



THE
**COLONIAL
 EMPIRE**
 1933

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.

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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

- ~~7774~~ *Imperialism and Civilisation.* Leonard Woolf. (Hogarth Press. Price 2s. 6d.)
- 7774 *White Capital and Coloured Labour.* Lord Olivier. (Hogarth Press. Price 12s. 6d.)
- 4202 *The Clash of Colour, a Study in the Problem of Race.* Basil Mathews. (United Council for Missionary Education. Price 2s.)
- The League of Nations : The Mandate System.* (Official Publication.) (Allen and Unwin. Price 6d.)
- 5105 *Mandates.* Freda White. (Jonathan Cape. Price 3s. 6d.)
- 8525 *The Open Door and the Mandates System.* Benjamin Gerig. (Allen and Unwin. Price 10s.)
- 4047 *Empire and Commerce in Africa.* Leonard Woolf. (Hogarth Press. Price 7s. 6d.)
- no *White and Black in Africa.* J. H. Oldham. (Longmans Green. Price 2s.)
- 3965 *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa.* Sir F. Lugard. (Blackwood. Price 42s.)
- 5656 *Kenya from Within.* W. McGregor Ross. (Allen and Unwin. Price 18s.)
- 9194 *A Last Chance in Kenya.* Norman Leys. (Hogarth Press. Price 8s. 6d.)
- 9413 *The New Boer War.* Leonard Barnes. (Hogarth Press. Price 7s. 6d.)
- 8538 *Complex South Africa.* W. M. Macmillan. (Faber and Faber. Price 12s. 6d.)
- ✓ *The Case for West Indian Self-Government.* C. L. R. James. (Hogarth Press. Price 1s.)

BRITISH COLONIES, PROTECTORATES AND TERRITORIES
Area and Population

	<i>Area</i> <i>sq. miles</i>	<i>Population</i> <i>(1931)</i>
EUROPE		
Gibraltar	2	21,000
Malta	122	244,000
Cyprus	3,584	348,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	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
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	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
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2,883,801	47,761,000

*Mandated Territories.

AMERICA	Area sq. miles	Population (1931)
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
	<u>115,921</u>	<u>2,395,000</u>
AUSTRALASIA		
Fiji	7,083	186,000
Pacific Islands	11,450	265,000
Nauru*	10	2,000
	<u>18,543</u>	<u>453,000</u>
Total ..	<u>3,221,721</u>	<u>63,653,000</u>
Great Britain and Northern Ireland ..	<u>94,633</u>	<u>46,056,000</u>

TRADE

	Colonies and Protectorates 1929	Mandated Territories and Con- dominiums 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 ..	<u>£230,458,000</u>	<u>£23,119,000</u>
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 ..	<u>£184,624,000</u>	<u>£17,316,000</u>
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 ..	<u>£45,495,000</u>	<u>£839,000</u>

*Mandated Territories.

Prices post free :

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12 copies	1s. 6d.
100 copies	12s. 0d.

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