, Westminster, yesterday. Attendance was limited to representatives nominated by national and local organizations, and, while there was freedom of discussion, no resolutions were moved.

At the morning session DR. G. P. GOOCH, who presided, said the conference was arranged before, and therefore had nothing to do with, the General Election. The countries of the world could be divided into satisfied and dissatisfied nations. The latter would remain dissatisfied until there had been a far more fundamental distribution of raw materials.

SIR ARTHUR SALTER said that one of the dangers to the peace of the world was that countries like Japan, Germany, and Italy had rapidly increasing populations and had not what they considered sufficient colonial possessions. But no practical addition to colonial possessions could substantially change the economic position. The possession of colonies as a means of meeting the problem of surplus population meant practically nothing at all. Countries like Italy said they wanted colonies because of the disabilities they suffered from lack of raw materials; but there was no discrimination in the supply of raw materials. They were, in fact, sold on equal terms to any purchasers who wanted them, but there was a handicap in buying in foreign currency. There might also be fears of future monopoly in goods such as tin and rubber which would operate to the disadvantage of those who had no control of such supplies. There was also the natural desire to secure the advantage of markets.

THE OPEN-DOOR POLICY

It had been part of the traditional policy of this country to leave in her Colonies an open door to all alike, and undoubtedly the security of our vulnerable and diverse Empire had depended largely upon the policy in which we made it so little provocative. At a time when British naval supremacy had gone and could not be restored in its old form, if we were so unwise as to attempt to restore it, it was particularly regrettable that our Empire should be made more vulnerable by the abandonment of that policy which was one of the chief defences of the past. He did not think it would be possible to contemplate the transfer of any of our Colonies in the near future. The remedy was the extension of the mandate system under the League so that Colonies would be held on a sort of double safeguard or trusteeship for good administration, so extended that it removed the disabilities of those countries, which now laboured under them. It would be wise of the British Government, starting with those Colonies which were clearly non-self-governing, to offer to the world the suggestion that they should be brought under the mandate system and that there should be a great international convention guaranteeing that all raw materials should be supplied at all times to every one on equal terms. There should also be established a system of open tenders for all contracts of any kind, with the committee of the mandates commission charged with the duty of supervising and allocating them.

COLLECTIVE TRADE SYSTEM

LORD LOTHIAN said that the League of Nations could not possibly succeed as an instrument of peace so long as it was regarded as an instrument for maintaining, under threat of war, the *status quo*. It was inconceivable that the world could go on in the watertight compartments in which it was now trying to live. The existing difficulties could only be removed by freer trade, the removal of obstructions to trade, and the enabling of all peoples to exchange their goods freely for those of other people. It was no use talking about a collective system to prevent war or secure peace without a collective economic system. He would not rule out at once the question of the transfer of colonies to the proper supervision of the Mandate Commission, with some measure of consent of the people concerned. But the underlying principle of the League was the assumption that every country would in time be self-governing, and when that day arrived the colonial question would disappear. Unless this country, when it came to a conference on this question, was prepared to say it was ready to make a sacrifice as its contribution towards a solution, they would never get other peoples to attend such a conference.

MANDATES AND PREFERENCE

At the afternoon session Mr. C. RODEN BUXTON presided.

PROFESSOR NORMAN BENTWICH, of Jerusalem University, speaking on the mandate system, said there was a special appropriateness in the extension of the mandate principle to the Crown Colonies, because it had been the boast of Great Britain that we held our Colonies as trustees for the nations. The mandatory system was therefore in conformity with the general principles of the British Colonial Empire, and we should be willing to give the lead voluntarily to its extension to our Colonies. The change would not mean that we handed over our Colonies to other countries, but that we accepted international supervision and that we should apply again the practice of the open door and equal economic opportunity in the Colonies for persons of all States Members of the League, which was the basis of our fiscal policy previously. We should have to abandon the system of Imperial Preference in our Colonies; that preference, which meant the closing or reducing of the market in our Colonies to the trade of foreign countries, was one of the real causes of the present trouble.

PROFESSOR MACMILLAN, Mr. LEONARD BARNES, and DR. LUCY MAIR also addressed the conference.

Representatives from Africa, India, and other tropical regions took part in some of the discussions. One coloured speaker demanded to know by what right they were discussing the handing over of countries or Colonies to be administered under mandate or any other form of government without consulting the peoples concerned. To a question as to who should decide, and when, what Colonies should be mandated, PROFESSOR BENTWICH said that clearly all British and French Colonies should be offered to the Mandates Commission.

Of various authorities

OPINIONS ON THE COLONIAL PROBLEM

1. Norman Angell, ("Peace", Oct. 1935)

"We shall find the remedy, not in shuffling frontiers about, in passing peoples from one sovereignty to another, but in making frontiers of less importance, in organising an economic internationalism which will guarantee for all certain economic freedoms, access, not to raw materials, which they now have, but access to markets, which they have not, and which conquest cannot give them, which nothing short of international economic agreement can give.

He quotes Carr-Saunders, "Territorial ambitions and jealousies abound, but they can seldom be traced to popula--tion pressure. Much of the discussions of population pressure are based upon an erroneous diagnosis."

2. Leonard Barnes, ("Peace", Oct. 1935)

"There should be no transfer of colonial territory, and probably none of mandated territory, from one power to another; but the League should not, as a general rule, undertake the work of direct colonial administration itself. The main path of further advance consists in (a) bringing all those colonies which are not ripe for immediate self-government into the mandate system, and (b) extending and strengthening the character of the mandate system itself.

3. G. Lansbury ("Times", Aug.19th, 1935)
The League of Nations should summon "a new world conference (my God, another of them!) for the one single purpose of discussing how the vast stores of national resources and the tremendous unsatisfied markets of the world can be organized and regulated for the service of mankind....."

(For further opinions, see attached sheet of "Peace", Oct.1935).

Tory conversion

COLONIAL PROBLEM

Open Door, as defined in existing mandates, would, if generally applied and if internationally guaranteed as permanent, go a very long way towards meeting the needs of the " have-nots " among nations.

From the angle of trusteeship, the present mandate system would need tightening up in two main ways. It should include

(1) comprehensive plans for developing the consuming power of native populations and levelling up their standards of living with those of the west.

(2) careful control of investment and immigration. The League's agents should be able both to prevent the capture of the mandates system by the dollar imperialists of international big business, and also to avoid the tragic waste of sterile race and culture conflicts such as we see in South Africa and Kenya.

Some new League machinery would be needed,—in particular an enlarged Permanent Mandates Commission with travelling inspectorates and special committees to deal with special questions, such as transport, mining, co-operative organisation, and so on.

3. THE CALL FOR ACTION

MR. LANSBURY'S APPEAL

" I am certain if our Government possessed the wisdom and the will to take the initiative and call upon the League of Nations to summon a new world conference, for the one single purpose of discussing how the vast stores of national resources and the tremendous unsatisfied markets of the world can be organized and regulated for the service of mankind, a great response would come from the common people everywhere. It is said the moment is not opportune. I disagree. Now is the day and now is the hour when action must be taken if we are to save ourselves from the fate which threatens us."

Times. August 19th.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

" If we really believe in the community of nations, we must be ready, and obviously ready, to start the work of arranging for the nations which lack outlet the means of satisfying their need. It will be far the greatest and most difficult problem ever attempted by human statesmanship. The need for sacrifice of all acquisitiveness, the rights of inhabitants in the lands affected, and a host of other factors will render that problem insoluble except to those who approach it in real good-will. Yet we must be ready to try. The League must stand for Equity as well as Law."

In a broadcast address. September 1st.

THE GOVERNMENT'S UNDERTAKING

" . . . . the fact remains that some countries, either in their native soil or in their colonial territories, do possess what appear to be preponderant advantages (as regards supplies of raw materials) ; and that others, less favoured, view the situation with anxiety. Especially as regards colonial raw materials, it is not unnatural that such a state of affairs should give rise to fear lest exclusive monopolies be set up at the expense of those countries that do not possess colonial empires. It is clear that in the view of many this is a real problem. And we should be foolish to ignore it. It may be that it is exaggerated. It may be also that it is exploited for other purposes. None the less as the question is causing discontent and anxiety the wise course is to investigate it, to see what the proposals are for dealing with it, to see what is the real scope of the trouble, and if the trouble is substantial to try to remove it. The view of His Majesty's Government is that the problem is economic rather than political and territorial. It is the fear of monopoly —of the withholding of essential colonial raw materials that is causing alarm. It is the desire for a guarantee that the distribution of raw materials will not be unfairly impeded that is stimulating the demand for further inquiry. So far as His Majesty's Government is concerned, I feel sure that we should be ready to take our share in an investigation of these matters. . . . ."

Sir Samuel Hoare. At Geneva : September 11th.

A WIDER AGENDA

" We shall not be able to stop at the first stage indicated by Sir Samuel Hoare. The ' hungry ' nations—not only those which are hungry now but others, perhaps, who in time will follow them—will not be satisfied merely to obtain supplies from countries owned, or administered, by others. They will seek themselves to own sources of raw materials ; they will demand equal opportunities with others for developing the supplies. If they are not (like Italy) to threaten to make their own opportunities, we have to consider whether the League cannot itself act as an international trustee and whether the great Empires of the world, our own among them, cannot offer to make use of its trusteeship. Whatever comes out of the Abyssinian dispute, the British Government's suggestion should be seriously developed."

Manchester Guardian. September 12th.

A LIBERAL VIEW

From a resolution adopted by the National Liberal Federation on September 18th :

" . . . . The Executive further welcomes the recognition that it is not enough to use the power of the League of Nations to preserve the *status quo*, but that it is also necessary to remove the causes of the unrest which has led to recent challenges of the League system.

" The chief of these causes is that densely peopled countries with growing populations are finding themselves excluded from the world's abundance and are thereby forced to accept for their peoples a reduced instead of an improved standard of life. So long as these conditions continue there can be no assurance of peace.

" The Executive urges that for this purpose three things are necessary which ought to be among the prime objectives of national and international policy :

" 1. There should be a sustained and systematic effort to reduce or remove the barriers to international trade which are the chief causes of the existing distress in all countries.

" 2. The freedom of migration into the underpeopled countries which existed before the war and which affords the only means of relieving pressure of population must be regained. It has been impeded by restrictions upon immigration due to the distress caused even in the underpeopled countries by the restriction of international trade.

" 3. The resources of all colonial territories now controlled by a few countries which are tempted to monopolise them for their own advantage must be made available on equal terms for the whole world. . . . . "

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS

From a statement on the Abyssinian crisis approved jointly by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the National Executive of the Labour Party and the Executive of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and adopted by the Trades Union Congress at Margate on September 4th:

"While resolute in refusing to countenance any resort to war in flagrant violation of international treaties or to permit Italy to profit by an act of aggression, this Congress recognizes the imperative necessity of eradicating the evils and dangers arising from the economic exploitation of colonial territories and peoples for the profit of imperialist and capitalist Powers and groups. We therefore call upon the British Government to urge the League of Nations to summon a World Economic Conference and to place upon its agenda the international control of the sources and supply of raw materials with the application of the principle of economic equality of opportunity for all nations in the undeveloped regions of the earth."

A POSITIVE POLICY

"To prevent a Power from going to war, or because it does to punish it in order to uphold the law, is difficult and, when accomplished, still leaves us with the problem. We must have a positive policy which, by striking at the roots of national discontent, will lead the peoples, and the Governments which control them, away from the idea of using war. Such a policy has more than one side. It must be both political and economic. It must include the gradual "revision" of outworn treaties—which is not the same thing as to say that a particular treaty must at once be revised in a particular way; it must include an extension of the international idea of trusteeship into regions at present exploited by national ownerships; and it must include the principle of a sharing in the resources of the many undeveloped regions of the world, which, if it is to be successfully accomplished, means that peoples who are expected to buy must also be allowed to sell. . . . . Every liberal-minded friend of peace can now do useful work in insisting that, whatever happens in the present crisis, we must work at the idea of a positive long-range policy aimed against the discontents that lead to war."

Manchester Guardian. September 19th.

"A VAST ECONOMIC COMPLEX"

"Inquiry of this kind would show that the colonial demands of particular Powers are merely on the fringe of a vast economic complex. To take it no farther, the assurance of supplies of raw materials involves inevitably the assurance of markets for industrial exports, and the road thus leads rapidly back to a central economic difficulty of recent years. From the conclusion as it presented itself to the Economic Conference in London in 1933 there is still less escape to-day: that the removal of artificial restrictions on international trade is the key to all attempts to remove disabilities that may seem to bear more unjustly on one nation than another. The unravelling of these entanglements calls for the spirit of consultation, compromise and co-operation in the highest degree. It cannot even be approached in the guise of an inveterate antagonism, still less in terms of force."

Times. September 19th.

MR. DE VALERA

"Why cannot we, in a spirit of justice, deal with wrongs when we perceive them? Not every demand for change deserves to be listened to, it is true. But must we wait until the wronged has risen up in arms of revolt before we grant him the redress to which we know he is entitled? Why, if the problems are economic and it is the fear of withholding essential raw materials that is causing alarm, why cannot these questions and their relation to colonial possessions be discussed now? Or will our conservatism, the natural philosophy of those who have and are concerned only to retain, will this conservatism give its consent and deem the time right only when the slaughtering has begun?"

At Geneva. September 16th.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU

AS VARIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES PREVENTED THE HOLDING OF AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS IN 1935, THE General Assembly of delegates of the constituent peace societies met at Brussels on September 2nd and 3rd. It was preceded by three sessions of the Council on August 31st and September 1st. These sessions were occupied in settling the business of the Union and drawing up resolutions for the Assembly. During the year the Council had lost four well-known members by death: M. Erichsen, of Sweden, in the full strength of life; Gaston Moch, a Frenchman and almost the oldest member; Professor Walter Schücking, whose help and advice had been given during many years, and Helmuth von Gerlach, the German Junker, who at an early age had sacrificed wealth and position on account of his profound dislike of militarism. Interesting reports were given of the position concerning peace work in Yugoslavia, Greece, Rumania, in Spain, where it is hoped to hold the Peace Congress in 1937, and in Czechoslovakia. The Italian Lombard Society, once one of our foremost peace societies, had sent in a very "embarrassing" resolution which could not be accepted. The financial position of the I.P.B. was discussed at length. In recent years serious inroads on its capital funds have had to be made. The annual additional sum wanted to carry on work satisfactorily is not large—8,000 Swiss francs (£400).

The main discussions both at the Council and the Assembly were about the resolution on the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. Whilst the first eight paragraphs of the resolution finally passed deal with the actions, the economic and financial dispositions, which the League of Nations should take, a final paragraph declares that should the governments hesitate or abstain, "it is incumbent on all classes among the peoples to carry out a boycott of the nation which is breaking the Pact".

C. E. PLAYNE.

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LONDON: JOHN MURRAY

Mr. C.R. Buxton, (article in "Contemporary", Nov.1935)

Practical suggestions. (1) Calling of a world conference to deal with the whole issue.

(2) Extension and tightening up of Mandate system. Not clear whether he wants direct League administration or a transfer of mandates among the Powers.

Lord Lugard (Chatham House speech, Dec.1935).

Claims and grievances largely exaggerated and imaginary. But, Gt. Britain should "revert once more to her traditional policy of the 'open door' in all the overseas territories over which she has control, the departure from which since 1932 has afforded some pretext for the complaint of monopolies." But he opposes the proposal to internationalize all colonies, by creating a direct League Civil Service.

Labour Party, Election Manifesto, 1935, advocates, "the international control of sources of supply of raw materials, and the extension of the mandate system for colonial territories."

Lloyd George and the Council of Action apparently support British colonies being put under League mandate. See "M.G." of Feb. 6th. Lloyd George "was not in favour of giving bits of the British Empire away, but he advocated a reconsidera--tion of mandates.....He called for a world conference on the revision of mandates."

Sir A. Salter, (acc. to Lugard, loc.cit.) advocates "an International Convention enforcing equal distribution of all raw materials on equal terms in peace or war, except to any State declared to be an aggressor."

Dr. E. Stern-Rubarth, "Spectator", 14/2/36, advocates the setting up of Chartered Companies, with large powers, on behalf of the dissatisfied powers, within the colonies ~~xxxxx~~ of the satisfied powers. (This suggestion taken up in corres--pondence in the following weeks).

(For summary of "Times" correspondence on the subject, see annexed pages (? name of journal?)

in which the services of Lord Reading especially as High Commissioner and Special Ambassador to America are still recalled with grateful admiration. After the war he was appointed Viceroy of India and to him fell the very heavy responsibility of inaugurating and working the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. He had only seen India once before and then in the capacity of ship's boy. The romance of his great career was complete. Sir Clement Hindley has told how, forty-five years after his first visit, Lord Reading as the King's representative spent a day on the River Hooghly and took the salute of 31 guns from the flagship of the East Indies—"a dramatic scene," as Sir Clement says. On the eve of his departure for the East Lord Reading was entertained at dinner by the Royal Empire Society, and his words then perhaps best illustrate the animating spirit of his life. He left, he said, the mighty seat of British justice to go to India, and British justice, it was his conviction, was the highest tradition of justice in the world, the true embodiment of the British genius for fair play and impartiality. For him the symbol of Britain and the British Empire was "the Sword of Justice evenhanded to all." His pulse quickened as he thought of those who had helped to give Britain its place in the world. Among them he will have an honoured niche.

A Colonial Assize?

ITALIAN and German Colonial claims have opened up a suggestive and rather disturbing correspondence in the *Times*. It was started by Sir Evelyn Wrench's statement that European nations must cease to regard tropical Africa as a field for large scale migration and economic exploitation. The only satisfactory basis for European rule in Africa, he said, was trusteeship under mandate, his twin aim being to prevent a clash of colour and a clash of colony-owning and non colony-owning nations. He could see no reason why the methods which have built up a Commonwealth consisting of a quarter of mankind should not be of world-wide application. Great Britain should set the example by agreeing to a redistribution of territory if necessary, but subject to (a) the consent of the inhabitants, (b) no racial discrimination, (c) equal trade opportunities for all peoples, (d) no recruitment for native armies, (e) adequate League supervision. These proposals brought from Sir George Maxwell a series of interrogatories. Why confine the idea to Africa? and would other Powers follow the British example? Sir George says the idea of trusteeship is obsolete. It has been replaced by preparation for partnership of which every British Colony wants to be assured directly it is ready for such a status. Then came Lord Lugard to show that Italy, possessing a colony in the temperate zone with a thousand miles of Mediterranean littoral and 2,000 sq. m. of highlands in Eritrea suitable for colonization, has about 400 settlers after 50 years of occupation. Tropical Africa, he reminds us, is already populated by prolific native races, and room for European colonization is ever contracting. But Lord Lugard would favour a return to the Open Door though that would entail somc modification of the Ottawa agreements. Sir Frank Swettenham cannot understand the crying need for

deemed by them to be necessary. At home the settlement of the threatened trouble in the Coal industry is of happy augury for domestic peace in the new reign.

Empire Builders.

THE deeply lamented death of King George V followed on a heavy month's toll of those who were among his most distinguished subjects. In Lord Reading, Lord Forster, Sir Francis Newdegate, Lt.-Col. Sir Raleigh Grey, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, the country and the Empire have lost sons and servants whose records in varying kind and degree will be enshrined in the hearts of all who take pride in British achievement whether in the council chamber or on the tented field : a great Viceroy of India, a great Governor General of Australia, an esteemed Governor of Tasmania and Western Australia, a gallant soldier and pioneer of Rhodesia, and the consummate writer and patriotic poet who did so much by his genius to make the Empire peoples Empire conscious. Rudyard Kipling's merits will no doubt long continue to be gauged by political predilection, and certain critics who regretted that he did not keep politics out of his poetry and fiction will be held by others to have paid his patriotic gifts the very highest of tributes by their protests. His place among the greatest in English literature in any case is assured. His ideals were none the less ideals because they were based on realities and were not dissipated in the stratosphere. He wrote for those "who are neither children nor gods, but men in a world of men !" He drove home the truth about the white man's burden and the trusteeship of Empire. In an age of mechanization he alone found poetry in the engine room and "the deeferential gear" ; he was the author of "M'Andrews' Hymn" and "The Recessional" ; he appealed to Thomas Atkins whether soldier or civilian as he appealed to the leaders and the learned, because he absorbed and passed through the alembic of his genius the attributes which make a nation proud of its past, firm in its mission, confident under Providence in its future. Was M. André Chevrillon not right when he discovered in Rudyard Kipling the symbol of the British soul ?

The Marquis of Reading.

LORD Reading's life, an American journalist has said, "provides one of the most dazzling stories of personal success in history." A writer of great fiction anxious to keep within the bounds of probability would need the courage and skill of a Hardy to develop such a character in circumstances such as confronted Rufus Isaacs from his earliest days. Quiet, kindly, determined, ambitious, a son of the head of an old-established London fruit importer's business, he elected to go to sea as a ship's boy. He returned, and became a jobber on the Stock Exchange, only to meet disaster. He then went into the Middle Temple, was called to the Bar when he was 26, rose rapidly by brilliant advocacy in more than one *cause célèbre*, was made Solicitor-General in 1910 and two years later was admitted to the Cabinet only to find himself involved in what was magnified into "the Marconi scandal." The following year he was appointed Lord Chief Justice and then came the war

League supervision, particularly as he finds it easy to show how many coloured races have benefited from European control, and Major C. H. Dale, on behalf of East Africa, declares Sir Evelyn's proposals "quite unworkable." In a second letter Sir Frank Swettenham says "a discussion of Colonial policy and practice is very desirable if it deals with realities," and he quotes from a *Times* leader which urges that ideas and proposals recently liberated "should be passed through the sieve of expert knowledge, common sense and humane principle," though the process may involve "the pain inseparable from the encounter of well-intentioned theory with inconvenient fact."

President Roosevelt's Reverse.

In every part of the British Empire the root and branch condemnations of the New Deal by the Supreme Court of the United States will have been noted with peculiar interest. The Agricultural Adjustment Act, which introduced an ingenious mechanism to raise and stabilize prices of primary products, has been adjudged an infringement of the rights of individual States, as guaranteed by the Constitution ; and furthermore, any Acts which are themselves constitutional (such as a levy of excise on agricultural products or the dispensation of bounties to farmers) are stated to become unconstitutional as soon as they are used as instruments to accomplish a purpose (such as regulation of production) prohibited to the Federal Government under the Constitution. The end being prohibited, the means must also be forbidden. This ruling, which applies specifically only to the Agricultural Adjustment Act, almost automatically involves the modification of the Social Security Act, the Emergency Relief Act, and in fact the whole great structure of economic reconstruction which President Roosevelt has raised in the last three years at Washington. He has brought the nation out of the Slough of Despond only to be told in so many words that he has taken the wrong road and must retrace his steps, which seems absurd.

Flexibility versus Rigidity.

It is unnecessary to waste words of sympathy on this luckless end to a noble effort. There has been no direct criticism of the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution, which appears to be correct ; but there is a very general feeling that the Constitution itself needs amendment, and it is probable that the next Presidential Election will be fought on that issue. For ourselves, there are two points that emerge. Firstly, the verdict of the Supreme Court will strengthen the British distrust of the fixed and written as distinguished from our own flexible Constitution, a flexibility to which Sir Archibald Weigall made apt reference at the Luncheon to Sir Humphrey Walwyn and Sir Geoffrey Whiskard. And secondly, the very considerable element of success which has attended the Agricultural Adjustment Act during its brief life will certainly encourage New Zealand to study its provisions very closely as a guide to her own pledged policy of fixed prices. President Roosevelt has shown that the thing can be done on a large scale ; there is no obvious reason why it should not be carried out on a smaller scale—and it may be added that in the case of New Zealand,

which is a unitary Dominion without the Federal-State machinery of Canada and Australia, no constitutional difficulty can possibly arise. On the other hand, in the Commonwealth of Australia whose Constitution was modelled so largely on that of the United States, this ruling on Federal and State rights by the Supreme Court may well carry a moral of wider than economic application.

Canada's Pressing Problems.

THE new Canadian Parliament, which meets for its first session on the 6th of February, will have to deal with various important questions which were issues at the General Election. One will be the amendment of the British North America Act, for which, of course, the sanction of the British Parliament will be necessary. This step will be one of the results of the conference recently held at Ottawa between representatives of the Dominion and Provincial Governments, which concerned Federal and Provincial authority in several directions. One of the most vital is finance. In consequence mainly of the serious burden of unemployment relief, some of the Provinces have had to fall back upon the Federal Treasury for assistance amounting to as much as 100 million dollars, and the end is not yet in sight. This state of affairs cannot go on indefinitely, especially as at present the Dominion authorities cannot exercise any authority over the floating of Provincial loans. Mr. Dunning, the new Minister of Finance, has taken up the matter in a thoroughgoing and practical fashion, and as a result of his consultations with the Treasurers of the several Provinces, the problem is to be firmly dealt with. The immediate aim is to revise the loans of those Provinces that are experiencing difficulty in meeting their obligations by refunding at a lower rate of interest. In order to achieve this, on the one hand, the Dominion is explicitly to extend its guarantee to Provincial loans, being safeguarded against loss by the pledging of certain collateral securities. On the other hand, a Loan Council, consisting of the Provincial Treasurer and the Federal Minister of Finance, with the Governor of the Bank of Canada as adviser, is to be set up in each Province desirous of coming within the framework of the scheme ; while in addition there will be a Central Loan Council, consisting of the Federal Minister of Finance and all the Provincial Treasurers, together with the Governor of the Bank of Canada, to exercise a unifying influence. This scheme is somewhat different from that which has been so valuable to Australia in lowering rates of interest on loans ; but there is every reason to believe that it will go far towards providing a solution of one of Canada's most pressing problems, involving as it does the credit of the Dominion.

Manhood and Migration.

THE decision of the Government to set up an Empire Settlement Board to examine, report and advise on schemes for redistribution of the population of the Empire has been hailed with satisfaction, though no one seems quite clear what more the new body will be able to do than was done by the Overseas Settlement Committee which it will supersede. Apparently it is to be an exclusively British body, and not the Board of British and Dominion representatives advocated months ago by Sir J. Wardlaw Milne. The

Hitler, in a speech at Münich on Jan.26th, 1936, denied that "the task of colonisation is to make undeveloped peoples independent. ....."The white race is destined to rule.....The rule of the white race is the basis of the European economic structure."

Labour Party Advisory Committee.

Please let me have back

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Olivier

THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

Obstacles and Objections to Colonial Redistribution

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—The "prestige" factor in the desire for colonies is important but not primary. Mr. Barnes looks at the problem as I do, from the point of view of Africa—that of the framers of our official formula "native interests must be paramount,"—and neither he nor I should attach much weight to the claims of prestige. Mr. Hammond's position takes more account of such European considerations and admits the theory of the dual mandate, which Mr. Barnes regards as cant. Whether that is a fair term to apply to a pious conviction sincerely held by so many liberal-minded persons—and which is now being played upon by Signor Mussolini as it was played on by Cecil Rhodes in his precisely parallel exploit of smashing the Matabele, and with precisely similar aims, land-grabbing and exploitation of minerals—is a question of psychological casuistry. Mr. Secretary John Milton in 1655, when he prepared the White Paper on Cromwell's abortive raid on Santo Domingo, which had to be satisfied with the petty prize of Jamaica, referred with what Rhodes might have described as "unctuous rectitude" to "the opportunities of promoting the glory of God and enlarging the bounds of Christ's Kingdom, which we do not doubt will appear to be the chief end of our late expedition to the West Indies."

The plain fact is that no enterprise of colonisation has ever been set on foot except by the push of economic or political interests or, if you will, necessities. Philanthropic and humanitarian considerations and compunctions, as Mr. Hammond points out, arise and operate afterwards, when the prey is being digested—and better late than never!

Mr. Barnes thinks it clear that the placing of all British dependencies in tropical Africa under B mandates is both practicable and unobjectionable. Without mooting such captious cases as that of German South-west Africa—which was Germany's nearest approach to a genuine colony, which Germans most want to have back and to have back without mandate, and which South Africa will not agree to her having,—I think Mr. Barnes underestimates both the practical difficulties and the objections to such a general proposal.

The first great difficulty arising out of this new demand for colonial redistribution is that the whole idea of the line of development advocated by Mr. Barnes for controlling it involves a frontal encounter with the forces of capitalism. For (subject, I think, to an important partial exception) the process of colonial development is still conceived of by all the Governments interested in it as that of exploitation of sources of raw materials by white capital and coloured labour. The important partial exception, I think, is the Italian demand: for Italian working cultivators and artisans are physically and temperamentally capable of colonising Abyssinian highlands as Spanish "coloni" settled Cuba, Porto Rico, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, and other subtropical parts of the New World. North Europeans cannot do this, any more than English labourers can in Kenya. They can only exploit by the employment of African labour, and in that economic relation Africa and the African will defeat them, unless they enslave, directly or by land monopoly and the process of forcing labour by corvée or by taxation, a policy which has been exhaustively tried in our own colonies and its failure proved—they can only develop themselves into "poor whites." Italians can make a civilised peasantry, as Afrikaans can (and have done in the mixed racial community of Jamaica, where they have been able to escape being converted into a proletariat—a feat which will be appreciated by Mr. Hammond). The unsuccessful white settlers in Kenya are already discovering this truth, which our Foreign and Colonial Office might have known thirty years ago if their clerks had ever studied the contents of their own libraries.

Tropical minerals and forest products can be exploited by capitalist enterprise, but no tropical country can be civilised except upon the foundation of a free population producing its own food supply. Capitalism can ruin such a community but it cannot build it up. Until American capitalist enterprise laid hold upon Cuba and destroyed her sugar industry Cuba was a pleasant and civilised country. Her "coloni" are now beggared, her undergraduates carry guns, and her former very welcome West Indian crop labourers have been excluded or expelled, to exemplify Cuban methods of unemployed "demonstration" in St. Vincent and elsewhere.

I expect that Italian emigrants could, with advantage to all concerned, genuinely colonise parts of the Abyssinian plateaux and that there is plenty of room for them without depriving native cultivators of their land. I have never recognised that there is any right in Africans to exclude Europeans from settling upon lands which they can use without injury to the native people. Nor were African natives desirous of doing so till they had suffered. That is a very different thing from what has been done by Europeans in South and East Africa, and it would have to be controlled under mandate, as land acquisition is controlled by our laws in West Africa.

As to Germany, the expressed views of Herr Hitler, which are at variance with those of the German Colonial party, appear to me very sensible. He has declared that he feels no interest in African territories because they cannot carry racially German communities, and he is right. German landworkers cannot colonise tropical Africa and do not desire to. But the purpose of the German forward colonial party is economic expansion in the familiar capitalist-imperialist sense—to exploit raw materials with cheap labour and to sell goods in a closed market. Herr Hitler knows he could not govern Africans sympathetically. Their music makes him madder. And he has no desire to. Nor could any Nazi mandatory do so.

I consider, as I gather that Lord Lugard does, that vague gestures of international liberality and generous impulses to propitiate Germany and give Italy a deferred consolation prize for her disappointment after the war—by redistributing desirable African properties, with black live stock complete—will be found when it comes to a "show down" to work out to little or nothing that any other nation will thank us for offering unless we are prepared both to expropriate our own land-pre-emptors and mineral concessionaires and to set back the clock in regard to native interests.

With such knowledge as I have been able to assimilate during fifty years of interest in Eur-African colonies, I would gladly put my friends Mr. Hammond, Mr. Barnes, and Mr. Roden Buxton upon a jury to determine whether it would be of advantage to the natives of Tanganyika that the mandate for that territory should be transferred to Germany.

I should like to see the mandate system extended, and I would like to see Abyssinia opened under League tutelage to genuine Italian colonisation—by which I mean working settlement and not large concessions for exploitation. But, knowing how the progress of Draft Conventions against slavery and forced labour, to speak of no other matters, has been obstructed in the International Labour Office conferences by the resistance of States now having mandates and, in the matter of the slave trade, by Italy, against the pushing of the British representatives, and how these have themselves been trammelled by international capitalist influences, I cannot conceive what advantage could be ensured to Africans now under British government by their being placed under mandates.

As one who at any rate believes he appreciates the great human qualities of African racial character and has done his feeble best, intermittently, at least, to get others to recognise African rights, I say confidently that no one who has followed the proceedings of the Mandates Commission and the International Labour Office would consider such step a change for the better. In regard to regions in which we have ourselves gone wrong and with which our Government still can deal—as it cannot with South Africa or Southern Rhodesia,—for example, Kenya, I cannot conceive that such errors as the alienation and white monopoly of vast areas of land can be or are likely to be amended until a Socialist Government is in power in England—and that it will be a tough enough job then. It certainly will not be helped by the spirit which manifests itself in the representation of other Powers that now have colonies, nor by spokesmen of Germany or Poland who want them. There is a case for putting Portuguese African territories under mandate, and I wish that it may be done. But we should be betraying the trust which an increasing number of our people are beginning to recognise that we have for the natives of our own Colonies if we were to think we were entitled to "swap" them about in international deals for the sake of making things pleasant in Europe. Let a qualified jury of colonial experts, sympathetic to the principles of article 19 of the Covenant, decide whether any territories would be better off under mandates and start on them; and apply in all colonies, under mandate or not, the principle of the open door to all nations and equal rights of trade and settlement, and screw up wherever we can on those lines.—Yours, &c.,

October 26. OLIVIER.

WEDNESDAY OCTOBER

CHURCHES AND PEACE

LAMBETH PALACE CONFERENCE

"BOUND TO UPHOLD THE COVENANT"

The Archbishop of Canterbury has issued the following statement:—

A private and informal conference on the present international situation, representing various Christian communions in Great Britain, was held at Lambeth Palace on October 11. I was asked as its chairman to issue a statement embodying the views which those who were present desire to put before their fellow-countrymen.

(1) We believe that the principle of collective responsibility for the peace of the world, on the basis of an accepted rule of law among the nations, involved in the Covenant of the League of Nations is a practical application of the principles of Christianity. We regard the State members of the League who have signed that Covenant as bound in honour to uphold it. We therefore give our whole-hearted support to the action which the League is now taking in accordance with the Covenant in the endeavour to restrain what it has solemnly declared to be an act of aggression on the part of Italy and to bring to an end the war which has broken out between that country and Abyssinia.

(2) It must not be forgotten that the League of Nations exists not only to restrain acts of aggression, but also to do its utmost to remove, or at least to mitigate, causes of international disquiet and discontent which endanger peace. Among these causes are admittedly both the need felt by certain nations, including Italy, of industrial expansion and the economic strain from which all nations are suffering. We therefore urge that as soon as may be possible the League should arrange international inquiries and conferences on the more equitable distribution of the material resources contained in the undeveloped parts of the world and on the removal of the barriers by which national economic selfishness restricts the free flow of trade between the nations.

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS

(3) It must also be remembered that one of the obligations undertaken by all members of the League of Nations is contained in Article VIII.—namely, "The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national security and the enforcement by common action of international obligations"; and we feel bound to insist that the effort of the League to fulfil this obligation must be resumed at the earliest possible time. We believe that, if the action of the League in this present dispute results in strengthening confidence in collective security, an international conference on general disarmament may have better prospects of success. We regard it as beyond doubt that the continuance of competition in armaments will not only inflict an intolerable burden upon the peoples of the world, but will increase the spirit of fear which is fatal to that sense of settled security on which both peace and the future of civilization depend.

(4) Finally, we are convinced that in the last resort the only power which can secure and maintain the peace of the world is a spiritual power—a power which will lift men above national ambitions and excitements and establish that rule of righteousness, mutual considerateness, and justice which is the only basis of peace—in short, loyalty to the Kingdom of God. To that loyalty all who profess and call themselves Christians are pledged. The supreme need, as always so especially at this present time when the foundations of peace seem to be shaken, is that individual Christians everywhere should resolve to

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

Mr. J. L. Hammond's Suggestions

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—It is much to be wished that the suggestions of Mr. J. L. Hammond in his second article on "The Future of Africa" in your issue of October 8 may be fully and practically considered. He is surely right in maintaining that "we are at a turning-point in history when only bold measures can save us" from a prospect of such European jealousy as may involve us in a series of colonial wars in Africa. Is it reasonable to expect that the capable and expanding peoples of Europe will accept in perpetuity the present territorial distribution, which excludes them from any proportionate share in the development and civilisation of Africa?

Many of us have from the first deeply regretted that this challenging disproportion was vastly accentuated by the distribution of mandates at the end of the war. No effect was given to President Wilson's fifth point that there should be "a fair, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims." The Germans were not so much as given a hearing. They were, indeed, invited to write their comments after the treaty terms were drawn. They were on strong ground when they asked to have some share in the task of developing Africa: they could point to a record distinguished by its unparalleled provision of medical and educational services for the natives, though they also admitted that "blunders and mistakes have been made such as are to be found in the colonial history of all nations." They were on weaker ground, and gave themselves into their enemies' hands, when they urged that the restoration of any of their colonies under mandate would assist their own economic recovery. The Allied Powers' reply piously rejoined that the mandatory Powers, "in so far as they may be appointed trustees by the League of Nations, will derive no benefit from such trusteeship." That was, no doubt, a correct reading of the lofty language of the Covenant about "a sacred trust," but subsequent history has not encouraged the disinherited to believe that mandatory Powers derive no financial advantage from their "trusteeship." Italy also, another expanding and unsatisfied Power, received no mandate.

A great opportunity was lost in 1919. Italy might have received under mandate enough to occupy her energies for some years to come. Germany, if she had received even one of her former colonies under mandate, would have had scope for her real administrative ability and would have been anxious to justify herself before the world. Is it too late now for revision? I hope that the idea of revision may have fuller consideration than it has yet received, but we have to recognise that there are now two formidable obstacles which did not exist in 1919. New vested rights, both of Governments and of individuals, have grown up in these fourteen years, and any proposals for the transfer of mandates would meet with stiff resistance, even if generous compensation were offered. Also, those who are most concerned for the welfare of the natives will be chary of committing them to the guardianship of Fascist Italy or Nazi Germany, though even this may be safe under the vigilant eye of the Permanent Mandates Commission.

If, however, the way of revision is blocked, there remains the solution proposed by Mr. Hammond, that the mandated territories should be administered by an international service directly answerable to the League. A beginning, he suggests, might be made in one or more of the African mandated territories. There is much to recommend it. The system would be unmistakably in the interest of the natives rather than for the profit of the mandatory. It would enlist from the countries of Europe, small and great, men of administrative ability and public spirit who have at present no such opening for service abroad. Mr. Hammond had only to mention the magnificent work done by Dr. Nansen in the distressed areas of Europe after the war to illustrate what the world has to gain by drawing its administrators from small countries as well as from the larger. An international service might also go far to satisfy what Mr. Hammond calls "the honourable desire of powerful peoples to help the world by their own gifts of initiative and energy." The Germans, for example, developed a medical service in tropical Africa which won high praise from the French. There may be difficulties which others with more practical experience than I may tell us how to meet, but can we agree to rule out any suggestion that Englishmen alone are fit to rule the African natives? We are fain to believe that our race, with its long and varied experience, and by learning from its earlier mistakes, has acquired the art of colonial administration, but it ill becomes us to suggest that other peoples have no gifts for such work or that there is no room for their contribution.—Yours, &c.,

F. E. HUTCHINSON.

The College, Worcester.
October 21.

The "Prestige" Factor

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—Mr. J. L. Hammond does us all a service in emphasising how serious a part questions of prestige play in the dissatisfaction of dissatisfied Powers. But I think he flatters human nature if he supposes that people covet colonies because of "an honourable desire to help the world by their own gifts of initiative and energy." Such a view carries us fatally close to the white man's burden, the dual mandate, and other kindred types of cant which I hoped had been finally debunked.

I suggest that in its prestige aspect the desire for colonies is a simple, one might almost say a suburban, form of social snobbery. (It is not, of course, psychologically less important for that.) Colonies give a certain cachet; they are the hallmark of a nation which has arrived at being a Great Power. Therefore it is intolerable for near-great Powers, which already have good economic grounds for feeling sore, to be without them. Mrs. Brown, of Sans Souci, Acacia Road, who has hitherto gone about her occasions either on foot or by 'bus, is observed one morning to go off shopping in a nice new 8-h.p. Ford. It is a declaration to the neighbourhood that Mr. Brown's salary has now passed the £500 mark. Consequently it becomes a vital interest of Mrs. Jones, of Mon Repos, Acacia Road, to acquire at least a baby Austin. And she will forgo new carpets, garden rollers, even motherhood, and make many another "sacrifice" too, in order to do so. What Mr. Brown and Mr. Jones—namely, the workers—think about it all is seldom disclosed. Theirs not to worry their heads with abstractions such as the good and the right; theirs but to stand by their respective families.

The moral is this. Mrs. Jones can be persuaded in one way only that the true criterion of a motor-car's desirability is not Mrs. Brown's possession of one, and that is by Mrs. Brown making some conclusive demonstration that she does not regard the Ford as indispensable to her own wellbeing.

If Britain, as a first step towards making the whole dependent Empire an international responsibility, were here and now to declare willingness to accept "B" mandates for, say, all our dependencies in tropical Africa much would have been done to reduce to manageable proportions the prestige factor in present discontents—much, too (and this point is often overlooked), to revive interest in the League and to make it an organisation worth joining.

It seems as clear as anything in the realm of human action can be that the step is both practicable and unobjectionable. I share Mr. Hammond's disappointment that Lord Lugard's attitude in the matter is "non possumus" and nothing more, and I envy the exquisite deference with which Mr. Hammond has given voice to that emotion. There is always a strong case for doing nothing; Lord Lugard has stated it in relation to the present issue. But the case for doing something is almost always much stronger; so far he has not publicly discussed that.—Yours, &c.,

LEONARD BARNES.

5, Grove End Gardens, London,
N.W. 8, October 20.

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AFRICA AND THE POWERS

THE DILEMMA OF EXPANSION

I.—BRITISH TRADITION

The following is the first of two articles by Lord Lugard in which he discusses, from his long experience of African administration, the claims of European Powers on the resources of Africa.

By Lord Lugard

England and France have declared to the world that the League of Nations and the collective security which is based upon it form the keystone of their world policy, and the voice of their peoples appears to be practically unanimous that this is the only policy by which peace and security can be assured.

It is, however, widely asserted both by critics and friends of the League that it cannot survive if it assumes only the negative role of endeavouring to prevent war when crises arise. It must, they say, cease to be static and deal with the *causa causans*. It must recognize and provide for the insistent demands of the nations which need room to expand, and their due share of the raw materials for their industries and the foodstuffs which the tropical and subtropical colonies can supply. It is very natural, say the critics, for England to desire peace and the maintenance of the *status quo*, since she has all and more than all she wants, with vast half-empty Dominions in the temperate zones, and colonies in every part of the tropics, while Japan, Germany, and Italy, whose populations are increasing more rapidly, have inadequate oversea "possessions."

It is essential to a proper appreciation of this problem to recall briefly the course of events which have led to Great Britain being in control of large territories in Africa and in a fiduciary relation with their inhabitants. I will confine myself to Africa, which is the present bone of contention, and only remind any foreign reader that the belief that Great Britain has vast empty and colonizable lands at her disposal in the Dominions is entirely fallacious, since the British Parliament has no voice whatever in the immigration policy of the Dominions (including South Africa and Southern Rhodesia), and the external territories and mandates which they control.

BRITISH RELUCTANCE

It is a matter of history that at the time of the partition of Africa the British Government was most reluctant to acquire new territory. To this reluctance the eminent French Colonial historian, M. Emile Baillaud, bears witness in these words:—

Il faut, en effet, remarquer que, d'une manière continue, jusque dans ces toutes dernières annees, le Colonial Office, qui représentait le gouvernement anglais dans ces affaires, ne cessa de manifester, sauf pendant le seul secrétariat de M. J. Chamberlain, une opposition constante à toute politique d'expansion et à tout accroissement des attributions des pouvoirs locaux; et Mary Kingsley est bien autorisée à dire: "Jusqu'à nos jours, le Colonial Office a été, excepté dans le détail des affaires intérieures coloniales, une chaine d'entraves pour le développement de l'Angleterre en Afrique occidentale. Il a été non pas indifférent, mais nettement opposé!" La Politique indigène de l'Angleterre en Afrique Occidentale, p. xxvi.)

Opportunities—even requests—that England should assume control over various regions were set aside both in East and West Africa. Where she already had colonies of long standing, as on the coast of West Africa, she was bound to endeavour to secure for them a minimum of their hinterland markets. In East Africa the Cabinet had decided to abandon Uganda (and with it probably a part of what is now Kenya), and its decision was only reversed under compulsion of a popular protest against the abandonment of long-established missionary activities and of our obligations to Egypt in regard to the Nile reservoirs in the Great Lakes. The outcry in Scotland against the desertion in Nyasaland of a similar long-established mission in the land associated with the name of Livingstone caused Lord Salisbury to declare a Protectorate over a minimum of territory in which at the time there were no other Europeans.

The obligations incurred by the two Chartered Companies—the Royal Niger Company and the British South African Company—left the Government no option but to implement their pledges. In Nigeria the frontiers except in the north-west were already agreed. The Chartered Company in the south was dominated by the personality of its founder, Cecil Rhodes, Premier of the self-governing Cape Colony, whose policy was frankly the acquisition of the hinterland of the colony and the regions which bear his name.

Having become responsible for these territories British policy aimed at "peaceful penetration." With this object "spheres of influence" which would safeguard the territories from foreign encroachment with a minimum of interference with native institutions were declared in preference to Protectorates. The device served its purpose for a time, but where it came in conflict with the traditional anti-slavery policy of England it could not last, and organized slave-raiding in Nigeria and Nyasaland compelled compliance with the principle of "Effective Occupation"—upon which, moreover, other Powers insisted in accordance with the Berlin and Brussels Acts. It was followed by a policy of so-called "Indirect Rule" which aimed at preserving native institutions so far as possible—in some cases by treaties which accorded a large measure of autonomy—*e.g.*, Uganda; in others by a system with the same objective according to the degree of advancement each community had attained.

Even so bald and brief a sketch may, I hope, suffice to show that the present position of Great Britain in Africa is not, as some writers appear to think, the result of a "policy of grab." At worst it forestalled at a time of eager competition the acquisition by European rivals of territories more or less bordering colonies held by Britain for many decades.

THE CHARTERED COMPANIES

That there was a strong "Imperialistic" section whose chief motive was the extension of British trade and the control of mineral resources is not to be denied. It is fair to add that they honestly believed that British rule was more to the benefit of the natives than that of other nations. They were exemplified by the Chartered Companies and had their influence on the Governments of the day; but the verdict of history must be based on the action of the Government and not on the views of any section of opinion.

Thus, before the War Great Britain had become one of the largest territorial Powers in Africa. During the War she proclaimed that she had no desire to acquire further territory. At its close the question arose of the disposal of the former German Colonies. How enormous had been the sacrifice of life and how colossal the cost involved in the conquest of German East Africa has been too little realized. With the advent of the aeroplane and submarine the question of the Power which should control this territory had become of vital importance in the Indian Ocean and to neighbouring British

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AFRICA AND THE POWERS

II.—THE LEAGUE AS MANDATORY

NATIVE RIGHTS

Below is the concluding article by Lord Lugard, who writes with unsurpassed experience, as one of the makers of Colonial Africa and as a member of the Permanent Mandates Commission from its beginning, on the problem of Europe's claims on African territories.

By Lord Lugard

Let us now examine the proposals which in one form or another have been advocated in the Press by writers whose opinions carry weight, with the primary object not of ensuring better government for subject races but of effecting a more equal distribution of economic opportunity to the nations of Europe.

The first proposal of those who wish to "share and share alike" is that the "surfeited" nations should transfer some of their colonial "possessions" [and/or the mandates held by them] to the "starving" nations. This means that the repeated assurances that there would be no change—assurances upon which those who invested capital in the country relied—would be set aside, and that the native inhabitants are treated as negotiable chattels transferable at will without their consent to German or Italian control, in violation of pledges repeated by successive Ministers, and no less morally binding than pledges recorded in European treaties.

Those who chance to live in "Colonies" have the full status of British subjects equally with ourselves—and "British subjects," said the Prince of Wales, "are not for sale." But all believe themselves to be British subjects, and in point of fact little or no distinction has been made in practice between the inhabitants of a Colony or of a Protectorate. The transfer of Jubaland to Italy may perhaps find some extenuation as being in redemption of a war-time pledge given when England was engaged in a life and death struggle. The transaction was not very generally known to the British public. How strong the opposition can be to such a transfer was exemplified lately by the outcry over the proposed transfer to Ethiopia of a strip of uninhabited and waterless desert as a corridor for access to the sea, of which she had been deprived. Or, again, by the strong opposition to the transfer of the South African Protectorates even to a Dominion flag against their will. A distinguished French journalist recently told me that he was sure there was no living man in France who would dare to make such a proposal—he added (ignoring constitutional limitations) that he thought there was only one in England who could do it with success—the King! Belgium and Portugal would beyond doubt decline to agree to such a proposal.

MANDATES

Others have suggested that instead of handing over the Colonies to a foreign flag the Colonial Powers should agree to place some of them under the mandate system. We have seen that so far as Great Britain is concerned the principles of that system are already applicable to British Colonies. Such a gesture would not be acceptable to other Colonial Powers and would not be held by Germany or Italy to be of any particular value to them unless they held the mandate. This would differ little from the proposal already discussed.

A third and more plausible proposal is that some or all of the territories under European control in Africa should be placed under a "Collective Mandate" administered by the League. It can hardly be meant by this rather vague term that a condominium of Powers should jointly control a particular colony, for the "native policies" of the different Colonial Powers vary greatly and no device could be more sure of generating friction. It may be assumed therefore that the suggestion is that the League itself should take the place of a national mandatory, and assume "the direct government," primarily with the object of ensuring "economic opportunities to the whole world." Assuming for the moment that such a scheme were practicable so far as the League is concerned—and I hold it to be impracticable—its advocates could only hope that the dissatisfied nations would be appeased if they had a dominant voice in the collective control. In point of fact, the officer appointed as Governor would dictate the policy, and his nation, presumably Germany or Italy, would become *de facto* mandatory. From the point of view of the African inhabitants, the "collective" would differ little from the individual mandate.

THE FINAL AUTHORITY

But consider the position as it would affect the League. Each of the Colonial Powers has a Colonial Office of trained and experienced officials dealing from day to day with the many problems of administration. The final decisions rest with a Minister for the Colonies on behalf of the metropolitan Government. The League has no such machinery—and putting aside any question of cost there would be difficulty in creating a Board of qualified men of different nationalities who could work together and reside permanently or meet constantly at Geneva or elsewhere. In whom would the final authority be vested to decide in questions on which opinion was divided; and to control the autocratic powers of the Governor?

The nearest approach that the League has made is the Permanent Mandates Commission. But the function of that body is confined to seeing that the terms of the mandate are being carried out. It is purely advisory to the Council and exercises no direct control. It disclaims any authority to advise regarding administration for which the mandatory alone is responsible. It has gained experience in the past 13 years, but as having myself been a member ever since the mandates were issued, I consider that it would be most unsuited to exercise administrative functions. Incidentally, the present Commission is quite fully occupied with the supervision of 12 separate mandates.

Clearly in these circumstances the Governor on the spot would have to be entrusted with very wide powers. *Ex hypothesi* he would not be selected from the "surfeited" Powers, and since the object is to propitiate the "Have-nots," preference would probably be given to a German or Italian. Mr. J. L. Hammond, who suggests this course in *The Spectator*, and is supported by Mr. Arnold Toynbee, rightly insists that the government of native races "is the task and responsibility of peoples with training, education, and experience." He assumes that British Civil servants with experience of African administration would offer their services. It is a doubtful assumption, and they would in the circumstances probably meet with a doubtful welcome either as members of the Central League body, or on the local staff. He adds that the success of the League in the Saar proves her capacity for the task. But the task of Sir Geoffrey Knox of keeping order between hostile factions in a civilized country, difficult as it was, is as different as it is possible to imagine from

Parliament regarding Britain's
inent during the period when
porting Turkey against Russia
massacre of the Crimean War:
portant that this country should
which would indicate what the
d be. That you should not have
g in the Council Chamber hesi-
and considering possible contin-
ng at last, but acting perhaps too
I am yours, &c.,
W. HORSFALL CARTER.
Sept. 18.

MIT OF SNOWDON

EDITOR OF THE TIMES

of the new hotel on the summit of
de in your issue of last Saturday, when
made by the managing director of the
tain Railway that the present huts were
ay. Your readers may not be aware that
designed by Mr. Williams-Ellis, lies below
summit, so that when the huts are removed
will be once more unencumbered.
ttended a conference at Llanberis in the
t year will remember that the late Mr.
hen managing director, promised not only
but all traces of their foundations and
roundings would be removed. As the
ne mountain—"Y Wyddfa"—is of great
rest, the Council for the Preservation of
therefore doubly glad to see Mr. C. E.
ing the offer made by his late father to
k to its original condition.
Yours faithfully,
J. D. K. LLOYD, Secretary.
for the Preservation of Rural Wales,
Marlborough Street, W.1, Sept. 18.

that of administering some millions of natives. The task would be complicated perhaps by the insistent claims of European immigrants and concessionnaires, and the injunction to afford equal commercial opportunity to all the world —and this with a cosmopolitan staff each with his own views as to how it should be done, and possibly with a bias towards his national policy. The ultimate result of the "collective mandate" would probably be to create several Nazi and Fascist autocracies in Central Africa.

British, French, and Belgian Colonial servants undergo a full course of training before appointment. To meet this need it is suggested that "the League should train men from all countries in a special institution." What language is to be the medium of instruction? And which of the divergent national policies will be adopted?

FINANCIAL OBSTACLES

I have passed over the question of finance. The cost of these proposals would be very heavy, not only for the creation of the central machinery but also in case of need to supplement the local revenues. England has given about £500,000 to Tanganyika, and made loans of over £3,000,000 (part of it free of interest for some years) from the Imperial Treasury. The local Government, with the aid of a British guarantee, has been able to raise nearly £6,000,000 more on favourable terms. Further sums have been given or lent by the Colonial Development Fund and the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation. The single Province of the Cameroons has, I believe, cost the Nigerian Government some £16,000 per annum. If the League undertakes liabilities such as these the British taxpayer, who already pays the heaviest contribution to its maintenance, will not welcome an extra burden to enable it to undertake a collective mandate.

Is there nothing constructive to suggest? I fear little so far as Africa is concerned, beyond what Sir Samuel Hoare has proposed, together with the possibility of including in the Civil Service, at least, in mandated territories, qualified officials from foreign nations. The employment of German and Italian doctors has already been suggested by the Mandates Commission. If any policy should be adopted which would do less than justice to the native population in order to benefit European nations the result, though deferred, will infallibly lead to an even more critical dilemma.

The question whether it would be possible for Italy and Germany to acquire a footing elsewhere sufficient to found a Colony under their own flags may perhaps be a problem for investigation by those who consider that such a task is essential to the survival of the League. It is outside the scope of this article.

ITALY'S DEMAND

Let us glance in conclusion at the Italo-Abyssinian problem. Since there is no available land for colonization elsewhere in tropical Africa, Italy asks why her annexation of Ethiopia, where there are sparsely populated highlands, should meet with opposition. The answer has been given at Geneva and there is no need to repeat it, or to recapitulate past events in detail. It suffices here to recall that Japan seized the bandit-ridden and misgoverned Chinese Province of Manchuria, basing her action on the non-fulfilment of treaties and repeated "boycotts." She preferred to leave the League rather than to lay her case before it, though she had signed the "Kellogg Pact" and the Treaty of Versailles.

Germany lost her colonies by the arbitrament of war. Had she won she would, according to many of her most notable publicists—whose published views are recorded by Edwyn Bevan in a long preface to Zimmermann's "German Empire of Central Africa"—have annexed the pick of the colonies of the defeated Allies. It is too late now to consider whether it would not have been the wiser course to have allowed her to retain control of those colonies under the safeguards of a mandate. She too has left the League and the problem remains unsolved.

Italy was late in advancing her claims in the so-called "partition of Africa." She proposed to occupy Abyssinia when there was then no membership of the League of Nations, no pledges under the Treaty of Versailles or the Paris Pact to be considered, but she abandoned her intention after the disaster of 1896.

I do not here propose to discuss these events or their reactions, which have led up to the present trouble. There are larger issues at stake than the fate of Abyssinia—nor can she claim to have a clean record. If there are in fact vacant lands it is because misrule and slave-raiding in spite of warnings and pledges to the League have depopulated them. She may now have to make concessions in atonement for the past. On the other hand, there is substantial evidence that since her admission to the League her Ruler has made genuine efforts to reform. The institution of slavery cannot be abolished by ukase even by an all-powerful suzerain without inflicting greater suffering on the slaves, and a complete dislocation of the whole structure of society. But the Emperor was not an all-powerful suzerain. Without sufficient revenue to raise and maintain a central force, without a seaport, and limited by treaty as to the armaments he could introduce, he was compelled first to consolidate his authority—and recent events show how well he has succeeded.

A UNIQUE KINGDOM

The position of Ethiopia in Africa is unique. An ancient kingdom dating back to the early centuries of the Christian era, with traditions of a still more remote past, she was, says the author of the article in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," so powerful in the sixth century that she was appealed to by the other Christian nations to put an end to the chaos in Arabia. He relates that she responded by conquering that country and holding it for 67 years.

Centuries later a new appeal was made, this time, as Major-General Lord Edward Gleichen (the historian of these events) relates, by a British Mission under Admiral Sir W. Hewett, V.C., on behalf of Egypt to rescue the outlying Kassala Garrisons beleaguered by the Mahdi's dervishes. Emperor John, after severe fighting, brought them safely to Massawa.

In return for their aid Hewett signed a treaty allowing the Abyssinians free transit for their goods through Massawa, then an Egyptian port. Egypt, however, shortly afterwards evacuated Massawa, and the Italians, disregarding any Abyssinian rights, took it over. Hence the beginning of the undying antagonism between Abyssinia and Italy.

In view of the threats of Signor Mussolini to seize the country the League is now endeavouring to induce Haille Selassie to make substantial concessions. If these should include any cession of territory it is to be hoped that the League,

(Continued at foot of next column)

by whose intervention the [illegible] have been effected, will [illegible] Abyssinia should undertake [illegible] land for settlement elsewhere, [illegible] the inhabitants who might desire [illegible] and that the League itself would [illegible] the transfer.

It has been suggested that the League itself should declare a protectorate over Ethiopia and carry out the desired reforms. Members of the League are pledged to uphold the independence of all States-Members—how then could the League annex the country as [illegible] national territory in order to declare a protectorate or appoint a mandatory? Abyssinia has already declared that she will fight to the death rather than accept the loss of her independence. Reforms would be better effected by a temporary Commission such as was proposed for Liberia—preferably controlled by Holland, who has great colonial experience, if she would consent to undertake the task—assisted perhaps by Sweden, Denmark and Norway. None of these countries can be suspected of motives of self-interest. But discussion of the best means of effecting internal reforms is irrelevant to the present situation, for they would in no way satisfy Italian demands.

Concluded

The first article appeared in *The Times* of yesterday.

THE COLONIAL EMPIRE

THE LABOUR PARTY

Price Twopence

The Colonial Empire

THE official Labour Party Policy on the Colonial Empire is set out in the following Report, adopted by the Annual Conference of the Party held at Hastings, October, 1933.

TRANSPORT HOUSE
SMITH SQUARE
LONDON, S.W.1

November, 1933

THE COLONIAL EMPIRE

INTRODUCTION

THE British Empire includes Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the self-governing Dominions, India, the Colonial Empire and Mandated Territories. The Colonies and Protectorates have varying degrees of self-government, ranging from that in Malta and Ceylon, which have a large say in the management of their own affairs, to African and other Native Territories which have no measure of self-government at all. This statement of policy is concerned only with the territories known as the Colonial Empire.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, and, through him, the Government and electorate of this country are ultimately responsible, and, in the case of many Colonies, entirely responsible for the government and administration of about 3,250,000 square miles (an area larger than the whole of Europe) inhabited by more than 60,000,000 people (a population more than twice that of the total of all our self-governing Dominions). These territories are on mainlands and islands in all parts of the world, their populations are of every colour and religion, and of all degrees of development and civilisation. Included among them are Greeks, Turks, Chinese, Malays, Indians, Ceylonese, Arabs, Africans and Polynesians. The Mediterranean Colonies and the Falklands have an entirely white population, and groups of British and other European races are to be found in the midst of many of the Native communities.*

The serious responsibility for the welfare of these many millions of peoples which rests on the British electorate and on the Governments they appoint has never been adequately recognised by the British people. In territories where there has been a self-conscious and vigorous white minority, expropriation of Native lands and exploitation of Native labour have been permitted and defended by successive British Governments. The methods of our capitalist system have been transplanted overseas, and tribal and family life has been broken up by taxation designed to compel the male population to work for the white employer, sometimes hundreds of miles from their homes, as only in this way could they pay the taxes imposed. Racial discriminations of various kinds have been imposed to the disadvantage and, often, the humiliation of the original inhabitants of the country. In such areas, also, assistance from public funds and by legislative enactments has been lavished upon the capitalist enterprises of immigrant groups of our own nationals rather than in assisting in the development and progress of the Native inhabitants.

It is only fair to say that this picture does not accurately represent the general application of British Colonial policy. In the West African Colonies, for example, no land is permitted to be expropriated for immigrant settlers, and the administrative and technical services are run in what is believed to be the best interests of the general Native community. The difference in the results of this policy on the well-being and happiness of the people, as compared with the position in much of East Africa, where a contrary policy has been pursued, is a clear indication of the lines on which a Labour Government must proceed.

* See Appendix, "The British Colonial System."

In none of the Colonial territories, however, has there been a sufficiently conscious and sustained effort to make the education, development and well-being of the common people the main function of the Government. It is this objective for which the Labour Movement stands.

A Labour Government would have to deal with the vested interests at home and, in particular, Colonies which seek to make perpetual serfdom the lot of millions of intelligent and decent people. The last Labour Government made a start with this work by carrying through, in spite of the bitter opposition of the white immigrant community, the Kenya Native Land Trust Ordinance, to prevent further expropriation of Native lands. The breach of the undertaking thus given, on behalf of the British people, by the succeeding "National" Government, when gold was discovered on Native land, is evidence, not only of the forces against which we have to work, but of the need for a powerful and majority Labour Government to secure justice for the African inhabitants of Kenya. All racial discriminations, financial and otherwise, must go, and, while no injustice would be done to any white settler, his privileged position in respect of government and administration would no longer hold. The elementary necessity of ample land for the present and future needs of the inhabitants must be secured, and no methods of direct or indirect compulsion must be used to secure labour for white employers.

In respect of the Colonial territories generally, education of the rank and file of the population must be a first consideration. Even if it is desirable that it should have a definitely agricultural bias, it should be made cultural as well as practical, and should afford opportunity to acquire the knowledge, literary and scientific, which has accumulated throughout the ages, and which is a world, and not a national or racial, possession.

The impact of modern ideas is being felt by all Native communities. Air transport, wireless and other developments are making the world infinitely smaller and isolation is now practically impossible. The increase in detribalisation and in the number of educated Africans makes it evident that the continuance of the docile acceptance of inferior conditions is not much longer to be expected. Such an attitude in African and other races is to be welcomed, and an early opportunity should be sought to adjust our Colonial governmental and administrative systems so as to enlist the willing co-operation of those who demand equality of status and opportunity for their people.

The task of adaptation to new conceptions is complicated and difficult, because of the leeway that has to be made up. It will, however, be vigorously tackled by a Labour Government which has the power and authority of the people behind it.

The immediate objectives of the Colonial policy of the Labour Party may be summed up in the two words—socialisation and self-government. These are the preliminaries necessary to enable the exercise of that full self-determination which must be the basis of a true commonwealth. Steps will be taken to these ends, having due regard to the welfare and the stages of development of the people concerned. The transfer of responsibility must be made to a democratic community, and not to one controlled by vested interests or with a restricted franchise.

Where the immediate grant of self-government is obviously impossible or undesirable the policy of the Colonial Administrations must be to

prepare the people for that goal. Opportunities for local self-government will be provided and co-operative societies of all kinds which encourage common effort and train administrators and leaders will be fostered. The transition from capitalist to socialist enterprise must be hastened to the fullest possible extent.

For those communities which—in the words of the Covenant—are "a sacred trust of civilisation," the full spirit of the Mandates principle must be observed in practice. Trusteeship must be a reality. Its successful application will be realised as capacity for self-government increases.

Conditions of labour, wages, etc., must be under the control of the Government, and must allow of a good standard of life and opportunities for leisure and self-development. An adequate health service will be regarded as fundamental.

There may be those who think such a policy and programme unwise or Utopian. The Labour Party believes it to be both wise and practicable. All that is needed to make it a reality is the recognition by the British people of their serious responsibility for the welfare of these many millions of people, and the realisation that in raising the standard of life of workers who are now used to depress general world standards, they are not only carrying out principles of justice and equity, but are doing something which will substantially promote the security and welfare of the British people themselves.

GOVERNMENT AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

It has already been shown that the guiding principles of the Labour Party's policy in every field are those of Socialism and Democracy, and its object is to apply those principles to every part of the Empire as well as to Britain. Its general policy with regard to the government of those Colonies and Dependencies, other than India, which do not yet enjoy self-government must, therefore, be dictated by those principles.

The Empire is often now referred to as a "Commonwealth of Nations," and the title may be accurately used in regard to that part of the Empire which consists of Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions; it cannot be applied to the non-self-governing Colonies and Dependencies. It is the view of the Labour Party that a continued effort should be made to develop the Empire into a real Commonwealth of self-governing and Socialist peoples.

Nor is it enough to think merely of the development of each of these units within the Empire. The Empire itself is part of the League of Nations, and the separate representation of the Dominions in the League and the peculiar position of the Mandated Territories show that League membership has already had an effect upon the internal structure of the Empire. In considering the future of the Colonial Dependencies, Labour's object, therefore, will be to develop the Empire into a Commonwealth of self-governing Socialist units within the League of Nations.

It is, however, a fact that the various Colonies differ enormously in their cultural development, and this would make any attempt to treat them in a uniform way, either from the point of view of self-government or of Socialism, disastrous. There are territories, for example, in the West Indies where the people are probably already capable of managing their

own affairs. There is no reason why they should not be given a large measure of self-government. On the other hand, the African territories are, in this respect, entirely different. Their people are in a condition which would make it impossible for them to take over the government of their country on modern lines. In such cases, what is required is education and preparation with the definite object of training the population in self-government.

If the Empire is really to be made a Commonwealth of Peoples, the first task of the Government should be to face the necessity of working out for each territory the individual treatment suitable for it with a view to establishing the maximum amount of self-government. The Labour Party will, therefore, as soon as it is in power, undertake this task. It will arrange, either by means of special committees (including, where possible, Natives of the territory concerned), or by other methods, to ascertain the steps which can be taken (1) to develop local government, and (2) to establish and develop self-government. The Party will do everything in its power to accelerate the process of turning these Colonies, Protectorates and Territories into self-governing units, but here a word of warning is necessary.

The Party will take the steps necessary to give self-government and "responsible government" in Asiatic and African territories only if, at the same time, the franchise can be given to the Native inhabitants on the same terms as to European minorities and only if it is assured that the Native inhabitants will have an effective voice in the government of the territory in question. The British Government stands in the position of trustee towards the Native inhabitants, and under no circumstances will the Party take any steps towards establishing so-called "responsible government" in territories where in effect the political power would be simply handed over to a European minority. In so far as there still exist local institutions of Government, family, village or tribal, these organic institutions should be preserved and assisted to become democratic and efficient. Where necessary, the Natives should be given protection against the abuses of their own chiefs.

The fact, just referred to, that the Government stands in the position of trustee towards the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories gives rise to another question. The Empire is part of the League of Nations with its international obligations, and it is essential that in planning its development these facts should always be borne in mind. In the case of the self-governing Dominions, the international aspect of the Empire and its relations to the League are recognised already by the provision of separate representation for each Dominion and for India in the League. If the British Government really acts as a trustee for non-self-governing territories, where the Native population is not qualified effectually to control by democratic Parliamentary institutions the intricate mechanism of a modern State, it will be applying to them the system of Mandate established in the Covenant. It seems, therefore, both right and logical that the mandatory system should be accepted for all Colonies inhabited mainly by peoples of primitive culture. The Labour Party, when it is in power, will make such a declaration and will accept the scrutiny of the Mandates Commission in such cases, if it can be arranged.

The foregoing proposals have reference to the measures necessary for establishing self-government as rapidly as possible in the various

Colonies and Dependencies. But the Labour Party is a Socialist Party, and its aim is the establishment of Socialism. Already there is a considerable application of practical Socialism in the Colonies in State Railways, Medical Services, Public Works, etc. This development should be extended to the organisation of efforts to secure the economic well-being and security of the inhabitants along Socialist lines. Here again, however, local conditions vary enormously, and each territory must be treated as a unit with its own peculiar problems. The Labour Government will, therefore, consider means for working out plans for Socialisation and for promoting the economic interests of the Native inhabitants. In particular, consideration will be given to the steps which can be taken to make the local administrations both at the centre and in the provinces and districts more efficient in promoting these objects.

LAND, LABOUR AND TAXATION

The problems of land and labour are different in most of the African and some of the Pacific territories from what they are in other Colonies. In the Asiatic territories, for instance, there is often a highly-developed economic and agricultural system which has already adjusted itself to modern world conditions, and self-government has reached, or soon will reach, a stage at which the inhabitants must be left to deal with these problems in their own way. In the more primitive communities of Africa and the Pacific, however, the British Government must still for many years be responsible for the difficult task of seeing that the economic life of the territory is adjusted to the economic life of the outside world without damage to the interests of the Native inhabitants.

The questions of land and labour in Africa are intimately connected. The whole territory in question is predominantly agricultural. Hence, unrestricted use and enjoyment of the land is vital to the Native population: (1) to provide for its sustenance; (2) for purposes of internal trade and commerce; (3) for export trade where such has been, or could be, developed; and (4) because the traditions of the race are inseparable from the land. Native use and enjoyment of land, therefore, means that the Native works on his own land either to produce his own food or to produce marketable products. Conversely, if the Native be dispossessed of his land in favour of Europeans, who, in the tropical climate of Africa, cannot themselves do the work of cultivation, a labour problem immediately arises. The European, in order to exploit the land, requires the Native to work for him as a wage-earner; the Native is, by a variety of means, compelled to work for wages in order to pay his hut or poll tax.

The Original Land System in Africa

When Europeans first descended upon Africa they found a system in force in most places, whereby ultimate rights in the land were vested in the community, variously termed "kingdom," "tribe," "clan," or "house," "village," "family," according to the degree of development and expansion of the unit. The individual could not permanently alienate the land he occupied, which reverted to the community at his death. Buying and selling of land was not recognised under Native law. Unoccupied land was allotted by the heads of the community as the needs of the latter expanded with the increase of population and cultivation.

The Two Land Policies in Africa

Labour, in working out its own policy, must first realise that there are two conflicting administrative policies to-day with regard to the economic development of the African tropics. The first, which is based upon the original land system, and aims at developing Native use of the land, may be called the African Policy; the second, which is based upon capitalist exploitation or ownership of the land, may be called the Capitalist Policy.

The African Policy.—This policy, which is generally followed in Tanganyika, British West Africa and Basutoland, favours the preservation of Native rights in the land, assisting the Native population to develop the resources of the land by growing crops or gathering products for export. It aims at promoting a Native community of agriculturists and arboriculturists, and of fostering the growth of large Native industries. It does not seek altogether to exclude European enterprise and capital, but to confine these within the limits where they can be usefully exercised without infringing the liberties or arresting the progress of the Native peoples. It encourages the merchant and issues licences to Europeans and others for the collection of certain forest products, the Native communities, which are consulted as to the issue of the licence, being credited with a portion of the fees. Subject to the discretion of the Native community affected, and to the supervision of the executive authority, leases are issued to Europeans for purposes of cultivation.

The basis on which this policy rests is that the land belongs to the Native communities which inhabit it, and that the paramount object of Government must be to encourage and assist those communities in the beneficial use of the land for their own advantage and profit. It is, in its broad outline, the policy which, as will be seen below, must be adopted and extended by the Labour Movement. But it is subject to one great danger. Unless the rights of the Native communities are adequately safeguarded, as in Northern Nigeria and Tanganyika, it may lead to the establishment of a system of individual Native landlordism, which is as bad as white landlordism. The beginnings of such a system are visible in the Gold Coast and in Uganda.

The Capitalist Policy.—This policy favours the economic development of the country by syndicates and planters through "hired" or forced Native labour. It confines the Native population to "reserves," and gives to that population no security of title even within the "reserves." Outside the "reserves" it sells or leases to syndicates and individuals immense areas of land. It encourages and assists syndicates and individuals to procure Native labour. It does next to nothing to encourage and assist the Native population to make beneficial usage of the land for its profit, and it nearly always leads directly to the detribalisation of the Native. It does not aim at the creation of a self-respecting race of African producers secure in their possession of the land, but at the evolution of a race of servile labourers divorced from their land.

This policy is always defended on the ground that the Native communities, if left in undisturbed enjoyment of the land, cannot make a beneficial use of it. The Natives, it is argued, are too uncivilised, indolent, and unenterprising to develop the economic riches of their country, and they cannot be allowed to stand in the way of Europeans developing those riches for the good of the world, and, of course, incidentally, of Europeans.

This argument is accepted by most people as proved. But the facts and figures with regard to production and exports in British West Africa, and most clearly in Uganda, go to show that it is founded upon untrue premises, that the Native, if left in possession of his land, and if he receives the necessary encouragement from the administration, can exploit the land as well as, or even better than, the European capitalist.

In Kenya, the effect of the capitalist policy in creating a Labour problem can be seen clearly. Most of the best land has been alienated to Europeans, and the Natives have been relegated to "reserves." The Natives have no secure title in the "reserves," and pressure is continually put upon the Government by the white settlers to oust the Native from fertile land when it is included in a "reserve." This pressure has already been successful in several cases, notably when the Masai were ejected from the best land in the Rift Valley and the land alienated to white men. But the white men, having obtained the Natives' land, are now confronted with the difficulty of obtaining labour to work the land. All labour in Kenya is nominally free. There is no slavery, and no native is compelled to work for private individuals (though compulsory labour on State enterprise, such as railways, can be, and is, enforced, and indirectly compels Natives to work for private persons). Nevertheless, our administration is creating a large and discontented landless proletariat, which is a danger to the country and to the British occupation, and whose working conditions in some respects reproduce or even exaggerate the evils of slavery. Nor is it true, as is sometimes argued, that these evils are things of the past. The same policy is still being pursued: land is still being alienated, new settlers induced to immigrate, new capital invested, while the labour supply remains inadequate and the whole situation thus becomes worse.

The main causes of this are: (1) the ownership by Europeans of immense areas of land, which may not even be fully utilised by them; (2) the acceptance by the Government of a duty to help European owners in the development of land; and (3) the system of direct taxation: to pay the tax the Native has to earn money. Money can be earned (*a*) by sale of commodities; and (*b*) by sale of labour. The first is prevented by lack of sufficient land, absence of markets, ignorance of what to grow. The Native, therefore, has to sell his labour. The lack of land is due to the size and situation of land grants to Europeans. In some cases (*e.g.*, Kenya, Kavirondo), the Native lands are overcrowded, and these occupy the areas of natural overflow; in others (*e.g.*, Kikuyu), European freeholds actually include the ancestral homes of thousands of Natives.

Another case which has recently attracted public attention is that of the North Charterland area of Northern Rhodesia, where the inhabitants of a country nearly as large as Belgium, though officially certified to be the owners, have been deprived of nearly two-thirds of their land and are compelled to pay taxes which can only be earned by working for those who have taken their land from them.

To sum up, there are various methods by which the Native may be made to work for an employer, methods which are not all enforced at once, but which are mixed in various proportions according to circumstances:—

(1) First, the Native population is deprived of its land, and, although a portion is restored to it in the form of "reserves" or "locations," it is

sometimes too small a quantity to maintain it, so that a larger or smaller number of Natives are compelled to work for Europeans.

(2) Pressure is exerted in the same direction by Government officials, sometimes through Chiefs who are paid by the Government, and are, therefore, under its influence.

(3) Various forms of "forced" labour are from time to time resorted to.

(4) The position of a "squatter" is granted to Natives on condition of a certain amount of wage-labour.

(5) Breach of labour contract on the part of the Native is a criminal offence.

(6) The African is taxed so heavily that he can only get the necessary cash by wage-labour.*

(7) Agricultural production by the African on his own land has been discouraged.

The evil results of the whole system and policy may be summed up as follows:—

(1) The labour obtained is bad, discontented, and only kept at work by a system of legal and non-legal punishments.

(2) The sanitary and moral conditions are bad, and disease is prevalent.

(3) Labour is withdrawn from cultivation in the "reserves," with the result that there are periodical shortages of food.

The main principles upon which a Labour Government will proceed, so soon as it secures the opportunity, must therefore affect questions of Land, Labour, Taxation and Education.

LAND

(1) The general principle is that the land should be regarded as held in trust for the Native community or communities.

(2) Native rights in land and in the natural and cultivated products of the soil should be given secure legal sanction and should be adequately protected and safeguarded by the home and local Governments. Native land tenure should be maintained, and, where necessary, strengthened by legislative enactment. There should be opportunities for different kinds of tenure—whether tribal, co-operative or individual—and for tenancy under a Public Authority. The form of tenure may vary with the conditions, but should be subject to the general principle that landlordism (*i.e.*, the owning of one person's house or land by another individual or group of individuals for purposes of profit) is to be prevented or progressively eliminated.

* Though the Native is heavily taxed, a disproportionate amount of the total revenue is sometimes devoted by Government, not to Native requirements, but mainly to European interests. The Chief Native Commissioner of Kenya stated that the Kitui Akamba tribe had paid £207,749 in taxes in ten years, and that the only Government expenditure in the Kitui Reserve during that time had been on collecting the taxes.

(3) Every Native family should be assured sufficient land for its support, with security of tenure, and, where necessary, for growing crops for internal trade or for export, as well as for its own maintenance.

(4) Adequate Agricultural Education should be secured to all those for whom it is desirable, and Co-operative Agriculture and social organisation of producers should be encouraged.

Where Native cultivation and production of economic agricultural products are possible without the use of large capital, they should be maintained and encouraged by Government. Where costly machinery, experts, etc., are required Government should supply the necessary capital, encourage the use of such machinery by the Natives, and educate the Natives, through co-operation or other methods, to make the most economic use of the land.

(5) There should be no restriction of markets for Native produce in the supposed interests of the Mother Country, unless in return for equivalent advantages.

(6) Concession of land to non-Natives for purposes of cultivation and grazing should take the form of short-time leases, the rents being subject to periodic revision, and should only be granted over restricted areas and after careful inquiry, with the consent of the Native community affected. Similar rules should apply to licences for the harvesting of natural products.

(7) The question of land already alienated to the white settlers and others must be seriously examined. No further alienation of land should be allowed, until full and satisfactory inquiry has been made into present Native needs. Where too much land has been alienated, the Governments must be prepared to resume ownership, especially of those portions which remain unused.

(8) Mineral products where Native ownership has not been recognised should be treated as the property of the Local Administration in trust for the communities. Mines, railways and any large-scale industries should be run or controlled by the State.

LABOUR

(1) The main object with regard to Native labour must be to prevent a continuance of that general pressure to work for capitalist employers which has already been described.

(2) *Slavery*.—Every form of slave-trading and slave-owning should be absolutely prohibited; the prohibition to include the sale, gift, transfer or introduction into any territory of slaves, including the system of "pawning" persons, and of adoption in circumstances analogous to slavery. The status of slavery should not be recognised in any Court of law, and all Governments should permit any person over whom rights as a slave are claimed by any other person to assert

and maintain his or her freedom forthwith. The onus of proof of any debt or obligation alleged to be due from the person claimed as a slave by reason of such debt or obligation should be on the person claiming it, and should be justiciable in a Court of law without prejudice to the free status of the defendant.

(3) *Forced Labour.*—The prohibition of compulsory labour should be absolute, except for purely Native purposes of public utility, and then only when demanded in accordance with Native law and custom within tribal areas.* Tribal rulers should not be permitted to assign any powers they possess for calling out tribal labour. All voluntary labour should be paid by wage in cash to the labourer, and not to the Chief or any other third party. All taxation discriminating between the Natives engaged upon indigenous industry, and those in employ of immigrants or white men, or between those who work and those who do not, should be prohibited.

(4) *Contract Labour.*—No labour contracts should be enforceable under the sanctions of criminal law. All labour contracts should be made before a magistrate or other officer of the administration. The labour contract should be a civil contract, breaches of which should be remedied by civil process only. No labour contract should be valid for a period exceeding six months, at the termination of which the labourer should be free to offer his services to any employer or none.

(5) *The Colour Bar.*—In all territories no disabilities resting solely upon colour should be erected against any section of the community. All occupations should be open to every man and woman regardless of race, creed or colour.

(6) Systems of registration, or of passes, or "masters' and servants' ordinances" applied exclusively to Natives should be abolished.

(7) The organisation of Native Trade Unions should be not only permitted, but assisted.

(8) There should be in every Colony a Department of Administration, whose duty should be to protect the interests of Native labour in respect of recruiting, the amount and due payment of wages, accidents, invalidity, housing and other conditions affecting the economic and social life of the worker.

(9) A general code of regulations, applicable to all tropical Colonies, should be drawn up by the International Labour Organisation, in consultation with the Mandates Commission.

TAXATION

The question of Taxation is closely connected with that of Labour. Taxes are often imposed which cannot be paid otherwise than by working for a European or Asiatic capitalist. They are not imposed in places, such as parts of West Africa (and even Somaliland), where there is no large

* In primitive communities, such as those in question, certain work, like clearing jungle paths, has to be done by each village, and the community has to have the power to see that no one shirks his share.

demand for Native labour. The Labour Party agrees with the Governor of Tanganyika that "no attempt should be made to force the Native to work for others by imposing taxation which he cannot earn the means to pay unless he leaves his district to work on the non-Native plantations" (*Colonial*, No. 19, p. 10), and, as one means of ensuring this, holds that the payment of taxes in kind, with the necessary safeguards, should be seriously considered.

In Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, where there is little opportunity for the Natives to obtain money by sale of produce, great numbers, estimated at 100,000 each year in a population of about 3,000,000, are working in South Africa or the Belgian Congo, largely in mines, in order to meet the taxation imposed upon them.

The Labour Party holds that taxation should be imposed solely for revenue purposes, and that the Natives should receive back, in direct and visible forms of Government expenditure, at least as much as they contribute in direct taxes.

EDUCATION

The Labour Party has always recognised the paramount importance of education, both in this country and in the Dependencies for which the British people are responsible. Measures to protect Natives from capitalist oppression and to improve their low standard of living, which is already a serious danger to the workers of industrialised countries, can only be of permanent value if accompanied by a training designed to aid them to attain knowledge, self-reliance and social feeling. These attainments, especially in the case of the primitive tribes of Africa and the Pacific, alone will enable them to hold their own without external aid, to repel exploitation by their own wit, to combine with workers of other countries for the improvement of their lot, and in time to take their place as free participants in a Commonwealth. The obstacles, existing in many parts of the Empire, of multitudinous languages, of ignorance of industrial technique, of inexperience of free association, must be overcome by deliberate and detailed educational schemes designed to assist even the more primitive type of Native to become a free citizen capable of efficient participation in and control of his industry and his Government.

In addition to literary and social training for both sexes, first in the vernacular and then, if that language is only used in part of the country, in some tongue giving access to modern thought which can be adopted for common purposes, there must be:—

(1) Agricultural education, notably in continuous instead of extensive cultivation, and in the use of machinery.

(2) Industrial education, training first artisans and craftsmen, then technicians.

(3) Medical and sanitary education, generally, and also the training of dispensers, nurses, and finally medical practitioners.

(4) Commercial education, directed especially towards co-operative associations and ultimately to management of external trade.

(5) Especially for adults, encouragement of free association and participation in Local and Central Government.

The broad outline of each scheme should include the following:—

(1) Primary education accessible, and as soon as possible compulsory, in the case of all children of school-going age.

(2) Training colleges for teachers.

(3) Technical institutions, with schools attached to the Hospitals, Railways, Public Works, Agricultural and other suitable Departments of Government.

(4) As and when a sufficient number of adequately educated pupils is available, University training within their own country.

(5) Adults should be given every opportunity to learn from demonstrations and at classes, managed, as far as practicable, by themselves.

Where much of this apparatus of education already exists, it should be extended and developed so as to give the fullest opportunity to all members of the community.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—THE "OPEN DOOR"

The Labour Party believes in complete equality for the trade of all nations in the markets of the non-self-governing Empire, and is opposed to any administrative discrimination against foreigners in the disposal of property or the grant of concessions. Any Imperial fiscal policy, which is based on the conception of a colony as a market or field of exploitation which may be reserved, as far as possible, for the benefit of British or Dominion traders and capitalists, regardless of Native interests, is to be deprecated, both from the standpoint of Native interests and of international political considerations.

Attempts to reserve colonial markets for the producers of the "home" country aggravate the international jealousies which arise from the unequal distribution of colonial territories.

Foreign countries are a bigger market for the produce of the non-self-governing Colonies and Protectorates than the United Kingdom and other British countries. These Colonies should have a similar freedom to buy where they may, unhindered by the trading interests of other parts of the Empire.

In 1896, it was possible for Mr. Joseph Chamberlain to boast that we offered in colonial markets "the same opportunities, the same open field to foreigners as we offer to our own subjects, and upon the same terms. . . . All other nations . . . acting, as I believe, most mistakenly in their own interests, and above all in the interests of the countries they administer . . . seek at once to secure the monopoly of their own products by preferential and artificial methods."

This boast has ceased to be true. The policy of half a century has now been reversed. After the war, with the adoption of the principle of Colonial Preference, the Colonial Office encouraged preferential rates

for British goods in the tariff schedules of the non-self-governing Colonies. Within recent years, many Colonies, which formerly gave no preference to British goods, were brought within the British preferential system.

But it is the Ottawa Agreements which have completed the process. They give to all parts of the Empire, and not only to the United Kingdom, the benefit of the preferential régime in any Colony; they also enlarge the area of discrimination against foreign traders by extending the Empire preferential schedules in most Colonies and increasing tariffs on non-Empire products. Even where Legislative Councils existed in Colonies, these Agreements were not negotiated by or with the knowledge of the legislatures.

Since the Ottawa Conference the British Colonies and Protectorates, which may and do not give preference to British goods, are now few in number, and their trade is insignificant. The British Government are even considering whether the United Kingdom should terminate the international treaties which prohibit the giving of preferences by certain very important Colonies in Africa belonging to the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, Italy, and Portugal. It is only "in the interests of British trade," says our Colonial Secretary, not out of concern for Native interests or any regard for international political considerations, that the British Government hesitates to denounce these treaties and bring the open door area in tropical Africa to an end.

The extension of the mandatory principle within the British Empire would enlarge the area of equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of all nations.

Where legislatures exist and comprise elected members, there should be no fiscal discrimination against foreigners without the consent of a majority of the elected members, and these legislatures should be directly represented in any future trade negotiations.

A Labour Government would certainly not seek to abrogate the African Treaties.

It would negotiate, on a suitable occasion, the removal of preferences given by Colonies and Protectorates in favour of other parts of the Empire, unless evidence were forthcoming that Colonial, including Native opinion, was in favour of them.

APPENDIX

The British Colonial System

The control and direction of the British Empire rest in seven partner Governments, none of which is entitled to interfere in the internal affairs of any other, and which have, in theory at least, equal voices in connection with external affairs. These are Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland and Newfoundland. The authoritative statement of their position is:—

> "They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs."
>
> (*Summary of Proceedings, Imperial Conference*, 1926, Cmd. 2768, p. 14)

Theoretically, India has a similar status. It is not dealt with here.

The constitutional link between these partners is the Monarchy, which, however, is not permitted to exercise any authority, real power residing entirely in the Ministries and Legislatures.

The conduct of Colonial Affairs is in the main left with the Government of Great Britain. Others of the partners, however, possess important Colonies; for example, New Guinea is controlled by Australia, and Zululand by South Africa. Australia, New Zealand and South Africa hold mandates, for which they are directly responsible to the League of Nations, of which they are members. In addition, several have subject populations within their borders. In the case of South Africa, the subject race greatly outnumbers the whites and Asiatics.

The Colony of Southern Rhodesia, with a population of 40,000 whites and 840,000 blacks, has self-government (by the whites), but has not yet attained full "Dominion status" (the technical term for equal partnership with Great Britain). While certain legal rights of interference on behalf of the Native population have been retained by the Government of Great Britain, no effective means exist of enforcing these rights and they cannot be regarded as of any practical effect.

In consequence of the structure of the Empire, the British Labour Party is not directly concerned with Colonies, Mandates or Subject Races under the control of the Dominions or Southern Rhodesia.

From a purely legal point of view, Dependencies of Great Britain, apart from India, are classified as follow:—

(1) *Colonies :* British territory inhabited by British subjects.

(2) *Protectorates*, which are technically foreign territory. The native inhabitants are not, and do not enjoy the rights of, British subjects. They are "British protected persons."

(3) *Protected States*, the inhabitants of which owe allegiance to a local Sovereign.

(4) *Mandated Territories.*

There are also certain territories with anomalous and ill-defined status, not regarded as parts of the British Empire, though treated in many respects as such. Egypt and Chinese concessions are examples.

This legal classification is not of much practical importance, and bears no relation to the type of government. Generally speaking, however, there is an obvious connection between the industrial and social structure of a Dependency and its political development. For these reasons, the following division is often convenient.

Dependencies with a European Culture

In the Mediterranean and West Indian Colonies, St. Helena, the Falkland Islands and Seychelles, the inhabitants are either Europeans or Europeanised Africans, speaking English or French. They are British subjects, European in culture, language, religion and industry. No question arises of "Natives."

Dependencies with an Oriental Culture

Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Malaya and Hongkong have Asiatic civilisations and are passing through the same industrial stages as their great neighbours, India and China. Mauritius, largely inhabited by Indians, but with a Creole aristocracy, is intermediate between this and the previous category. Palestine presents somewhat similar problems.

Dependencies Inhabited Mainly by Peoples of Primitive Culture

These are the African and Pacific territories which constitute the most urgent Colonial problem. They are:—

West African : Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast (with Ashanti and Northern Territory), Nigeria. The Mandated Territories of Togoland and British Cameroons are treated as parts of Gold Coast and Nigeria, respectively.

East and South African: Somaliland, The Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, Northern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland. (Control of the Sudan is exercised through the Foreign Office, not the Colonial Office.)

Pacific : Fiji, Gilbert Islands, Tonga, Solomon Islands, North Borneo, and Sarawak.

The political structure is modelled on the older forms of the British Constitution. There is a Governor (who may be termed Commissioner or Resident) appointed by "the Crown," in reality by the Minister in charge of Colonial Affairs—" the Secretary of State for the Colonies"—having under him a Civil Service, the superior members of which are appointed by the Minister, the subordinates by the Governor; an Executive Council, which the Governor is bound to consult on all important matters; and a Legislative Council which passes legislation, votes money, but without any right to initiate a vote, and has general rights of criticism, but no control over administration. In the less developed Dependencies, the Legislative Council is dispensed with, legislation being effected by Proclamations issued by the Governor. The Budgets are entirely separate from those of Great Britain, and are not brought before the British Parliament.

The degree in which the local population participates in the Government is determined partly by the composition of the Executive and Legislative Councils and partly by the extent to which powers are allowed to remain with, or are delegated to, purely Native governing bodies. The latter do not, of course, exist in the case of Dependencies with a European culture.

Membership of the Legislative Council may be:—

(1) *Official :* Usually the heads of the more important Departments of Government are members. They are bound to vote as directed by the Governor, if required.

(2) *Unofficial :* These may be either nominated or elected. Nominated members are appointed by the Governor, usually with a view to representation of capitalist or racial interests.

The Governor presides with both an original and a casting vote.

The Executive Council consists of the highest officials, sometimes with unofficial members added.

Except in a few West Indian Colonies, the Secretary of State for the Colonies has power to override the Legislature by decree, known as "Order in Council." This power is rarely used.

Dealing first with the European type of Colony, it should be noted that, while numerous, they are small, Jamaica and Trinidad being the only Colonies of this type with a population of more than 400,000. Malta has full internal self-government on Dominion lines. Three small West Indian islands possess Assemblies, wholly elected in restricted, but fairly wide, franchises which control legislation and finance. Similar Constitutions formerly existed in some other islands, but have been withdrawn.

The ancient constitution of British Guiana, which permitted some degree of self-government, was destroyed in 1928.

In Jamaica, the Legislative Council consists of six official, ten nominated and fourteen elected members, the electorate numbering 55,000 in a population of 858,000. The votes of nine of the elected members can prevail on a question of finance; and on other matters, the unanimous vote of the fourteen can only be overridden if the Governor declares that the decision is of paramount importance—a description which is interpreted so as to cover comparatively trivial matters.

In the Cyprus Council, the elected members are in a majority of fifteen to nine.

In no others are elected members in a majority, a typical case being that of Trinidad, with thirteen official, six nominated and seven elected members. There are 20,000 electors out of a total population of 411,000. Both sexes have the franchise (males at 21, females at 30), with a property or salary qualification, which is high in relation to the standard of life. Candidates for election to the Legislative Council must be of male sex and must own real estate £2,500 in value, or derive £200 per annum therefrom, or must have an income of £400 from any source.

Gibraltar and St. Helena have no Legislative Councils.

It cannot be said that any substantial advance towards self-government is taking place.

On the other hand, Dependencies with an Oriental culture have shown some slight advance.

A Special Commission was appointed by the Imperial Parliament to consider proposals for the revision of the Constitution of Ceylon. A new Constitution was promulgated in 1931. A State Council, composed of forty-six elected members, eight nominated unofficial members and three Officers of State (the Chief—former Colonial—Secretary, the Legal Secretary and the Financial Secretary), has executive and legislative functions. Seven Ministers, elected by the State Council, are each associated with a Standing Executive Committee of the State Council. The three Officers of State are also Ministers. The franchise has been extended to adults of both sexes.

In Iraq, a purely Arab country, a Native government had been organised on the lines of Constitutional Monarchy. Great Britain now recognises Iraq as an independent State in treaty alliance with Great Britain. The mandate has been terminated. On October 4, 1932, Iraq was admitted to membership of the League of Nations.

In Mauritius, there are eight official members, nine nominated members, and ten members elected by 11,366 voters in a population of nearly 400,000.

On the other hand, the Legislative Councils in Hongkong and Malaya have no real elective elements. The numerous Malay States are regarded as Protected States, but are, for the most part, governed on ordinary Colonial lines in the name of the Sultans, whose power is shadowy. Several, however, are still ruled by Sultans on Native lines with more or less British control.

Some of the Dependencies with a primitive culture are populous—for example, Nigeria with 20,000,000, the Sudan with 5,500,000, Tanganyika with 5,000,000. Usually, the Natives have no part in the Legislative and Executive Councils, and in some cases their Native systems of government have been replaced by autocratic control under the Governor. More frequently a system of "indirect government" through Native Chiefs and Councils is maintained and is the avowed policy of the British Government to support and develop Native organisations. While the methods vary enormously from place to place, it may be said that in general a tribe will have a Council of Elders or Village Chiefs, with a Chief taken from an influential family at its head. This Chief and Council will have certain magisterial powers and, subject to supervision, control over local Native affairs. Government orders to Natives will be given by them in their own names, and they will collect taxes, retaining a part for local purposes. The Chiefs of neighbouring tribes may meet as a District Council, perhaps, as in the Gold Coast and Fiji, to nominate Native Representatives on the Legislative Council of the Colony. In Nigeria and Uganda, Native Parliaments for people numbering millions have considerable powers for regulating Native affairs.

In the Sudan, where government is largely military in character and there is no Legislative Council, most of the civil administration is carried

out through Native Sheiks and Chiefs administering tribal law according to tribal custom. The Sudan, it may be observed, is nominally under the joint control of Great Britain and Egypt, but the Egyptian share in its government is limited to payment of a contribution to revenue.

One of the most developed systems is in the Gold Coast. The Natives are split up among a large number of small tribes, each of which is ruled by a Chief with a Council, selected according to Native custom. The Chief, if unsatisfactory, can be deposed by his tribe. The Chiefs in each of the three Provinces meet as a Provincial Council, at which each is attended by persons whose business it is to watch his conduct and to report on it to the Tribal Council. The Provincial Councils, which have no administrative powers, elect six members of the Legislative Council, who, in their turn, are attended by watchmen. The supervision of the Native Governments is in the hands of a number of white District Commissioners, subordinate to Provincial Commissioners who are controlled by the Governor.

The Legislative Council of the Gold Coast consists of fifteen officials, five nominated Europeans, three representatives of town Natives and six Chiefs selected as above.

The Gold Coast system is made possible by a wider spread of education than is usual in Africa, and by a general acquaintance with English, thus enabling linguistic barriers to be overcome. It is extremely difficult to organise effective Native institutions of super-tribal scope until a common language is understood and literacy is sufficiently advanced to allow of proper records and accounts. For this reason, the Labour Party presses strongly for improvement and extension of education, at present very backward in Dependencies of primitive culture.

BOOKS TO READ

Imperialism and Civilisation. Leonard Woolf. (Hogarth Press. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*)

White Capital and Coloured Labour. Lord Olivier. (Hogarth Press. Price 12*s.* 6*d.*)

The Clash of Colour, a Study in the Problem of Race. Basil Mathews. (United Council for Missionary Education. Price 2*s.*)

The League of Nations : The Mandate System. (Official Publication.) (Allen and Unwin. Price 6*d.*)

Mandates. Freda White. (Jonathan Cape. Price 3*s.* 6*d.*)

The Open Door and the Mandates System. Benjamin Gerig. (Allen and Unwin. Price 10*s.*)

Empire and Commerce in Africa. Leonard Woolf. (Hogarth Press. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*)

White and Black in Africa. J. H. Oldham. (Longmans Green. Price 2*s.*)

The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa. Sir F. Lugard. (Blackwood. Price 42*s.*)

Kenya from Within. W. McGregor Ross. (Allen and Unwin. Price 18*s.*)

A Last Chance in Kenya. Norman Leys. (Hogarth Press. Price 8*s.* 6*d.*)

The New Boer War. Leonard Barnes. (Hogarth Press. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*)

Complex South Africa. W. M. Macmillan. (Faber and Faber. Price 12*s.* 6*d.*)

The Case for West Indian Self-Government. C. L. R. James. (Hogarth Press. Price 1*s.*)

list of cols -

BRITISH COLONIES, PROTECTORATES AND TERRITORIES

Area and Population

	Area sq. miles	*Population (1931)*
EUROPE		
Gibraltar	2	21,000
Malta	122	244,000
Cyprus	3,584	348,000
	3,708	613,000
ASIA		
Aden, Perim and Protectorate	9,000	48,000
Bahrain Islands	250	120,000
Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak	77,106	775,000
Ceylon	25,332	5,313,000
Hongkong	391	840,000
Straits Settlements	1,535	1,114,000
Federated Malay States	27,648	1,713,000
Other Malay States	23,486	1,198,000
Palestine*	9,000	1,035,000
Transjordania*	26,000	275,000
	199,748	12,431,000
AFRICA		
WEST CENTRAL AFRICA		
Nigeria	335,700	19,928,000
Gold Coast, Ashanti and Northern Territories	79,000	3,121,000
Sierra Leone and Protectorate	31,000	1,542,000
Gambia	4,134	200,000
EAST CENTRAL AFRICA		
Kenya Colony and Protectorate	212,000	3,041,000
Uganda Protectorate	110,000	3,554,000
Zanzibar	1,020	235,000
Somaliland Protectorate	68,000	345,000
Nyasaland Protectorate	37,890	1,501,000
SOUTH AFRICA		
Bechuanaland Protectorate	275,000	153,000
Swaziland	6,704	113,000
Basutoland	11,716	498,000
NORTHERN RHODESIA	288,000	1,386,000
MANDATED TERRITORIES		
Cameroon	31,000	775,000
Togoland	12,600	276,000
Tanganyika Territory	365,000	5,063,000
ISLANDS		
Mauritius and Dependencies	800	393,000
St. Helena and Ascension	81	4,000
Seychelles	156	27,000
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN	1,014,000	5,606,000
	2,883,801	47,761,000

*Mandated Territories.

	Area sq. miles	*Population (1931)*
AMERICA		
Bermudas	19	28,000
Falkland Islands and South Georgia	5,618	2,000
British Guiana	89,480	311,000
British Honduras	8,598	51,000
Bahamas	4,404	60,000
Barbados	166	174,000
Jamaica, etc.	4,431	1,054,000
Leeward Islands	715	128,000
Trinidad	1,974	413,000
Windward Islands	516	174,000
	115,921	2,395,000
AUSTRALASIA		
Fiji	7,083	186,000
Pacific Islands	11,450	265,000
Nauru*	10	2,000
	18,543	453,000
Total	3,221,721	63,653,000
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	94,633	46,056,000

TRADE

	Colonies and Protectorates 1929	*Mandated Territories and Condominiums* 1929
	£	£
IMPORTS:		
From United Kingdom	61,082,000	5,231,000
,, Other British Countries	57,341,000	4,408,000
,, Foreign Countries	112,035,000	13,480,000
Total	£230,458,000	£23,119,000
EXPORTS (Domestic Produce):		
To United Kingdom	51,956,000	8,060,000
,, Other British Countries	23,034,000	2,345,000
,, Foreign Countries	109,634,000	6,911,000
Total	£184,624,000	£17,316,000
RE-EXPORTS:		
To United Kingdom	2,971,000	61,000
,, Other British Countries	15,643,000	213,000
,, Foreign Countries	26,881,000	565,000
Total	£45,495,000	£839,000

*Mandated Territories.

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All communications to be addressed
TO THE SECRETARY.

NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE,

LONDON, W.C.2.

5th February, 1937.

Rt. Hon. Lord Noel-Buxton,
18 Cowley Street,
Westminster,
S.W.1.

Dear Lord Noel-Buxton,

I thank you for your letter of the 3rd February.

I cannot, of course, speak as Secretary of this Society but my private feeling is this and I speak from administration experience in North Africa. We British have a definite responsibility to certain native races, which circumstances have placed under our trust. It would, in my opinion, be immoral to consent to any change which might weaken our capacity to fulfil that trust. A mandate must surely mean that the trust, instead of being vested in the British people, is transferred to a Committee, and I have yet to believe that the change would be beneficial to the progress of the natives concerned.

Yours sincerely,

R E H Baily

Secretary.

Cols

O #ohnaf mandate

Aden	Anguilla	Antigua	Ascension
Ashanti	Bahamas	Barbados	Barbuda
Basutoland	Bechuanaland Protectorate	British Columbia	British Guiana
British Honduras	British New Guinea	British Solomon Islands Prot.	Brunei
Caicos Islands	Cameroons	Cayman Islands	Ceylon
Cocos Islands	Cook Islands	Cyprus	Diego Garcia
Dominica	Ellice Islands	Falkland Islands	Fanning Island
Federated Malay States	Fiji	Gambia	Gibraltar
Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony	Gold Coast Colony	Grenada	Grenadines
Hong Kong	Iraq	Jamaica	Johore
Kedah	Kelantan	Kenya	Kowloon
Labrador	Labuan	Lagos	Leeward Islands
Lord Howe Island	Malacca	Malay States not in Federation	Maldives
Malta	Mauritius	Montserrat	Nauru
Negri Sembilan	Nevis	New Guinea	New Hebrides
Nigeria	Norfolk Island	North Borneo	Northern Rhodesia
Northern Territories (Gold Coast)	Nyasaland	Ocean Island	Pahang
Palestine	Papua	Penang	Perak
Perim	Perlis	Phoenix Islands	Pitcairn Island
St. Christopher and Nevis (Leeward Islands)	St. Helena	St. Lucia	St. Vincent

Order of St. Michael and St. George	Samoa	Sarawak	Selangor
Seychelles	Sierra Leone	Singapore	Socotra
Solomon Islands	Somaliland Protectorate	Sombrero	Southern Rhodesia
South West Africa	Swaziland	Tanganyika Territory	Tobago
Togoland	Tokelau	Tonga Islands	Trengganu
Trinidad	Tristan da Cunha	Turks and Caicos Islands	Uganda
Virgin Islands	Weihaiwei	Western Samoa	Windward Islands
Zanzibar			

New Hebrides

Soudan

8 February 1937.

THE LABOUR PARTY RESEARCH DEPARTMENT.

VALUE OF TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH BRITISH COLONIES & PROTECTORATES.

Year.	Imports into the United Kingdom from Colonies and Protectorates.	United Kingdom Domestic Exports to Colonies and Protectorates.
	£'000	£'000
1929.	55,144	60,971
1930.	41,466	50,976
1931.	27,893	39,213
1932.	28,979	38,702
1933.	31,048	34,940
1934.	40,966	35,474
1935.	43,789	42,596

(Statistical Abstract for the British Empire.)

SECTION 11

A

ACCESS TO RAW MATERIALS

One of the claims of the dissatisfied powers appears to be this: (1) that it is necessary for the existence of a highly developed industrial country to hold political control over the territories from which at least a fair proportion of its raw materials are derived; (2) that the satisfied powers are in this position, while the dissatisfied are not. There are thus two contentions to be examined: one, a theoretical one, about the necessity of controlling certain territories for economic reasons, and the other, a statistical one about the actual facts of trade in the contemporary world. Examination of the first claim does not necessarily depend on the results of examining the second. The theoretical claim to possess territories may be valid or invalid whatever the statistical facts. Nevertheless it is probably best to survey the facts in outline first and then consider the question of economic or psychological justification.

There are all sorts of ways in which world trade in raw materials could be analysed, with the present purpose in view. The Economist recently adopted the method of dividing the world into six areas: (1) British Empire, (2) French Empire, (3) Dutch Empire, (4) U.S.A. (5) U.S.S.R. and (6) the rest of the world, and then ascertaining what proportion of the world's supply of raw materials is produced in each area. The results of this enquiry are shown in the following tables: the first shows the proportions of land and population, which may in a sense be regarded as raw materials:-

1. Area and Population of the World

	Area in '000 Sq. Kilometres		Population	
	Total	%	Total in '000's	%
British Empire and Egypt ...	35,597	27	511,612	25
French Empire.....	12,540	9	86,110	4
Dutch Empire.....	2,080	2	69,258	3
U.S.A. and Dependencies.....	9,682	7	140,632	7
U.S.S.R.....	21,274	16	168,000	8
Rest of World.....	51,766	39	1,069,040	53
Of which:(a) Belgian Empire	2,469	1.9	21,283	1.1
(b) Portuguese "	2,187	1.6	15,519	0.8
(c) Spanish "	837	0.6	25,005	1.3
World Total.....	132,940	100	2,044,651	100

And the second shows the division of actual raw materials:-

Distribution of the World's Raw Material Production

Commodity and Measure	Total World Production	Percentage of World Production falling to					
		British Empire and Egypt	French Empire	Dutch Empire	U.S.A. and Dependencies	USSR	Rest of World
Cereals, etc.							
Wheat[1] mill, quintals	1,312	23.4	9.1	0.3	10.9	21.2	35.1
Barley[2] ..... "	379	14.6	10.3	0.3	6.9	17.8	50.1
Maize[1] ..... "	1,100	5.9	1.4	1.4	55.0	4.3	32.0
Soya bean '000 quintals	67,870[6]	Nil	Nil	2.7	4.7	1.5	91.1
Vegetable oils[1] "	13,550[5]	20.6	12.4	9.7	Nil	Nil	57.3
Coffee[2] "	24,980[5]	2.1	0.9	4.4	1.2	Nil	91.4
Cocoa[3] "	5,800[7]	55.0	12.4	0.3	0.2	Nil	32.1
Copra[1] "	16,260[5]	25.0	2.3	34.2	34.6	Nil	3.9
Groundnuts[1] "	60,700	62.8	14.1	3.8	6.8	Nil	12.5
Linseed[2] "	36,000	8.6	0.5	0.1	3.7	21.7	65.4
Textiles, Rubber							
Cotton[4] '000 quintals	51,000	20.4	0.2	Nil	49.2	7.1	19.1
Wool[1] '000 metric tons	1,659	50.9	3.5	0.1	12.3	3.8	29.4
Jute[1] '000 quintals	14,605[7]	99.5	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	0.5
Rubber[2] '000 metric tons	1,031	58.0	1.9	37.2	Nil	...	2.9
Minerals, Metals, etc.							
Coal[2] mill. metric tons	1,100	25.4	4.5	1.2	34.4	8.5	26.0
Lignite[2] "	178	3.7	0.6	0.1	Nil	Nil	95.6
Petroleum[2] "	206	1.8	Nil	2.9	59.8	11.7	23.8
Iron Ore[2] "	116	10.0	29.0	0.0	22.1	18.8	20.1
Copper (content)[1] '000 metric"	1,050	29.8	Nil	Nil	16.8	3.0	50.4
Nickel (content)[1] " "	45	94.3	Nil	Nil	0.2	2.2	3.3
Tin ore[2] " "	122	43.1	1.0	16.4	Nil	Nil	39.5
Lead (content)[1] " "	1,180	44.5	0.7	Nil	21.2	1.1	32.5
Zinc[2] " "	1,185	34.8	0.6	Nil	29.8	1.7	33.1
Chrome ore[1] " "	409	33.5	Nil	Nil	0.2	27.5	38.8
Sulphur (content)[1] " "	2,830	4.8	3.0	Nil	3.9	Nil	88.3
Manganese ore[1] " "	1,751	30.4	0.4	0.6	2.2	59.3	7.1
Pyrites[1] " "	6,592	4.1	2.9	Nil	4.4.	3.6	85.0
Bauxite[2] " "	1,137	3.9	46.5	9.2	14.1	Nil	26.3
Potash[2] " "	1,910	0.2	19.8	Nil	6.9	Nil	73.1
Precious Metals							
Gold[1] '000 kilos	794	64.7	1.0	0.4	10.3	11.1	12.5
Silver[1] "	5,667	18.5	0.2	0.5	12.8	...	68.0

[1] 1933; [2] 1934; [3] 1933-34; [4] 1934-35; [5] Production or exports; [6] Production or net exports; [7] Shipments.

It will be seen from these two tables that the British Empire actually comprises ¼ of the land and population of the world. The largeness of the population might be held to justify the spaciousness of the land, if the population were not mostly in India and the land mostly in Canada and Australia.

Secondly it is clear that the British Empire is the only political unit which controls a substantial proportion of the output of more than one or 2 of the 32 commodities. The only cases in which any other of the units control more than 50 per cent of the output of any commodity are maize and petroleum, of which the U.S.A. control 55% and 60% respectively; and manganese ore, of which the U.S.S.R. controls 59%. The British Empire on the other hand, controls 55% of world output of cocoa. 63% of groundnuts, 51% of wool 99.5% of jute, 58% of rubber, 94% of nickel, 65% of gold, and over 40% of tin and lead. On the other hand, it produces practically no maize, coffee, lignite, petroleum or sulphur. On the whole, however, it is true to say that the British Empire is in a much stronger position than any other political unit, as far as the political control of essential raw materials is concerned.

The above tables do not distinguish between the United Kingdom and the Dominions and Colonies. It may therefore be worth while supplementing it, first, by taking the United Kingdom's raw material imports and seeing from what sources they come, and secondly, by examining the imports of Germany and Italy in the same way. If we divide Great Britain's imports of each one of several important raw materials into three classes (I) imports from the Colonies, (II) imports from the Dominions and (III) imports from foreign countries, we get the following results: (India is counted as a Dominion and Ceylon as a Colony):-

British Imports in £000, 1934

	Colonies	Dominions	Foreign Countries
Wheat	-	17,287	10,332
Tea	220	24,511	3,076
Non-ferrous metals	1,856	2,093	6,277
Raw Cotton	2,792	3,288	30,901
Raw Wool	-	31,240	6,346
Rubber	9,144	191	2,404
Oil	1,807	593	28,448

It will be seen that, in the case of these seven commodities, the Colonies are much the least important of the three classes of countries. No wheat or wool came from them at all, and practically no tea, flax, hemp or jute. Only in rubber were the Colonies of dominant importance. The Dominions, on the other hand, are practically as big suppliers as the whole class of foreign countries. It is accordingly evident that if the British Empire were to be divided up in order to furnish the dissatisfied powers with important sources of raw materials, a mere share-out of the Colonies would not be enough.

Whence on the other hand, do Italy and Germany now get their raw materials? The following table shows the amount of eight separate commodities imported by Italy from certain leading suppliers in 1934.

Italian Imports 1934 (Million lire)

Wheat	U.S.A 89.4		Hungary 28.6			Total 185.6
Cotton and Cotton goods	U.S.A. 454.9	Germany 25.0	Egypt 138.8	India 108.8		Total 790.6
Wool and Woollen Goods	U.K. 100.7	Germany 28.4	Argentine 82.4	S.Africa 56.3	Austral. ?	Total 615
Iron and Steel Goods	Germany 85.5	France 89.7	U.S.A 41.8	France 89.7		Total 362.7
Coal	Germany 360.1	U.K. 297.9		Poland 71.4		Total 775.4
Oil	Roumania 78.2	U.S.S.R. 53.6		U.S.A 62.5		Total 297.4
Wood and Timber	Austria 54.1	U.S.A. 40.1		Jugo-Slav 101.1	USSR 34.5	Total 271.9
Copper	Germany 18.3	U.S.A. 39.8				Total 156.5

This table seems to show that in practically no cases do Italy's supplies of raw materials come from colonial territories controlled by other Imperialist Powers. In fact they come almost entirely from other sovereign states. If we regard the British Dominions as sovereign states, the only cases in which Italy imports raw materials in large quantities from territories which can by any stretch of imagination be called colonial, are cotton, which comes fairly heavily from Egypt and India, and copper, which comes partly from Portugese East Africa.

The chief countries from which Germany imported food and raw materials were as follows in 1934:-

German Imports 1934 (1,000 marks)

Food and Drink	Denmark 62,611	Italy 93,321	Holland 140,516	Spain 63,147	TOTAL
		U.S.A. 148,870			1,066,873
Raw Materials and Semi-Manufactures.	Belguim and Luxemburg 89,944	France 102,611	U.K. 110,400	Italy 54,650	Holland 79,973
	Norway 55,945	Sweden 95,360	U.S.S.R. 150,799	British and S.Africa 59,491	India 104,506
	China 106,458	Dutch E. Indies 114,195	U.S.A. 278,968	Argentine 124,955	TOTAL 2,600,346

Here again it will be seen that a very small proportion of imported raw materials comes from colonial territories.

Japan's imports of raw materials may be analysed in detail as follows:-

Japanese Imports in 1934 (in 000 yen)

Raw cotton	U.S.A. 400,919	India 252,435	China 15,693	Egypt 39,787	Total 731,425
Wool	Australia 159,241	S.Africa 5,781	Argentine 7,553		Total 186,455
Wheat	Australia 22,033	Canada 8,120	U.S. 9,869		Total 40,749
Coal	Manchuria 30,554	French Indo-China 7,106	China 6,818	U.S.S.R. 2,670	Total 47,193
Mineral Oil	Dutch E. Indies 18,717	U.S. 10,107			Total 33,684
Rubber	Straits Settlements 37,818	Dutch E. Indies 14,384			Total 57,338
Flax, Hemp, & Jute	Phillippines 10,914	China 10,170	India 4,884		Total 27,462
Ores (Iron, zinc, etc.)	Straits Settlements 8,743	China 6,804	India 2,356		Total 27,806

Colonial territories appear a little more frequently among the sources of Japan's raw materials than Italy's or Germany's but they are still relatively unimportant. The conclusions of this brief factual survey seem to be:

(I) That if the various sovereign States of the British Empire are regarded as a political unit, they do control an important share of certain raw material sources.

(II) That Great Britain herself does not draw her raw materials mainly from Colonial Territories.

(III) That the dissatisfied Powers do not, except in a few cases, draw the bulk of their raw materials from Colonial Territories under the control of other powers.

(IV) That consequently whatever the merits of those Powers' claims to sources of raw materials, they cannot in fact be satisfied by an exchange of Colonial Territories.

The claim to access to raw materials may now be considered on its economic and psychological merits. It may either refer to access during war or access during peace: and the problem raised in the two cases are quite different.

I. During War. In the world of collective security which we wish to establish, it is not desirable to enable aggressors to secure raw materials. It is desirable to prevent them. It is consequently only necessary to consider the accessibility of raw materials to the aggressee. What possibility is there of a nation declared the aggressor by the League being able to prevent the aggressee from obtaining raw materials? The ability to do so will depend not on political control of colonies but on command of the sea and perhaps air. And as we can, for this purpose, limit ourselves to the case in which either Germany, Italy or Japan is the aggressee nation, b blockaded by the aggressor, the improbability of the whole conception becomes apparent. What likelihood is there that China, having invaded Japan in defiance of the League, will be able to cut off Japanese imports of raw materials? Or that Abyssinia will successfully blockade Italy? Or that Austria, having triumphantly invaded Germany will secure so undisputed a cammond of the North Sea and the Baltic as to deprive her of essential imports?

More probable contingencies than these may possibly be imagined. Since, however, Great Britain and America are the only Powers capable of blockading Germany or Japan by sea, the issue resolves itself into the question whether Great Britain and America are likely to levy a war of aggression on Germany, Italy or Japan. Only if this is likely is there any logical basis for complaint by the dissatisfied Powers that they may be illegitimately deprived of raw materials in a world of collective security. Logic, however, would not satisfy "the great carnivores", as they have been called. They want flesh. They do not believe in collective security and they secretly, or at any rate, in the back of their minds, contemplate themselves as aggressors. Whether in these circumstances they ought ought to be satisfied, is not an easy question to answer. It depends on whether we want justice or peace.

During Peace. The complaint of inaccessibility to raw materials during peace is wholly different. In general it is of course fair to say that the difficulty of raw materials in the world to-day is not to buy them but to sell them. The producers of every country in the world are longing, one might almost say dying, to sell their goods to anyone who will pay the market price. And they are likely to continue to do so as long as peace is preserved.

To this general truth, however, there are certain exceptions, which may be classified under the following three headings:

(i) Discriminatory export taxes.

(ii) Monetary Difficulties.

(iii) Restriction schemes.

(i) Discriminatory taxes on the export of raw materials from Colonies have been known to be imposed by the ruling Imperialist Power. This device, however, has been too rare to be of real importance; and it does not seem to have ever been practised by the British Empire. The recent tax imposed by the Dutch Government on exports of rubber from the Dutch East Indies is not discriminatory, and is supposedly designed to prevent over-production*. Discriminatory export taxes, however, are obviously vicious in principle, if rare in practise; and an international guarantee by Imperialist Powers not to indulge in them might at least be a valuable gesture.

(ii) Monetary Difficulties

Dr. Schacht has complained that Germany is unable to buy raw material imports because she has not the foreign exchange to purchase in the sterling area. This complaint needs rather careful examination. The reasons why Germany has not the necessary foreign exchange is that she cannot export sufficiently heavily: and the reason for this is partly foreign protectionism and partly the devaluation of sterling. It is easy to retort to Dr. Schacht that Germany's difficulties are of her own making; that if she had had the sense, like the British Empire and most of the raw-material producing countries, to devalue her currency, she would have been able to import just as easily as anyone else; and that if she persists in pursuing an eccentric monetary policy, based on peculiar political and psychological motives, and condemned by almost every economist in the world, she should not blame other people for the consequences.

There is much force in this retort. But it does not dispose of the matter entirely. It would of course be absurd to pretend that in the long run a country can secure more imports by any devices of monetary policy. In the long run, imports must be paid for by exports, whether they come from France, Abyssinia, Australia or the moon. Moreover, Dr. Schacht often defends Germany's perverse monetary policy on the very ground that it enables her to buy more raw materials in the short run. If the mark were devalued, Dr. Schacht constantly affirms, Germany's ability to buy raw materials would suffer. Yet if this were the whole truth, Germany

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*Of course, if a Power having a monopoly of some raw material in its Colonies levied a heavy export tax for revenue, there might be cause for grievance. But the possibility is almost purely hypothetical.

must have become more favoured, and not less, than Great Britain as a purchaser of raw materials, in consequence of the devaluation of sterling. Indeed Germany's present predicament is in some respects little more than a pointed proof that you cannot secure more imports by holding your currency above its true economic value.

In fact Dr. Schacht would probably admit in private that Germany could both import and export more easily if the mark was devalued and free. She cannot devalue it however, for various sentimental reasons. Now if we accept, as we must, the reality of the German conviction that the mere satisfaction of believing (erroneously) that the mark has a certain gold value and that cost of living is being kept down, is worth years of economic suffering, then we must admit that Germany is prevented by the ubiquity of sterling from the simultaneous pleasure of feeling this satisfaction and purchasing all the imports she might. If, in fact, it is believed necessary for internal non-economic reasons to pursue a certain monetary policy, then it is certainly an advantage in the short run to have political power to impose that monetary policy on those countries with whom one trades. It may be pointed our, however, that not merely the Colonies, where Great Britain had political control, followed Britain in depreciating their currencies. The Dominions, Scandinavia, S.Africa, and about three quarters of the world did the same thing independently and in their own interests.

(iii) Restrictive Schemes.

International schemes for the restriction of raw material production are undoubtedly of great importance. There are restriction schemes in force to-day affecting the following commodities: tin, rubber, tea, copper, lead, tinplates, wheat, sugar, jute and nitrate. Of these schemes, those affecting tin, rubber, tea and jute are enforced by Government powers. The most famous of restriction schemes was of course the Stevenson Rubber Scheme, organised by the British Government and the Colonial Governments of Ceylon and Malaya. This scheme, started in 1923, raised the price of rubber to fantastic heights, infuriated American purchasers, led to world over-production of rubber, and was abandoned five years later to the accompaniment of a calamitous fall in prices. The tin scheme was initiated by the British, Dutch and Bolivian Governments in 1934. It reduced production and raised prices to a point at which they were alleged to be 200 or 300 per cent. above the potential costs of the most efficient producers. Government powers were used to prevent the natives from producing. There were also protests from foreign countries, including a Government enquiry in America; and the existence of private speculative pools, personally associated with the official controlling committee, were frequently alleged. The rigour of the scheme has now been relaxed in deference to public opinion.

It would probably be a mistake to condemn all international restriction schemes as such. In some circumstances over-production of particular commodities certainly occurs and may be prevented with advantage. And, even where restriction is carried beyond the point necessary to correct genuine over-production, restricting countries do not discriminate against foreign purchasers.

The British and Dutch tin control exploited British, Dutch and foreign consumers with undiscriminating fervour. Nevertheless, whereas losses are fairly disturbed all round, the gains accrue to the restricting countries only. A restriction scheme which thus extorts monopolistic profits is obviously unjustifiable. Its existence provides a non-participatory power with a genuine grievance and it may well become a cause of serious international friction.

What is the remedy? It has been suggested that the countries of the League should sign a convention in which each country undertakes that a place will be given to consuming countries on the controlling body of any future restriction scheme. The adoption of this plan would at least be a step forward: it presents many difficulties in itself: and it is hard to conceive of any more effective alternative. The plan would probably have to be limited to schemes in which Government powers were involved. Otherwise a Government would have no power to enforce its observance on monopolists trading in its country. Some schemes would be left out as a result of this provision; but they could only be brought in if radical alteration were made in the laws of many countries, the United States, for instance. Moreover it would seem necessary to limit it to schemes in which more than Government was participating. If the British Government cartelises the coal industry, for instance, or the United States Government the cotton industry, it is not likely that representatives of importing countries would be allowed on the Board of Control. Any such suggestion would probably prevent the adoption of the plan as a whole. It may be objected that a minority of consumers' representatives will always be voted down on a committee of international monopolists. This may be so. But it is better to have a weak safeguard than none. Consumers' representatives would form a focus for the sort of public opinion that has succeeded, though, at long last, in bringing the tin control to their senses.

In general, therefore, in so far as the dissatisfied powers have a legitimate claim to access to raw materials during peace time, it seems that it must be met by ensuring a supply free from discriminatory or monopolistic practices rather than by any exchange of territories. The claim to greater access to raw materials during war only seems to have substance in so far as the dissatisfied powers are right in contemplating the probability, either that they themselves may become the aggressor, or that the system of collective security may collapse.

MANDATES

(With particular reference to Tanganyika)

anti f. p 5.

Issued by the Joint East African Board.
November, 1936.

INTRODUCTION.

In this country we all know that a great Empire is our inheritance, but we do not often stop to think of our responsibilities. We hear in these days that Germany wants to have back the colonial territories she surrendered to the Allies at the end of the War. And in justice and fair-mindedness, remembering the vast extent of the British Empire, we might think that we could well part with a few hundred thousand square miles ; in other words, that we could afford to be generous.

This raises the whole question of Imperialism, and we realise at once that the old conception of Imperialism, as far as Great Britain is concerned, is out of date. In this country whether we are Conservatives, Socialists or Liberals, we are not filled with a desire to add vast areas to our Empire. It may be said that is because we already have so much. It is true that the British Commonwealth—the Dominions, Colonies and Dependencies—cover a quarter of the world's area, but that same area is inhabited by a quarter of the world's population.

It is the question of the population, not of areas, which concerns us now. The new conception of Imperialism is the maintenance of peace and harmony between the members of the Empire, and the welfare of the Empire's inhabitants, of whatever race or colour. In our Dependencies, for which we are entirely responsible, we have adopted in practice a principle of trusteeship on behalf of the backward races who, if our protection and guidance were removed, would perhaps return to primitive conditions, or become a prey of the outside world. The very name " Protectorate "—Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Uganda Protectorate, Nyasaland Protectorate, the South African Protectorates—indicates the idea of the new Imperialism. And it should be remembered that in many cases a British Protectorate was established at the request of the inhabitants. They put themselves under British protection, and they have the right to all the security that we can give them.

How then could we agree to place the lives and fortunes of these peoples in the hands of an alien Power ? No matter how far-reaching might be the assurances or undertakings given by such a Power, how could we accept them without breaking faith with these weaker peoples for whom we are trustees ?

Supposing that we did surrender these peoples, not out of fair-mindedness —for that would be impossible if we considered their welfare—but out of a desire to ease the situation in Europe and to satisfy the demands of Germany. In eastern Africa, for instance, by the surrender of the Mandate for Tanganyika, the result would be a German wedge driven

between Kenya Colony, Uganda Protectorate, and the British territories in the south. Already the Italian occupation of Abyssinia has established Italian domination north of Kenya, and with Germany on her southern borders, the position of that Colony and of Uganda would be jeopardised.

These arguments would seem to impute warlike motives to other Powers, but while we all hope that such motives would never prevail, we must at least consider their possibility.

Let us help Germany economically and financially by every right and reasonable means, but do not let us surrender the peoples in our charge or imperil the security of the Empire and its peoples as a whole.

The text which follows gives an account of the history of the establishment of Mandates at the end of the War, and their connexion with the Peace Treaties and with the Covenant of the League of Nations. A summary of the German claim for the return of her former Colonial territories is given, and the Memorandum concludes with a statement of the British case. The Appendices contain a reprint of Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant, a copy of the actual Mandate for Tanganyika, and official statistics relating to all Mandates. A Map of Africa is included, showing also the Empire Air and Sea Routes which would be vitally affected by any change of Mandate.

MANDATES.

(With particular reference to Tanganyika).

At a time when the world, although longing for peace and security is at the same time preparing for war, an impression exists in some quarters that harmony among nations might be secured by the return to Germany of some of the Colonies which she surrendered at the end of the Great War.

These Colonies are now held under Mandate. This Memorandum has been prepared to explain the meaning of the term and the actual position of the countries concerned. It refers in general terms to all the Territories held under Mandate, but since the Mandated Territory of Tanganyika is of special interest to the Joint East African Board, that Territory has been selected as a particular example.

TREATY OF VERSAILLES.

Under Article 119 of the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919, the former German Colonies were surrendered to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers by whom they were allocated to some of their number, mainly to those countries which had spent blood and treasure in conquering them. This was done on the understanding that they were to be administered not for the purpose of selfish exploitation but in the interests of the populations concerned.

Similarly, by Article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne (signed July 24, 1922), Turkey ceded Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, and the communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire were provided for under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 119 simply states: "Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her oversea possessions."

It is important to point out that the Mandates were conferred, not by the League of Nations, but by the Allied and Associated Powers and, as will appear later, the League of Nations has no sovereignty over the Territories concerned.

COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

As the Turkish and German Territories which were surrendered to the Allies varied considerably in their degree of civilisation and development, different forms of Government were necessary. Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations (which is given in full in Appendix I) attempts to define these differences, and in pursuance of these definitions the Mandates were defined as A, B, and C, the A Mandate comprising Iraq, Syria and Palestine (App. I, 4); the B Mandate the Central African countries (App. 1, 5); and the C Mandate countries such as South-West Africa and the Pacific Islands (App. I, 6).

The Mandate for Iraq, formerly held by Great Britain, was surrendered with the consent of the League of Nations, and in 1932 Iraq became a Member of the League on condition that she accepted certain pledges, and in view of her Treaty with Great Britain.

FORM OF MANDATE.

Each Mandate begins with a careful delimitation of boundaries, and then defines the duties of the Mandatory. Those relating to Tanganyika are set out in Appendix II, and though there are variations in the different Mandates the principal duties include the following:

The Mandatory

(1) Should have full powers of legislation and administration;
(2) Should not establish military or naval bases or organise any native military force except for police and defence of the Territory;
(3) Should provide for the eventual emancipation of all slaves;
(4) Should give the nationals of all States Members of the League of Nations the same rights in every respect as those enjoyed by its own nationals;
(5) Should ensure freedom of conscience and worship.

Under Article 11 the Mandatory was bound to make an annual report to the Council of the League of Nations containing full information concerning the measures taken to comply with the provisions of the Mandate.

To deal with such annual reports and questions arising in connexion with Mandated Territories, the League of Nations set up a Permanent Mandates Commission at Geneva.

This Commission originally consisted of 9 members, the majority of whom were nationals of non-Mandatory Powers. Members are appointed by the Council of the League and are selected for their personal merits and competence. The number was later increased to 10, and in 1927 to 11, to permit the appointment of a member of German nationality, but when Germany withdrew from the League of Nations she ceased to participate in the work of the Mandates Commission. Japan, however, although she has also left the League of Nations, still holds her Mandate, reports thereon to the League, and one of her nationals serves on the Mandates Commission.

The League of Nations which, it must be emphasised, has no sovereignty over the Mandated Territories, thus acts as a supervisor to see that the terms of the Mandates are fulfilled. It has no power to punish a Mandatory which does not carry out the terms, or to transfer a Mandate to any other country. There is no provision (either in the Peace Treaty or the Covenant of the League of Nations) for renunciation by a Mandatory of a B or C Mandate which it has accepted as part of a treaty.

In effect, each Mandatory has always administered its respective Mandate as if it were an ordinary possession or Colony, subject only to the terms of the Mandate generally, and the submission of an annual report to the Mandates Commission at Geneva.

MANDATED TERRITORIES.

In order to show the position in various countries held under Mandate short particulars of each are set out in Appendix III. While such particulars have been taken from official sources, comparisons between 1913 and 1935 can only be approximate as regards area, owing to new surveys, and as regards trade figures, owing to changes in currency values at different dates and under different conditions.

It will be seen from the Appendix that vast areas and large populations would be affected by any redistribution of the Mandates. Speaking generally, it may be assumed that when inhabitants, however uncivilised, have become used to a form of government and administration under which great benefits have been conferred upon them, they would be opposed to a change involving a different conception of trust, and different methods adopted for their advancement.

The matter of Colonial possessions was tentatively raised in March, 1936, in the " Peace Proposals " put forward by Herr Hitler when he asked that the question of Colonial equality should " within a reasonable time be clarified by friendly discussion." Since that time considerable propaganda under the official auspices of the National-Socialist Party has been disseminated in Germany, and culminated in the question of Colonial expansion forming one of the chief subjects at the Party Rally at Nuremberg in September. It is therefore essential that both sides of this question should be dispassionately examined.

THE GERMAN CLAIM.

It is suggested in Germany that she surrendered her Colonies in the belief that when the final peace terms were arrived at her Colonies would not be included, in view of one of President Wilson's Fourteen Points which declared that " Peoples and Provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereign to sovereign as if they were chattels or pawns in the game."

It is further suggested, as mentioned above, that her Colonies were taken by the Allies, not as war conquest but because Germany was unfit to govern Colonies. Whatever may be the motives behind the action of the Powers at the time of the Peace Treaty, or whatever may be contained in the correspondence bound up with the Treaty, there is nothing in the Peace Treaty itself to indicate the reasons for the surrender to the Powers of the German Colonies, and it would seem at this date unnecessary to go beyond the actual terms of the Peace Treaty. It also seems a fruitless matter to discuss whether Germany is or is not a suitable State to administer native populations in various parts of the world. The fact that in 1926 Germany was admitted a Member of the League of Nations would appear to qualify her as a Mandatory Power.

Other arguments put forward by Germany may be summarised as follows :—

(1) *Outlet for her Surplus Population.*

The present density of population per square mile of the principal countries in Europe is as follows :—

Belgium	702
Great Britain	468
Germany	366
Italy	358
France	192

Should the Mandated Territories be required as homes for surplus European populations it should be emphasised that all nationals of

States Members of the League of Nations enjoy the same rights of entry into and residence in Mandated Territories, but the great majority of Mandated Territories are admittedly not suitable for the settlement of large numbers of white populations.

Before the War there were in German East Africa, now Tanganyika, only 5,336 Germans. As will be seen from Appendix III, there are in Tanganyika now only 8,455 Europeans, of whom about 3,000 are Germans.

In Kenya, after thirty years of colonisation, there are only 17,500 Europeans ; in Uganda there are only 2,000 ; and in Southern Rhodesia, though in the temperate zone, the white population only amounts to 52,950. The above figures include officials and their families.

These instances from countries more or less adjacent to Tanganyika are sufficient to dispel the idea that Germany would be able to utilise Tanganyika (or any of her former Colonies) as outlets for any appreciable number of her surplus population, and it must be borne in mind that these countries are already inhabited by an increasing native population.

(2) *Economic Necessity.*

Germany represents that as a result of the development of modern scientific methods Colonies can produce a wealth of raw materials which are absolutely vital to her existence. In other words, she asks for a ready access to raw materials and foodstuffs produced in her former Colonies, and for a market for her manufactured goods. This, at first sight, seems to be reasonable, until it is realised that there is freedom of trade in all A and B Mandated Territories, and that in such Territories France or Britain, for instance, have not imposed and could not impose a tariff giving preference to French or British goods as against the goods of States Members of the League of Nations. Similarly, it is impossible to prevent a German or any other national from engaging in any form of trade or business. In practice, in these Territories all are equal. The nationals of any country can buy what they require from any Mandated Territory. The producers in tropical countries are only too anxious to find markets for their products.

It is interesting to find that in the years 1933–35 Germany actually bought £1,080,561 worth of products from East Africa, whereas she sold to East Africa £1,429,415 worth, showing a trade sterling balance of £348,854 in her favour. East Africa is in the Conventional Basin of the Congo which is a free trade area. As regards Tanganyika alone, the position is that in 1933 the trade balance was in favour of Tanganyika, but in 1934 and 1935, the trade balance in favour of Germany amounted to £67,638. While Germany would no doubt prefer to control Colonies of her own, where German currency would be utilised to purchase raw materials, it may be noted that Dr. Goebbels has described coal, iron, mineral-oil and cotton as four of the " basic materials of modern industry." Yet the combined output of the Colonial areas of all nations does not amount at present to more than 4 per cent. of the world's supplies of these basic commodities. Cotton is the only one of these four commodities produced in Tanganyika on an economic basis, and at present in comparatively small quantities.

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THE BRITISH CASE.

The British case can be summarised as follows :—

(1) *The Population of the Territories Concerned.*

Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations opens with the statement that " to those colonies and territories . . . which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation." This Article lays down also " that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion." In accepting the Mandate for Tanganyika (for example), Great Britain became entrusted with these solemn undertakings. In Tanganyika there is religious liberty for all races and creeds. The Mandate principle of Trusteeship has become established by which Britain administers her Colonies and Protectorates, as well as her Mandated Territories, as trustee for all the inhabitants, the objective being to guide and direct the advancement of these native populations over a period of many years until they become capable of assuming a measure of responsibility in their own government.

Great Britain has held the Mandate for Tanganyika for nearly as long as it was a German Colony. Since 1919 the Territory has been administered and gradually developed under the system known as " Indirect Rule," with the object of training the natives to " stand alone " at some distant date, as prescribed by the Mandate. The proposal to transfer to any other country the fulfilment of this task would be accounted an abandonment of the pledge undertaken by Great Britain.

There is abundant and reliable evidence to show that those who speak with authority for the native population, the Indian community, and European residents, other than some of German nationality, would strongly oppose any transfer of this Territory from administration by Britain. It is significant that Christian Missions, organised by different nations, have become much alarmed by the rumours regarding a possible transfer, which might curtail religious liberty.

To the inhabitants of Tanganyika, through the Legislative Council at its First Session in 1926, and in particular to the native population throughout the Territory, the Governor gave repeated assurances that the Mandate was irrevocable, and stated that he gave this pledge with the full authority of His Majesty's Government.

(2) *Economic and Financial Considerations.*

Although power is given in the Mandate for Tanganyika (Article 10) for Great Britain to constitute the Territory into an administrative union or federation with the adjacent territories, provided that the measures adopted do not infringe the provisions of the Mandate, this step has not yet been taken, but the economic advancement of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika has been much enhanced in recent years by the expansion of inter-colonial trade, and these Territories have now a single Postal Union, Customs and Railway Agreements, and a common policy in administrative and technical services through a Governors' Conference. A severance of existing inter-state and economic relationships and the erection of

customs barriers between them would have adverse repercussions on all sections of the community.

In Tanganyika the British and other non-native inhabitants have to a great extent been responsible for agricultural development on a large scale and for the progress of the mining industry, and it is estimated have invested nearly £20,000,000 in the Territory. They have done so in the belief and in view of definite Ministerial assurances that Tanganyika is, to all intents and purposes, part of the British Empire. Such investors, and particularly those who have settled in the territory, would almost certainly be placed in an intolerable position if the administration passed into the hands of another Power with a different, and perhaps unstable currency and, it might be, a preferential leaning to its own nationals.

In addition to the above, the British Government or British investors, either directly or by means of loans guaranteed by the British Treasury, have given or lent to the Government of Tanganyika Territory nearly £9,500,000.

(3) *Security and Defence.*

A glance at the accompanying Map shows that Tanganyika occupies approximately the centre of eastern Africa. Nowadays territories are vulnerable to attack by air as well as by land and sea. Hostile aircraft from Tanganyika could sever our air communications between this country and South Africa, menace the great towns of our African Dominions and Colonies (such as Johannesburg, Salisbury, Nairobi and Mombasa), inflict damage on public works such as ports, railways, etc., and hamper the production of gold and copper (which are required for the purposes of war as well as of peace) from the mines of Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo.

Similarly, a hostile fleet established on the Tanganyika coast would be a menace on the flank of our communications with India, Australia and the Far East, as well as a danger to the whole trade of South and East Africa.

It would therefore be necessary to provide fortified defences not only in East Africa, but in the Union of South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia. The taxpayers of this Dominion and self-governing Colony would have to bear heavy additional capital and recurrent expenditure if Tanganyika were in the hands of any Power other than Great Britain, while British taxpayers would also be affected since it would be necessary to increase the British Fleet in order to have superiority of sea power in the Indian Ocean. The provision of adequate methods of protection would introduce elements of insecurity unthought of at the present time, when the military forces of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, and Zanzibar total six skeleton battalions of the King's African Rifles, provided only to maintain internal law and order; naval defences are practically non-existent; and air defences did not exist until a few machines of the Royal Air Force had to be provided to patrol the Kenya-Ethiopia border.

The policy of the British Empire is to secure the peace of the world, and no other conclusion is possible than that a redistribution of the Mandates in Africa, instead of bringing peace, would lead to greater armaments and to opportunities for disputes which would extend far beyond the confines of Europe.

APPENDIX I.

Mandate Articles of the League of Nations Covenant.

Article 22.

(1) To those colonies and territories, which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

(2) The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

(3) The character of the Mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

(4) Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

(5) Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases, and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of the territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

(6) There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

(7) In every case of Mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

(8) The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

(9) A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates.

APPENDIX II.

Duties of Mandatory Power (Great Britain) as Defined in the Mandate for Tanganyika.

Article 3. The Mandatory shall be responsible for the peace, order and good government of the territory, and shall undertake to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of its inhabitants. The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and administration.

Article 4. The Mandatory shall not establish any military or naval bases, nor erect any fortifications, nor organise any native military force in the territory except for local police purposes and for the defence of the territory.

Article 5. The Mandatory :—

(1) Shall provide for the eventual emancipation of all slaves and for as speedy an elimination of domestic and other slavery as social conditions will allow ;

(2) Shall suppress all forms of slave trade ;

(3) Shall prohibit all forms of forced or compulsory labour, except for essential public works and services, and then only in return for adequate remuneration ;

(4) Shall protect the natives from abuse and measures of fraud and force by the careful supervision of labour contracts and the recruiting of labour

(5) Shall exercise a strict control over the traffic in arms and ammunition and the sale of spirituous liquors.

Article 6. In the framing of laws relating to the holding or transfer of land, the Mandatory shall take into consideration native laws and customs, and shall respect the rights and safeguard the interests of the native population.

No native land may be transferred, except between natives, without the previous consent of the public authorities, and no real rights over native land in favour of non-natives may be created, except with the same consent.

The Mandatory will promulgate strict regulations against usury.

Article 7. The Mandatory shall secure to all nationals of States Members of the League of Nations the same rights as are enjoyed in the territory by his own nationals in respect of entry into and residence in the territory, the protection afforded to their person and property, the acquisition of property, movable and immovable, and the exercise of their profession or trade, subject only to the requirements of public order, and on condition of compliance with the local law.

Further, the Mandatory shall ensure to all nationals of States Members of the League of Nations, on the same footing as to his own nationals, freedom of transit and navigation, and complete economic, commercial and industrial equality ; provided that the Mandatory shall be free to organise essential public works and services on such terms and conditions as he thinks just.

Concessions for the development of the natural resources of the territory shall be granted by the Mandatory without distinction on grounds of nationality between the nationals of all States Members of the League of Nations, but on such conditions as will maintain intact the authority of the local Government.

Concessions having the character of a general monopoly shall not be granted. This provision does not affect the right of the Mandatory to create monopolies of a purely fiscal character in the interest of the territory under mandate, and in order to provide the territory with fiscal resources which seem best suited to the local requirements ; or, in certain cases, to carry out the development of natural resources either directly by the State or by a controlled agency, provided that there shall

result therefrom no monopoly of the natural resources for the benefit of the Mandatory or his nationals, directly or indirectly, nor any preferential advantage which shall be inconsistent with the economic, commercial and industrial equality hereinbefore guaranteed.

The rights conferred by this article extend equally to companies and associations organised in accordance with the law of any of the Members of the League of Nations, subject only to the requirements of public order, and on condition of compliance with the local law.

Article 8. The Mandatory shall ensure in the territory complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality ; missionaries who are nationals of States Members of the League of Nations shall be free to enter the territory and to travel and reside therein, to acquire and possess property, to erect religious buildings and to open schools throughout the territory ; it being understood, however, that the Mandatory shall have the right to exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order and good government, and to take all measures required for such control.

Article 9. The Mandatory shall apply to the territory any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter, with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave trade, the traffic in arms and ammunition, the liquor traffic and the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation, railways, postal, telegraphic and wireless communication and industrial, literary and artistic property.

The Mandatory shall co-operate in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

Article 10. The Mandatory shall be authorised to constitute the territory into a customs, fiscal and administrative union or federation with the adjacent territories under his own sovereignty or control, provided always that the measures adopted to that end do not infringe the provisions of this mandate.

Article 11. The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council, containing full information concerning the measures taken to apply the provisions of this mandate.

A copy of all laws and regulations made in the course of the year and affecting property, commerce, navigation or the moral and material well-being of the natives shall be annexed to this report.

Article 12. The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate

Article 13. The Mandatory agrees that if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

State Members of the League of Nations may likewise bring any claims on behalf of their nationals for infractions of their rights under this mandate before the said court for decision.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations. Certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all Members of the League.

Done at London, the twentieth day of July one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

APPENDIX III.

[*Note.*—This appendix has been compiled from official sources and from the League of Nations Statistical Abstract.

In some cases, comparison of trade figures is rendered difficult by changes in methods of rendering statistics, by the merging of the mandated territories in other areas for trade purposes, and by currency variations and artificial exchange valuations.

More recent surveys and more accurate estimates of population are responsible for apparent changes in area and in the numbers of the inhabitants compared with pre-War data.]

Class A Mandates. (Under Article 22, 4, of the Covenant).

Turkish Possessions of

Palestine and Trans-Jordan to Great Britain. Syria and Lebanon to France.

		Area sq. m.	European population	Native population	Total of exports and imports
Palestine Trans-Jordan	1912/13	Reliable pre-War statistics not available.			
Palestine	1935	10,000	356,000 (Jews)	925,000 (non-Jews)	£21,955,486
Trans-Jordan	1935	30,000	—	300,000	Not given separately from Palestine.
Syria and Lebanon	1912/13	Reliable pre-War statistics not available.			
	1935	60,000	—	3,250,000	£16,750,000 (1934)

Class B Mandates.

Former German Territory

Tanganyika to Great Britain.

	Area sq. m.	European population	Native population	Total of exports and imports
1913*	384,000	5,336	7,646,000	£4,440,000
1935	360,000	8,455	5,096,178†	£6,299,623

Ruanda Urundi to Belgium.

1913	Included in Tanganyika.			
1935	15,000 (estimated)	1,000 (estimated)	3,000,000	£235,000 (1933) (Principal exports are livestock and hides.)

* Including Ruanda Urundi.

† In addition there are 23,437 Indians, about 9,000 Goans, Arabs and others.

Togoland to Great Britain (one-third) and France (two-thirds).

	Area sq. m.	European population	Native population	Total of exports and imports
1913	34,000	368	1,032,000	£1,021,100
1935—				
Br.	13,041	43	328,034	
Fr.	21,893	512	762,000	£919,000 (1934)

British Togoland is administered as part of the Gold Coast and separate trade figures are not available.

Cameroons to Great Britain (one-sixth) and France (five-sixths).

1913	198,000	1,871	2,649,000	£3,343,000
1935—				
Br.	34,081	250	782,000	£310,159
Fr.	164,094	2,038	2,297,000	£2,037,000 (1934)

British Cameroons is administered as part of Nigeria.

Class C Mandates.

South-West Africa to Union of South Africa.

	Area sq. m.	European population	Native population	Total of exports and imports
1913	322,000	14,830	81,000	£5,696,200
1935	318,155	31,600	250,000	£4,011,678

Samoa to New Zealand.

1913	1,000	544	35,000	£551,750
1935	1,133	623 (estimated)	53,427	£220,901 (1934)

New Guinea to Australia.

1912	95,000	1,427	600,000	£550,800
1935	70,000	5,688	478,686‡	£3,887,542 (1935/6)

‡ Excluding natives in non-settled area.

Nauru (originally part of German New Guinea, but administered under a separate Mandate to the U.K., Australia and New Zealand).

	Area sq. m.	European population	Native population	Total of exports and imports
1935	8	158	2,534	£568,957 (1934)

North Pacific Islands. (Originally comprised in German New Guinea but Mandated to Japan.)

	Area sq. m.	European population	Native population	Total of exports and imports
1935	24,359	85	27,000 (Japanese) 94,000 (Native)	Not available

This Memorandum is issued by the Joint East African Board which was founded in 1923 to represent East African interests.

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News Chronicle 27/11/35

Sir S. Hoare Talks About Colonial Raw Materials

Causes which lead to international strife are many and it would be hazardous to forecast the nature of the problems with which the League would be confronted, said Sir Samuel Hoare, Foreign Secretary, last night.

He was speaking at the annual dinner at Grosvenor House of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

"I have heard," he said, "that the institute is engaged in collecting material for a study of the question of Colonial raw materials.

VERY BIG ISSUE

"As I said in my first speech to the League Assembly,

I regard an inquiry into this subject as an essential contribution to the future organisation of peace.

"Before we venture on to this debatable ground it is necessary that we should have a map of the country, otherwise we shall lose our way.

"Here then, is our task for the future. No one realises better than myself its delicacy and difficulty.

"But I am convinced that it will be surmounted, and triumphantly surmounted, if we constantly renew our strength by contact with the solid ground of the national qualities which have made our standpoints on foreign affairs what it is today."

We had to remember that the League and all that it stood for must be seriously hampered in its development unless the ground were carefully mapped out beforehand.

But it seemed probable, he continued, that greater use might be made of the resources which the League possessed for considering and dealing with economic questions; and study spent in considering the origins and the means of settlement of economic problems would not be wasted.

5,000 IN NEW FACTORY

Fifteen acres of land for a new factory, which will employ 5,000, has been purchased at Middlesbrough by Messrs. Prices, Tailors, Ltd.

It is expected that the first section will be ready for use by April. The factory will be planned on modern lines, with sports grounds, recreation rooms and a welfare centre.

SHIPPING NEWS

(From Lloyd's)

ALCANTARA, f. S'hampton, l. Santos 25.
ALMANZORA, f. S'hampton, l. St. Vincent, C.V. 25.
ARUNDEL CASTLE, fm. Southampton, at Table Bay 25.
BEHAR, f. Otaru, at Bombay 25.
BHUTAN, f. Otaru, l. Singapore 26.
BRITANNIC, fm. N. York, at Liverpool 25.
CATHAY, f. London, l. Port Said 25.
CITY OF EXETER, f. L'don, at Dunkirk Roads 26.
CITY OF MARSEILLES, fm. Liverpool, at Calcutta 24.
CORNWALL, fm. Liverpool, at Melbourne 25.
DURHAM, fm. Liverpool, at Brisbane 25.
HIGHLAND BRIGADE, f. River Plate, at Rio Janeiro 24.
LANCASTRIA, fm. N. York, at S'hampton 26.
MALOJA, f. Brisbane, l. Melbourne 25.
MIDDLESEX, f. London, l. Curacao 22.
MOOLTAN, f. London, l. Fremantle 25.
NORFOLK, fm. Clyde, at Hawkes Bay 24.
ORFORD, f. Brisbane, l. Fremantle 26.
ORION, f. London, l. Melbourne 26.
WINCHESTER CASTLE, f. S'hampton, at Table Bay 25.
WINDSOR CASTLE, f. Port Natal, l. Madeira 26

II

ANALYSIS OF THE COLONIAL PROBLEM. 30th Nov. 1936. V.R.

In a previous set of notes, I analysed the problem under the following headings: The Open Door; Transfer of Mandates to dissatisfied Nations (arguments for and arguments against); Portuguese and other ill-administered Colonies; Further International Control.

I think there are really two aspects of the Colonial Problem, which to begin with require different treatment. (1) The first problem is one which concerns all countries which want (a) better access to raw materials (b) colonial markets and (c) an outlet for actual colonisation. (2) The second is the possession or administration of territory, and this is a different kind of problem, because it involves the interests of various countries as against each other.

(1) With regard to the first set of three problems, they are all matters of economic and financial adjustment, which really need one or more international conferences, partly technical. The transplanting of persons from overcrowded Mother Countries to the spaces which are available for white settlement is an economic and administrative problem, which Britain, too, has to face, in regard to the Dominions. It is a matter of financing and organising emigration so that it produces the best results. Every country which has any Dominions or colonies available has to discover how best to plant settlers, or encourage them to go, and ensure that they

have the best opportunities of making good in their new home. Probably the two countries with the greatest need to evolve a satisfactory technique of actual colonisation are Britain and Italy.

When all these three problems (raw materials, markets and transplantation of citizens) have been worked out, as they have not yet been properly worked out, there still remains the other kind of problem, namely, the sharing out of the available territory among the countries which feel the need of expansion. This is the problem which involves High Politics, and in regard to which we are faced with two alternatives ---- to solve the difficulty, or to be forced, eventually, into war.

The sharing of territories.

Opinion in this country is very much divided between the policy of refusing to give up any of our colonies and mandates, and the rival policy of transferring to Italy and/or Germany some of the existing African colonies or mandates now held by Britain or France. There are strong arguments on either side, and I tried to summarise these in my previous notes.

Whichever of these two policies be adopted, it entails dangers and disadvantages, and if one of these policies be adopted, it must be adopted because on balance we think that particular course will be less dangerous than the other. That being so, I feel that one ought, for a moment, to consider the question

in the light of an ultimate ideal solution, and even if such solution cannot be quickly achieved, we should take such steps as will at least put us on the road to the ideal solution. Where arguments for various courses are nicely balanced, that seems to be the safest guide.

Anideal solution.

The ideal solution would provide for the following:---

1. All backward territories would be governed for the good of the inhabitants; not simply exploited for the interest of the ruling country.

2. To accomplish this, the territories would be placed under the strictest international control. Not only would existing colonies (at any rate, those in Central Africa, between the Sahara and the Union of South Africa) be placed under League of Nations Mandates, but the Mandates system would be greatly tightened up, and ~~xxxxxxx~~ the members or representatives of the Mandates Commission would inspect the mandated territories on the spot.

3. The policy of the Mandatory Governments would be definitely directed towards making the natives fit for self-government, by means of education, and the gradual exercise of small and then larger administrative responsibilities.

4. All countries which have the vital energy, the competence, the education, the resources of character, to be able to contribute to the governing of backward territories should have a full opportunity to make such contribution.

5. It is not practical to divide up Africa among all such countries, according to their present capabilities, and later re-divide it when these capabilities have changed. The only way of fulfilling all the above objects is to unify the control but share the personnel.

The half-way house.

It seems to me that the half-way house that might be reached fairly quickly would consist of two measures:

1. To make a Mandated Territory more international, the Governor, although nominated by his own Home Government, should govern in the name of the League of Nations, instead of in the name of his King.

2. It should be open to the Governor of a Mandated Territory to make appointments to official positions in his territory from a list of candidates approved by the League, such candidates being recruited internationally.

3. By arrangement, the Governor could be bound to appoint a certain number of officials from the International List.

In support of this scheme, I advance the following arguments:--------

1. It would give an opportunity to citizens of countries that have no mandates or colonies to take part in colonial government.

2. It would re-assure the countries whose citizens were thus recruited, that they were entering an international service, not the service of a single foreign Power.

e.g., Hitler would probably be glad for a patriotic young German to go and take part in the administration of the League Territory of Tanganyika, which happens to have a British Governor; but he would not want such young man to take service in a dependency of the British Crown.

3. An arrangement of this kind could be adapted and extended from time to time by adjusting the numbers.

e.g. in 1938, the League might recruit 100 youths of various nationalities, perhaps half of them Germans. Ten mandatory Governors might then take on ten apiece of these recruits. Then, in 1943, when the system was found to work, the number might be doubled all round --- 200 recruits, twenty to each territory.

4. A system would be evolved, capable of extension to other territories, as and when brought under Mandate.

5. This would be a small beginning, and might gradually lead to the full ideal scheme outlined above --- but it need not be hurried.

6. In territories where white settlement is possible, the presence of German officials would encourage German settlers to come. When domiciled in a League territory, they need not lose their nationality.

It should be noted that participation in administration would be a great benefit to the Germans and others. It would not satisfy them, unless the other parts of the problem (raw materials, markets, colonisation) were settled too. But this purports to be a solution for the most difficult part of the problem.

Private and Confidential

THE LABOUR PARTY — INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT

October 1935
No. 159/460

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS
AND
ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON IMPERIAL QUESTIONS

THE DEMAND OF COLONIAL TERRITORIES AND EQUALITY OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

SECTION 1.

The Claims of Dissatisfied Powers.

The invasion of Abyssinia has been undertaken by the Italian Government partly with the alleged excuse that she is an "unsatisfied" or "dissatisfied" Power. The claim made can be broadly stated in the following form: that Italy has the right to colonize and the duty to civilize Ethiopia. That that may be cause for dissatisfaction has been to some extent already recognized by the British Foreign Secretary, who admitted that the colonial territories of the world were unequally divided among the world's Powers and that the British Empire, which is richly endowed, would be prepared to take part in an international enquiry the object of which would be to ensure greater equality of economic opportunity. Sir Samuel Hoare was not entirely explicit as to the scope of the investigation which he had in mind. It is to be noted, however, that he seemed to limit it to equality of opportunity to obtain raw materials of supreme importance to the life of a nation from colonial territories.

It is clear, therefore, that the Italo-Abyssinian conflict has raised once more the old question of the imperialist claims of unsatisfied Powers and that at any moment this may become in a generalised form a major international question. It is essential that people should understand what the claims are, what their basis is in facts, and what possibility there is of satisfying them equitably. The object of the following pages is to help to such an understanding and to frame a policy consistent with the international and socialist principles of the Party.

Nature and Variety of Claims

It is necessary at the start to define and limit the nature of the claims to be considered in the following pages. The causes of dissatisfaction among unsatisfied Powers are almost infinite. The dissatisfaction of Italy, however, which she alleges as a reason for attacking Abyssinia and which Sir Samuel Hoare has in mind is concerned primarily with possession or control of territory. The unsatisfied Powers, in this sense, are those which in the opinion of their rulers or inhabitants do not possess or control territory which is sufficient for their needs, their safety, or their pride, either absolutely or in comparison with other more fortunate Powers.

It is obvious that claims based upon such opinions may be and are of almost infinite variety. The following, for instance, are only some of the claims to possession or control of territory based upon dissatisfaction by unsatisfied Powers: the German claims to colonies, control of the Ukraine, and control of or union with Austria; the Italian claim to colonies generally and to control of Abyssinia in particular; the Japanese claim to control or possess Chinese territory and to immigration into Australia and other countries already under the sovereignty of other Powers. We propose to limit our discussion, so far as possible, to claims to colonial territory in the narrow sense of the word, i.e. claims to control or possess territory, inhabited by (so-called) backward peoples, not at present capable of self-government and not actually self-governing. We exclude claims which could only be satisfied by transferring or limiting sovereignty over territory the inhabitants of which regard themselves already as citizens of a sovereign, independent State, e.g., China or Australia, because to meet such claims would require a complete revolution in international relations and those ideas of sovereignty and national rights which the unsatisfied Powers themsleves would be the last to relinquish.

It is necessary to say something about the Powers whose claims have to be considered. For some reason, not immediately obvious, it seems to be assumed that only Great Powers can be unsatisfied or dissatisfied. The idea that such a country as Denmark, Sweden, or Czechoslovakia needs raw materials, markets, prestige and therefore colonial territories is not seriously entertained. The population of Holland is 627 per square mile, of Italy 358, of Japan 321; but the world hears a great deal of the need for expansion owing to overpopulation in Italy and Japan, nothing of any such need in Holland. The reason is, apparently, that Italy and Japan claim to be strong Powers and Holland is content to be a weak one, though it is difficult to see why this should influence the effects of overpopulation. However, we can only consider claims as they are actually made, and as it is only the Great Powers which claim colonial territory and equality of economic opportunity, we propose to limit our enquiry to the claims of the dissatisfied Powers: Germany, Italy, Japan, and Poland.

It should be noted that the extent of colonial territory inhabited by so-called backward peoples, not at present capable of self-government, and available to satisfy demands of unsatisfied Powers, is not very large, and except in Ethiopia and Liberia is already in the possession or under the control of some sovereign, independent State. Countries like India and Ceylon, though not self-governing, are clearly excluded, for the inhabitants are not "backward" and are capable of self-government. In fact claims to colonial territory, if they are to be satisfied, must be satisfied in Africa.

Why the Claims are Made

Before proceeding to discuss how the claims may be satisfied, it is essential to understand why the claims are made. We propose therefore to give a short analysis of the reasons put forward by unsatisfied Powers for claiming to share in the possession or development of colonial territories. This must necessarily take the form of a statement of the accepted views among imperialists and imperialistically minded people with regard to empire or colonial possessions. The alleged reasons for demanding an empire belong to three general categories, for they are based upon either (1) considerations of prestige, (2) strategic considerations, (3) economic considerations.

(1) Prestige and Status

It is maintained in many different countries than an empire is essential to the prestige of a great Power. The destiny of a "great and proud" people is to rule over others. The German and Italian, if he knows that the British Government rules over millions of Africans and that their own Governments rule over few or none, will feel in a position of unjust inferiority. An empire is "glorious" and something to be proud of. To develop undeveloped countries and to civilize the uncivilized is part of the right and duty of every great and virile nation. All these views have been put forward in Germany and Italy at many different times and have played an important part in the propaganda of the Italian Government at home during the Abyssinian crisis. The same views are not unknown in this country; they can be traced in the old idea of the "white man's burden" and the school of Mr. Kipling.

These views with regard to prestige are psychological and not very closely related to facts. It is for instance difficult for a foreigner to observe any difference in nobility between Denmark and Holland, between the Danish Government and the Dutch Government, or between an ordinary inhabitant of Copenhagen and an ordinary inhabitant of Amsterdam, because Denmark does not own and Holland does own colonies. Yet some such difference ought to be observable if the imperialist views with regard to prestige had a basis in fact. It follows that it is extremely doubtful whether claims based upon these psychological reasons can be satisfied imperialistically in a world in which there are so many nations and only a limited supply of backward peoples.

(2) Strategy.

The possession or control of colonial territory is alleged to be vital to the existence of a Great Power in time of war for various reasons, the most important of which are (a) communication, e.g., the provision of coaling stations for ships, (b) the security of supplies of essential raw materials and food. Some of these questions will be dealt with in detail below, e.g., (b) in Section 11,(i), A. Two general observations may however be made here. First, the mere possession of colonial territories is no guarantee that the raw materials from those territories will be available to the possessing Power in time of war, as was shown in the late war. From 1914 to 1918 the German colonies were useless to Germany from this point of view, because the safeguarding of supplies in time of war depends not on the possession of colonies, but on command of the sea. Secondly, the strategical importance of colonies depends primarily upon the international system actually in existence. Under the pre-war system in which private wars between individual Powers were normal, frequent, and inevitable, the possession of particular pieces of colonial territory might be of immense strategical importance. But with a League of Nations, really effective, under which States looked for security to collective resistance to aggression, rather than individual armaments, the strategic importance of such possessions would be enormously diminished and would eventually disappear.

(3) Economic

There can be little doubt that, though considerations of prestige and strategy play some part in the aspirations of dissatisfied Powers towards empire, it is economic beliefs and objects which are the principal causes of the desire for possession or control of colonial territories. The economic advantage accruing to an imperialist Power from the possession of colonies

and the economic disvantages to a Power without colonies will be investigated in detail in the sections which follow; here it is only necessary to enumerate briefly and badly the chief arguments with regard to such advantages and disadvantages which are advanced in order to support the claims of dissatisfied Powers. They may be defined as follows:

(a) The possession of colonial territories is vital because it ensures access to raw materials and foodstuffs. A great Power without colonies cannot hope to make itself industrially self-sufficient. The control of colonial territories by a few great Powers enables them at any time to cut off non-possessing Powers from access to raw materials essential to their economic life.

(b) Colonies are essential to a great Power as affording markets for the products of its industries. The monopoly of colonial territory by a few Powers shuts out all the others from colonial markets.

(c) Colonies are of immense economic advantage to imperialist Powers because they provide a closed field for the export of capital, the exploitation of concessions, and for investment. In practice only nationals of the imperialist Power can hope to obtain these advantages in colonial territories. This has a serious economic effect upon finance and industry in nations which do not possess colonies.

(d) Colonies are of great economic and social advantage to the "upper" classes in imperialist countries because they provide lucrative and attractive administrative and military jobs for civil servants, planters, military and naval officers.

(e) Colonies are necessary as an outlet for the surplus population of over-populated countires. It should be noted that in the views with regard to the relation between population and colonies there are usually elements of a sentimental character and often others connected with prestige, but primarily they look to economic advantages and disadvantages.

COLONIES. I VR

I. The Open Door.

1. Mr.Neville Chamberlain,speaking atthe Conservative Conference at Margate,said that the preservation of Imperial Preferences was essential to the maintenance of the Empire.

Was Mr.Chamberlain referring to the preferences between the self-governing members of the British Commonwealth, or the favoured position as between members of the British Commonwealth and the British Colonies? If the latter, this is regrettable.

2. It is probable that the Ottawa duties imposed on imports into the British Colonies do not in fact make very much difference (See Advisory Committee's Report,pages 21 - 24.& especially the Table on page 22.)

Nevertheless,the principle gives the dissatisfied nations a sense of grievance out of all proportion to the advantage gained. Therefore the Open Door should be restored.

3. Quite apart from open and definite discrimination,by tariffs and quotas,foreign nations are at a disadvantage in trading with British colonies in the following ways:

a. by reason of English being the business language.

b. British capital investment in colonies leads to a preference there for British goods.

c. British firms are at an advantage in tendering for Government orders for the placing of contracts.

d. British residents naturally prefer to get things from home.

e. other invisible preferences,such as the belief of natives that they can curry favour by buying British, and arrangements for export credits.

4. These advantages apply also in the Mandated Territories. They are less justifiable morally in the Mandated Territories than in the colonies.

II. Transfer of Mandates to dissatisfied nations.

A. Arguments in favour.

1. Moral. If indeed it be a privilege to share in the "sacred trust of civilisation" in helping to bring the backward peoples towards maturity, then any nation which is sufficiently civilised to have something to contribute to the welfare of these peoples may reasonably wish to play a part in this work.

2. Appeasement. If the dissatisfied nations will be really satisfied by giving them a share in the administration of Mandates, then it may well be worth while incurring a certain inconvenience in such transfer, in order to contribute towards peace in Europe. After all, it is in Europe that the outbreak of war would be disastrous to civilisation; and the ruin of European civilisation would be disastrous to the prospects of the backward peoples of becoming civilised.

3. Population. In so far as any of the Mandated Territories are suitable for white settlement, nations which feel a pressure of population ought not to be denied the relief which the control of such territories might afford them. This is especially true if Britain is unable to avail herself of the opportunity to people empty spaces.

B. Arguments against.

1. Yielding to threats. If Mandates (or, for that matter, colonies) are given up not from a sense of justice, but because somebody with powerful armaments and a greedy desire for prestige threatens to make a nuisance of himself, then appeasement will not result from yielding; the result will rather be an increase in the amount of the claims. If territories are transferred at all, it should be done willingly and in good time, not under pressure.

2. Colonial methods. It is argued that the Germans and the Italians have methods of administring colonies which are less beneficial to the natives than are those of the present possessors of the colonies and mandates, and that the practice and theory of the Fascist countries portends that their methods would be even harsher in the future than in the past. If this be true, it would be hard on the natives to be transferred.

3. Continuity. The government of a colony or mandated territory

ought not to be subject to frequent change, as this is unsettling to the natives, and will prevent them from adapting themselves to the civilising influences of those who, at the moment, are governing them. The exchange

4. Breach of trust. Transfer would be specially hard on natives of colonies or mandates like Tanganyika, some of whose natives fought against their former German masters in the Great War, and fear vengeance.

5. Political geography of Africa. The geographical contiguity of some of the African Mandated Territories with each other, with British colonies, British self-governing colonies, and the Union of South Africa, makes transfer likely to be inconvenient to these countries.

6. Naval. If Germany, for example, were to acquire control of African territories, she might reasonably argue that these territories, and the trade routes between them and Germany, required the protection of a strong navy. This would complicate the armament question.

III. Portuguese and other ill-administered colonies.

1. There are colonial territories notoriously ill-administered especially those of Portugal, where it would seem there is no moral justification for leaving the natives under their present administration.

2. Possibly Portugal might be induced to sell one or more of her colonies. If so, the sale ought to be to the League of Nations, which would then entrust the mandate over such colony to whatever country it deemed fit.

3. If Portugal is not willing to sell, the British Government ought to free itself (by due notice) from the obligation to guarantee to Portugal the possession of such colonies.

4. It may be that other territories will become available in a similar manner; or that Liberia, for example, will give further proof of her inability to govern herself, and will need to be provided with a Mandatory.

IV. Further international control.

1. It is an open question whether the League of Nations has a right to transfer a mandate from one power to another. This is of small practical importance, because the League could not resolve to change a mandate except by unanimous vote, including that of the existing mandatory; and if such consent were forthcoming, there would in any case be no difficulty in making the change.

There is, however, one point in this connection; has the League the right to withdraw the mandate from a country which resigns from the League, or which commits an aggression, contrary to the Covenant?

2. It would militate in favour of uniformity of colonial practice, the extension of the supervision of the Mandates Commission, and the extension of the "Open Door", if powers now holding non-self-governing colonies were to place those colonies under the jurisdiction of the League of Nations, and hold them from the League, as Mandates.

3. The control of the League over the administration of its Mandated Territories would be increased if the Mandates Commission were able to visit, or sent representatives to, the actual Mandated Territories, instead of depending entirely on the reports of the Mandatory Governments.

4. It is a question of some interest, to what extent the League could internationalise the administration of the Mandated Territories; e.g. by vesting the government of a particular Territory in a High Commissioner, assisted by a Colonial Service internationally recruited.

Private and Confidential

LABOUR PARTY

INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS
AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON IMPERIAL QUESTIONS

(Joint Special Committee on Demand for Colonial Territories and Equality of Economic Opportunity)

Note by J.F.N. Green on Mr. L. Barnett's Draft Statement of Policy and Remedies.

I wish to suggest that questions of a general lowering of non-discriminatory tariffs or of abolishing bilateral trade agreements are best left out of this memorandum. There is a good deal of difference of opinion on the economic consequences of such steps, and it seems undesirable to bring into the discussion the separate matter of protection versus free-trade.

The socialist type of trade, orders and sales in bulk by Governments, which is more developed in the Colonies than here, is little, if at all, affected by free trade or tariffs. An order by a Colonial Government for £100,000 in rails or for £5,000 in drugs (for cheap distribution) is placed in this country as a matter of course and is unaffected by the Colonial or Home tariff. I imagine that, if, as happened in the war, this country were to place an order for the Australian wool crop, a bilateral arrangement, such as, for example, counter-orders for railway material, would be almost inevitable. Such an agreement as that now in force with Russia, is regarded by some as a step in this direction. It appears to me that, now that the world has been opened up, and competitive capitalism is giving place to monopolistic capitalism, attempts to revive earlier methods with regard to trade may be ineffective and that they cannot be expected either to impress countries such as India, which rightly or wrongly consider that the policy of low tariffs imposed on them primarily for the gain of British manufacturers, have not been to their advantage; or to satisfy trade-unionists suffering under Japanese competition. American copper-miners, earning £5 a week, are now being pushed out by Rhodesian copper paying 5/- a week.

We may too lay ourselves open to charges of trying to bolster up our highly developed industries at the expense of peoples who are endeavouring to reach the same standard.

Cols

SECTION 11

ADMINISTRATION (Including jobs).

4. The suzerain power and its nationals undoubtedly enjoy certain special advantages both in colonies and in mandated territories, even when the Open Door principle is in operation.

Some of these advantages are very general in character. British nationals, for example, benefit in relation to their foreign competitors by reason of the fact that the official language, the legal system, customary business practices and connections, and so on, are all familiar to them. Again, the local government normally obtains all its imported supplies from the home country, and this is equally true of mandated territories as of colonies, with the exception that, in the case of the former, orders in respect of large public works must be submitted to international tender.

A further substantial advantage, especially in view of the conditions in which international trade takes place to-day, is the suzerain's control of colonial currencies. In time of "war" between rival currencies such control makes each colony or mandated territory resemble those inns known as tied houses. Trade with countries inside the same currency area is greatly simplified, while trade with countries in other currency areas is rendered much more difficult. Empire countries have tended since 1931 to trade more with one another and less with the rest of the world, partly no doubt because of the imperial preference arrangements set up at Ottawa, but even more because of the creation of a distinctive "sterling area" within which trade has enjoyed both relative exchange stability and relative freedom of exchange.

All these things constitute a natural or inherent preference in favour of the suzerain, and as long as we live in a world of competing national states it will not be easy to abolish their preferential effect. Between them they go far towards accounting for such a position as we find e.g., in regard to the external trade of Kenya and Uganda. (These dependencies are included within the last Open Door area remaining in the British Empire).

1933

	Imports from	Exports to
United Kingdom	38 per cent	35 per cent
Other Empire countries	25 " "	42 " "
Germany	3 " "	2 " "
Italy	1 " "	1 " "

Lastly, there is the fact that the suzerain appoints the whole administrative and techincal staff in every colony and mandated territory. The staff are selected, with very few exceptions, from citizens of the home country, and they tend naturally to favour the trade and other material interests of that country. Moreover, where the official population is e.g.,

British, the unofficial immigrant population tends to be predominantly British too, a fact which in turn reinforces the sentimental preference for buying and selling in British markets. The effect is to canalise the general trade of the colony in channels of which the native producer and consumer are often obliged to avail themselves, whether they share the sentimental preference or not.

The present method of staffing colonial administrations also places at the disposal of the home government a considerable and very useful body of patronage. The number of European British subjects serving in the dependent Empire to-day seems to be approximately 20,000, made up as follows:-

India	(Civil)	6055
"	(Military)	3635
Colonies, etc.	(Civil)	9000
"	(Military)	500
		19,190

The emoluments of all these posts are paid from colonial or Indian revenues. They are all between £250 and £1,000 a year, except some hundreds which are above the latter figure. In the United Kingdom the numbers who command incomes between these limits are stated to be just under 2 millions. India and the colonies therefore furnish a reinforcement of about 1 per cent to this group in our society.

The above figures do not include those who draw pensions from colonial or Indian funds. Nor, of course, do they include the far larger numbers who are in unofficial employment in India or the colonies.

Historically it is clear that the influence of British colonial expansion on the development of the class-structure in Britain has been important. This may or may not excite the envy of other nations. In any case, in future, as the dependencies move towards autonomy, the influence will presumably diminish, and administrative staffs, it may be hoped, will be drawn more and more from the indigenous peoples concerned. Everything, indeed, should be done to encourage that process. But there will certainly be an interim period during which a large field of employment will still have to be filled by imported personnel, and there seems no reason why this field (at any rate the non-military part of it) should remain the monopoly of the suzerain. It should, we suggest, be thrown open to applicants from any country which is a member of the League, and such applicants should be freely appointed so long as they can show the full qualifications required and are proficient in the official language of the territory to which they are seeking appointment.

STATISTICS. (ADVISORY COMMITTEE, page 22.)

Of the total imports into British Colonies, the share contributed by the United Kingdom was

in 1932 ..... 26.5 %

in 1933 ..... 26.5 %

in 1934 ..... 25.0 %

The amount of British imports went down in 1933, but the percentage remained the same. It went up in 1934, above what it had been in 1932 or 3, but the percentage went down. Thus, the increase of trade did not go proportionately to us as much as to some other countries, notably Japan.

These statistics are no good; the tendency which THEY SHOW IS ACCOUNTED FOR by a sudden burst of effort on the part of JAPAN. To meet it, extra duties were put on against Japan in 1934, and we have no figures to show what their effect was.

18 COWLEY STREET
WESTMINSTER.

COLONIES WITH PREFERENTIAL TARIFFS.

Northern Rhodesia.	Part is in the Congo Basin, and here all countries enjoy the Preferential tariff rate. Part is not in the Congo Basin, and preferences apply.
Somaliland	General rate and preferential rate.
St. Helena	Surtax on non-British goods.
Gambia	General and preferential rates. Extra duties on certain Japanese goods.
Nigeria Gold Coast	No preference ordinarily, but extra duty on certain Japanese goods.
Sierra Leone	Preferences

Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Guiana, preferences.

This applies to all the West Indies.

Mediterranean, Eastern and Pacific Colonies all have preferences, except, of course, the Mandated Territories.

(Review attached)
"

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AMBITIONS OF JAPAN

INDUSTRY AND THE SERVICES

CONTROL OF RAW MATERIALS

By Our Tokyo Correspondent

In the now fashionable classification which divides the nations as Marx divided the people into " haves " and " have-nots," Japan is usually placed with Germany and Italy as one of the unsatisfied Powers. Discontented she clearly is, but officials are chary of saying that Japan is unsatisfied in the sense used by Germans when they demand colonies. Their hesitancy is explained in a few easily accessible statistics.

The area of Japan proper is 382,314 square kilometres. The acquisition of Formosa, Korea, and South Saghalien after the wars with China and Russia added 292,675. Manchuria, which economically at least is a colony, brought the immense augmentation of 1,306,894 square kilometres. In the short space of 40 years the territory which Japan owns or controls (excluding the mandated islands) has expanded fivefold, from 382,314 to 1,981,883 square kilometres.

When we reckon industrial resources instead of acres the picture is different. Japan is poorly endowed with the basic materials of modern industry, and her colonial acquisitions, most of them in northern latitudes, have not made good the deficiency. Of Japan's entire bill for imports last year 60 per cent. was spent on four primary industrial necessities: cotton, ores and metals, wool, oil. Yet the existence of a large and growing competitive export trade is evidence that industry has not been handicapped by lack of access to raw materials. Japanese industrialists have obtained in the open market the material they need, and this fact explains their tepid interest in the question of access to raw materials, as raised by Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Morrison. Nor have they experienced any difficulty in finding exchange with which to pay for imported materials. An exchange control law has been in operation here since 1931, but it has been easily worked and has given importers very little trouble. Passing travellers are impressed by the fact that Japan is one of the few countries left where no questions are asked about the money they bring in or take out. Their books are scrutinized for " dangerous thoughts " but their pocket-books are immune.

COLONIAL MARKETS

It is when the Japanese appears in colonial markets as a seller that he feels the shoe pinch. He can buy anywhere; the Japanese wool-buyer meets no colour bar at Sydney or Port Elizabeth. And the Japanese commercial traveller, with his cheap samples, easily finds customers. But the native markets of India, Africa, and the South Seas, largely under European flags among which the Union Jack is conspicuous, are increasingly protected by tariffs and—still worse—quotas. There are more reasons for this than the selfish desire of the suzerain Power to preserve the market for its own traders. Unrestricted entry of Japanese goods would make the native markets of the world a Japanese preserve. The loss of economic equilibrium which would ensue in the trade of countries deep in debt to their European overlords would be disturbing. And in some Asian markets, India being an example, Japanese goods are restricted in the interests of native industries. But the Japanese industrialist's point of view should be understood. He agrees that he cannot send unlimited goods into " white " markets where standards of living are higher than in Japan. But in Asia, Africa, and the South Seas almost half of the world's population live. They are poor people and Japan can supply them with shirts, bicycles, rubber boots, and what not at prices they can pay. If Osaka can sell two shirts to a black man for the price of one, what moral right (it is asked) has Lancashire to prevent his buying them? Recently a threatening note has become audible. " Side by side with unrest prevailing in the Asiatic colonies of European countries," writes Mr. Ginjiro Fujihara, an eminent captain of industry, " Japan has risen to the position of a first-class Power. The idea of forcing the natives to buy high-priced articles in order to protect the industries in the home countries is indeed a policy of doubtful wisdom." It is for the manufactured goods he can sell that the Japanese industrialist wants access to colonial markets.

A younger generation whose fathers talked of industry now talk of power. What of defence? The military situation of a country like Japan, which has raised herself to the position of a Great Power and yet lacks the basic materials needed for the maintenance of modern armies, fleets, and flying forces, is, at least, anomalous. It is this situation, the consciousness of weakness and strength in the same organism, the feeling that the necessity is permanent but the opportunity may pass, which accounts for the unrest of the fighting Services and its power to drive the country into programmes of expansion in Manchuria and North China.

COAL, IRON, AND OIL

Japan produces no cotton, wool, or rubber; her coal and iron resources are meagre and of poor quality. An American investigator has summed up the position in the following sentence: " Nowhere in the Japanese Empire are coal and iron ore, the two essential bulk materials of modern industry, to be found in sufficient quantities to support any major manufacturing development." For many years Japan has been seeking on the mainland the coal and iron she lacks, and the Army's interest in economic cooperation in North China is inspired by the knowledge that that region contains the best iron ore in China and one of the richest coalfields in the world. But it is oil, the daily aliment of armaments, that the defence Services miss most acutely when they survey Japan's possessions. Japan to-day uses four times the quantity of oil products that she consumed a decade ago, and the proportion of domestic production to consumption has fallen from 34.2 per cent. in 1923 to 8.4 per cent. in 1934. A law has been passed compelling oil companies in Japan to hold a six-months supply always in reserve; and under pressure from the Army and Navy large schemes are being promoted for the extraction of oil from coal. It is hardly surprising that the Navy looks longingly at the Borneo oilfields, the richest in Asia, controlled by a small and distant European Power.

It is easy to argue that freer trade is worth more than colonies to Japan. But Japanese soldiers listen with impatience to such arguments, holding that they cover but half of the question and ignore the lessons of the War and the still more significant lesson of the peace. The War showed that military power is not measured by territory and population but by a nation's industrial equipment and capacity. These imply the possession of, or secure access to, the basic industrial raw materials. Then with the peace came the invention of

which she was chiefly concerned—namely, n security. So little was her faith in the ple of collective security that she recently eted the encirclement of Germany by con- g an alliance with Russia which might, in ng run, diminish her own security. The r nations, which looked to the League for antee, had had their eyes opened, and had l the unpleasant entanglement in which ere involved. The League as at present uted had failed to prevent war, and had o establish collective security. The words ctive security in the framework of the " seemed to have lost all reality. If we ed to pronounce collective security as the f our policy were we not nailing our to a mast inadequately stepped to carry eavy sail ?

EUROPEAN UNITY

principal obstacle to European unity, and at extent to the efficacy and stability of gue, lay in that almost unconquerable mutual mistrust separating France and y. If Great Britain, France, and Ger- uld be brought into line, and reciprocal ce restored, there would be that pre- ingly strong solidarity in Europe which sure its economic revival. He refused that could not be achieved. The people ountry had made up their minds that sals put forward by the German Chan- basis for 25 years of peace and friendly n offered a great opportunity which be deplorable to reject. They were to grasp the outstretched hand. A growing number of people in France live on terms of amity with Germany. hardly a man in Germany who did it also. Our guarantee to France ble, and it aroused no misgivings in Our country had a great part to play rmediary in the attempt at recon- ich was indispensable to peace and ecovery in Europe.

notion of VISCOUNT CECIL, the djourned.

TURE BUSINESS

T SWINTON, Secretary of State lying to LORD SNELL, stated that ed on Tuesday to take the Com- f the Sugar Industry (Reorganiza- d to resume the debate on Lord otion; on Wednesday to take the ge of the Malta (Letters Patent) third reading of the Trial of Peers Privilege) Bill; and on Thursday Committee stage of the Cotton try Bill.

ps rose at 20 minutes to 8 o'clock.

OF COMMONS

HURSDAY, MAY 7

took the Chair at a quarter to

stern Railway (Ealing and Shep- way Extension) Bill was read the

ITING POSTERS

HTON (Oswestry, U.) asked the ur how many labour exchanges ing coloured recruiting posters.

WN (Leith, L.Nat.).—Depart- s provide for a poster which has and coloured lettering, to be f the 1,184 local offices of the of a suggestion that the poster at all exchanges, I have taken t the instruction is observed in

(Wentworth, Lab.).—Is the at a number of young men as recruits and were refused t reach the physical standard t if instead of using these withdraw the means test he umber of recruits required.

oxtowe, Lab.).—Does the t recruits for a Government (Laughter.)

WEEPSTAKES

ark, Central, Lab.) asked whether his attention had eral sweepstakes that were clubs and associations in , and would he give parti- ons that the Metropolitan ith regard to them.

r-Secretary to the Home dywood, U.).—Sectio eries Act, 19

to be terminated on November 7 next, even though the notice of termination may be withheld till July 7. (Ministerial cheers.)

Mr. TURTON.—Is the right hon. gentleman aware that the denunciation of that agreement will give great pleasure and delight to the live-stock industry of this country ? (Ministerial cheers.)

Mr. G. HALL (Aberdare, Lab.).—Will the right hon. gentleman bear in mind the importance of the coal export trade to Argentina ? (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LEACH (Bradford, Central, Lab.).—Is the right hon. gentleman aware that his answer will not give pleasure to the consumers of beef in this country ? (Hear, hear.)

BROADCASTS FROM DOMINION CAPITALS

CAPTAIN BULLOCK (Lancaster, Waterloo, U.) asked the Prime Minister whether he would bring to the notice of the British Broadcasting Corporation the appropriateness of adding to or substituting for the weekly talk on events in America similar talks from the capitals of the chief Dominions.

Mr. BALDWIN (Bewdley, U.).—This is a matter which lies within the discretion of the British Broadcasting Corporation. I understand, however, that the corporation hope to inaugurate such a series of talks in the autumn.

THE MANDATED AREAS

Mr. SANDYS (Norwood, U.) asked the Prime Minister whether he had considered the declaration issued in Dar-es-Salaam on May 4 by a representative body of professional and business men and members of the Legislative Council, a copy of which had been communicated to him, to the effect that the uncertainty as to the attitude of his Majesty's Government in regard to the future of Tanganyika was causing alarm among the European, Indian, and native inhabitants and was retarding the economic development of the territory; and, if so, whether he could make any declaration which would allay these anxieties.

Mr. BALDWIN.—I have received from my hon. friend a copy of the communication referred to in the question. I would, however, refer him to my reply on April 27, in which it was stated categorically that his Majesty's Government had not considered and are not considering the transfer of any mandated territories to any other Power.

Mr. SANDYS.—In view of the fact that most of the Dominion Governments found it possible to make unequivocal declarations as to the future of the mandated territories under their control, can the Prime Minister tell us frankly—(cries of " Oh ! ")—what are the reasons which prevent him from giving an equally definite statement of policy in regard to the mandated territories held by the United Kingdom ?

Mr. BALDWIN.—I have said more than once that I have nothing to add to the very categorical and definite statement which I made. (Cheers.)

Mr. H. WILLIAMS.—Having regard to the uncertainty and to the statements made in Africa during the last few days, will the Cabinet consider and come to a decision on future policy so that all uncertainty may be removed ?

Mr. BALDWIN.—I have had no intimations of uncertainty from any quarters at all.

Mr. PALING.—Has the right hon. gentleman any reason to believe that the lack of this statement is retarding economic development in these territories ?

Mr. BALDWIN.—No, there is no truth in that.

SUMS ADVANCED TO TANGANYIKA

COLONEL PONSONBY (Sevenoaks, U.) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he would state the amount now outstanding of the sums advanced from Imperial funds to Tanganyika Territory since the acceptance by Great Britain of the mandate; the amount of grants-in-aid non-recoverable; and the total of the grants made to the territory from the Colonial Development Fund.

Mr. THOMAS (Derby, Nat. Lab.).—The total amount now outstanding is £3,249,413, of which sum £408,109 was given in the form of free grants. In addition, assistance to the amount of £435,550 has been approved from the Colonial Development Fund, £367,400 being in the form of free grants.

RED CROSS WORK IN ABYSSINIA

Miss RATHBONE (Combined English Universities) ... all possible facilities ... Ethiopian ... adjoining

Memorandum of Asso sidered desirable th pany could be hereafte consent of the Treasur pany would be in the f lative preference shares cent., and of a nomina of £900,000, and the be represented by £1 O the dividend was limite

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LIMIT O

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The Bill consis tive clause and power to enter company on matt Clause 2 merely the provisions of

APPOINTMI

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Mr. D. the attentio to the posit were not d first consid districts w the provisi chequer w meet the included i

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT

LABOUR PARTY

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS

AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON IMPERIAL QUESTIONS.

EXAMINATION OF THE DEMAND FOR COLONIAL TERRITORIES AND EQUALITY OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Section II, (3) EXPORT OF CAPITAL

By F. Williams.

How far is the possession of colonies advantageous in providing a secure outlay for investment capital?

In examining this question it is necessary first to state that for the purpose of this survey the premise that foreign investment is in fact advantageous has been accepted. That premise is debatable in so far as the whole population as compared with the comparatively small rentier sections is concerned, but this is clearly not the place for a discussion of that sort. It is perhaps sufficient to point out here that the opportunity of foreign investment is in practice regarded as desirable by the capitalist class and that the dissatisfaction of the "Have-not" powers, all of which operate according to a capitalist conception of economy, will therefore certainly not be satisfied by an assertion that foreign investment is not in any event beneficial so that the advantage of colonial channels of investment does not arise.

On the premise that an export of capital is advantageous the possession of colonies is clearly beneficial to the capitalists of the possessing power.

Such possession offers particularly the advantage of political control over borrowers for the lurking fear haunting investors in foreign securities is that of default which they will be powerless to prevent. Defaults by borrowers have been a commonplace, for example, of the present economic crisis and the investor in colonial securities is obviously at an advantage in that default on colonial obligations cannot take place without the approval of the home Government which the investor, and particularly the large investor, is in a position to influence more directly than he can hope to influence a foreign Government.

This factor of political security is an important one for the investor and provides an obvious and financially valuable advantage accruing from colonial possessions. There is, it must however be recognised, a comparable financial advantage to the borrower in that the investor pays for security by the acceptance of a lower yield on his investments than he would otherwise be prepared to accept from a borrower at a similar stage of economic and financial development.

It is obvious for example that Abyssinia, if she desired to raise a foreign loan, would - quite apart from the present war risk - have to pay a substantially higher rate of interest than say Kenya. The colonial umbrella therefore, while it provides the home capitalist with a secure outlet for investment, does thus make it possible for backward territories to obtain finance for development more cheaply than they would otherwise be able to do.

This aspect of the matter will be referred to again later.

It is sometimes argued that the possession of colonies, although in theory advantageous from the investment point of view, is in fact not important, the large British investments in South America over which we have no political control being cited in support of this argument.

But it must be pointed out that such investments were only possible because of the advanced organisation of the London foreign capital market. That advanced organisation was due to a number of factors, full examination of which does not come within the scope of this paper. But among the most important were undoubtedly the stimulus provided by the possession of a colonial empire available for capital development and the experience gained by colonial investment.

It may indeed be said that the existence of a highly organised foreign bond market does away to some extent with the necessity, from the investor's standpoint, of colonial possession for that organisation both enables the investor to compete successfully with the investors of other powers in securing new channels for remunerative capital export, and it at the same time increases the influence which he is able to exercise over borrowers.

But it must be added that the creation of a highly organised bond market of this character depends in the first resort to no small extent upon the possession of colonies.

Moreover even where a highly organised foreign bond market capable of securing a very large share of foreign investment in many fields of capital development exists, the possession of colonies is nevertheless advantageous for the colonial empire provides what may be described as a steady source of bread and butter business during times of general financial upheaval. Colonial investment represents indeed a monopolistic basis of finance business upon which more competitive business can be built up.

The important part played by imperial investment in the most highly organised foreign investment market in the world - London - can be seen from the following table which shows the split up of British investments in domestic issues, Empire issues, and foreign issues since 1907 - the war years being omitted:

NEW CAPITAL ISSUES £ MILLIONS

	TOTAL	U.K.	%	EMPIRE	%	FOREIGN	%
1907	131	42	32.0	28	21.4	61	46.6
1908	205	59	29.0	61	30.0	85	41.0
1909	213	31	14.5	85	40.0	97	45.5
1910	232	43	18.5	83	35.8	106	45.7
1911	196	32	16.4	61	31.1	103	52.5
1912	211	51	24.1	64	30.4	96	45.5
1913	249	51	20.5	100	40.1	98	39.4
1921	393	280	71.2	92	23.4	21	5.4
1922	585	439	75.0	79	13.6	67	11.4
1923	286	156	54.6	81	28.3	49	17.1
1924	242	107	44.2	64	26.4	71	29.4
1925	244	145	59.5	69	28.3	30	12.2
1926	265	142	53.6	58	21.9	65	24.5

	TOTAL	U.K.	%	EMPIRE	%	FOREIGN	%
1927	317	164	51.7	98	31.0	55	17.3
1928	362	219	60.4	86	23.8	57	15.8
1929	253	159	62.9	54	21.4	40	15.7
1930	236	127	54.0	70	29.6	39	16.4
1931	88	42	48.0	36	41.6	9	10.4
1932	113	84	74.1	29	25.9		
1933	133	95	71.6	30	22.4	8	6.0
1934	150	107	71.1	40	26.9	3	2.0
1935	183	162	88.6	18	9.8	3	1.6

It will be observed from this table that the percentage of investment going to the Dominions and Colonies has on the whole shown much less fluctuation than that going in foreign investment, particularly since the war.

The advantage offered by colonies as channels of investment is relatively much greater where a highly organised foreign bond market does not exist and it must be remembered as an important practical point that in fact none of the principal dissatisfied powers - Germany, Japan and Italy - does possess machinery for foreign investment comparable with that of London.

Colonies offer to the capitalists of these countries therefore a substantial attraction in that they would provide a closed market for capital which is at disadvantage in the open market because it has there to meet a much more highly organised competitor than itself.

In this connection the Japanese developments in Manchuria are particularly interesting. Political control of Manchuria by Japan was followed by the early repayment of the £6,000,000 of South Manchurian Railway Company 4½ per cent. Sterling Bonds and their replacement by Japanese investment. Moreover, according to statistics published recently by the Oriental Economist, military aggression in Manchuria has been accompanied by a substantial flow of Japanese investment capital.

New Japanese investments in Manchuria totalled, it is estimated, close on £20,000,000 in 1934 and around £18,000,000 in 1935 and although those totals are not large by British international investment standards they represent a relatively extremely important extension of Japanese financial influence.

Throughout the Manchurian adventure indeed finance has followed the flag even if it has not inspired its advance.

It is important to remember also that the control of colonies in addition to providing a comparatively safe outlet for investors in foreign bonds, offers very substantial opportunities for profitable speculative investment through the obtaining of private concessions which practically always go to the nationals of the colonial power.

A recent example of this is the Kenya gold mining ramp in which the interests of the native population has been sacrificed to that of British concessionaries and company promoters.

Between July, 1934 and February, 1936 ten Kenya gold mining companies were floated in London with a total capitalisation at par of £3,626,500 and a capitalisation on the basis of issue price of £4,800,000. These flotations, it is estimated, yielded an immediate promotion profit to those concerned in their flotation of well over £1,000,000

The attraction to the capitalist of colonial possessions can thus readily be perceived.

An equally important aspect of the subject is the advantage to home industries. In the majority of cases where finance for developments is obtained in the London market the contracts for industrial plant to be financed by such issues are placed in Britain. This is an aspect of colonial ownership which must obviously have a considerable appeal to the "Have-not" powers particularly where, as in Germany, industrialists are having difficulty for a number of reasons in maintaining export markets.

REMEDIES

Clearly in considering capital exports as in considering other aspects of the colonial problem, the simple solution of handing over colonies for exploitation by the capitalists of the present dissatisfied powers cannot be accepted. We must abandon the whole idea of exploitation, not merely hand over the right to exploit.

If an extension of the mandate system is accepted as the best solution in the colonial problem as a whole, the best approach to the question of financial development in colonial territories would seem to be through the setting up of a League Loans Authority.

Such an Authority might take over the financing of all colonial developments, that is not only those undertaken at present by colonial governments, but also those at present handed over to private concessionaires.

It should issue stock internationally withequality of participation among investors of all League members and might operate somewhat as does the Public Works Loans Board which raises finance by the issue of Local Loans Stock for relending to Local Authorities, too small to make public issues on their own account. Equal participation in contracts resulting from loan developments should of course be ensured.

Such a system would not only provide investors of all League members with an equal opportunity of taking advantage of the outlet for capital provided in colonial territories, but would avoid the exploitation of native interests by private speculators and concessionaires which exists to-day.

Moreover control of colonial investment by the League would maintain the present security of colonial investment and thus maintain the advantage of relatively cheap borrowing which the colonies enjoy at present.