

**COLONIAL QUESTIONS  
AND PEACE**

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES CONFERENCE

PEACEFUL CHANGE

★★★

COLONIAL QUESTIONS  
AND PEACE

A Survey Prepared under the Direction of

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## FOREWORD

This volume is issued by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation as one of a series of studies on Peaceful Change carried out by the International Studies Conference<sup>1</sup> in the course of an enquiry into 'the basic difficulties in, and the procedures for, the peaceful solution of economic, social and territorial problems, with special reference to questions of : (i) population, migration and colonization; and (ii) markets and the distribution of raw materials'. It is published in pursuance of a recommendation made by an Editorial Board appointed by the Conference and composed of Professor Maurice Bourquin, General Rapporteur on the Conference's study, Mr. Malcolm W. Davis and Professor Etienne Dennerly. The first volume in the series, issued in 1938,<sup>2</sup> contains a record of discussions on Peaceful Change which took place at a session of the International Studies Conference held in Paris in the summer of 1937, together with introductory reports giving synoptic statements of material previously assembled by the Conference.

The Editorial Board decided to issue, side by side with this general record, special surveys of certain aspects of the problem of Peaceful Change to which the Conference had devoted particular attention, viz: colonial questions, raw materials and markets, and population problems. The present volume is one of these surveys; it is devoted to colonial questions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The International Studies Conference is a permanent organ of co-operation, liaison and co-ordination for national institutions engaged in the scientific study of international affairs. Its principal objects are to develop a system of technical collaboration among its affiliated institutions and to organise collective research on specific problems in international relations. The constituent members of the Conference are linked together through an international machinery of which the principal elements are periodical plenary sessions, an executive committee, and the administrative services of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation' (*The International Studies Conference : Origins, Functions, Organisation* (Paris : International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 1937), q.v. for general information on the activities, methods of work, publications and membership of the Conference).

<sup>2</sup> *Peaceful Change : Procedures, Population Pressure, The Colonial Question, Raw Materials and Markets* : Proceedings of the Tenth International Studies Conference, Paris, June 28th-July 3rd, 1937 (Paris : International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 1938).

<sup>3</sup> The companion volume devoted to demographic questions was prepared by Dr. F. Chalmers Wright and published by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation under the title : *Population and Peace : a survey of international opinion on claims for relief from population pressure*, 1939. A survey on Raw Materials and Markets and a volume on peaceful change procedures are in preparation.

In the course of its study of these questions, the Conference assembled a great mass of material, including a large number of mimeographed documents and several comprehensive publications. It would have been physically impossible to reproduce the whole of this abundant material. The Board decided, however, that its essence could be presented in a form that would be convenient to the reader, without detracting too seriously from the value of the original documents, by issuing these special surveys, the preparation of which would be entrusted to individual authors who would be invited to assume responsibility for presenting a conspectus of the main currents of contemporary opinion, on the principal elements of the problem, expressed in the material of the Conference and, whenever useful, in other relevant sources of information. It was thought that this method, which facilitates a freedom of selection and arrangement less appropriate in formal records of international scientific conferences, achieves the practical end of providing, in conformity with one of the fundamental aims of the International Studies Conference, "a publication capable of exercising some influence on public opinion", by making available the results of scientific and technical investigations not only to the narrower circles of specialists, but also to the general reader interested in topical international issues.<sup>1</sup>

The direction of the survey of colonial aspects of the problem of Peaceful Change was entrusted to Dr. Emanuel Moresco, to whom the Conference's sincere thanks are due. The Conference is also deeply indebted to Mr. C. W. H. Weaver, Dr. H. O. Christophersen and Mr. E. M. R. Lewis, who contributed certain chapters, — the authorship of which is indicated in each case, — and to Miss Margaret Bryant, who has read and revised the whole manuscript and made many important additions.

<sup>1</sup> Any expressions of opinion contained in these surveys are those of their authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Conference.

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## PREFACE

Seldom will a book have seemed so hopelessly out of date on the day of publication as the present volume on the colonial aspects of the problem of Peaceful Change.

In 1935, when the subject for the next two years' cycle of research had to be chosen by the International Studies Conference, the term "peaceful change" seemed clear in itself; it meant the peaceful solution, by modification of the *status quo* or otherwise, of certain international problems, — economic, social and territorial, — considered in its material as well as in its formal or procedural aspects.

Since then, many changes, involving the disappearance of several independent States, have occurred, without formal war, but they have been very unlike the "peaceful change" which the 1935 Conference had in mind. In fact, the term seems to have lost all meaning. In 1939, it no longer corresponds, as far as Central Europe is concerned, to any of the realities of the present political phenomena. It has become extremely oldfashioned.

Could anything, therefore, nowadays have a more out-of-date appearance than the memoranda prepared for the 1937 Conference? Those statistical data, carefully collected and analysed to test the soundness of the reasons put forward by "have-not" Powers for claiming new or lost colonies, read like the literature of a former age. At the moment, who would think of discussing such claims otherwise than in terms of the existing military or political power, whether to attack or to defend, to extort by manœuvring or to frustrate such attempted extortion? Four years ago, important sections of public opinion were prepared, and indeed anxious, to consider the possibility of allaying the growing international unrest by giving satisfaction to genuine grievances against the territorial and economic *status quo*. Political developments have discouraged this tendency and created a widespread conviction that concessions would serve only to strengthen opponents who are bound soon to become open enemies in an unavoidable struggle.

What, then, is the use of publishing at the present moment a book on the colonial aspects of Peaceful Change?

Even for those who are convinced that a new world war is inevitable or that the chances of escaping it are so limited as to be almost

negligible, there nevertheless remains a twofold usefulness in publishing this study.

In the first place, it is proper, from a historical point of view, to record in an easily accessible volume how the international aspects of colonial problems were viewed, in the period between 1935 and 1937, by a great many experts in the economic, social, demographic or specifically colonial field, and how those problems were thought to be connected with in the whole of human relations and conflicts.

In the second place, if the next world war does not make international anarchy the normal condition of human affairs for ages to come, it will end by a series of treaties in which, among many other things, the fate of the now colonial territories will have to be determined. Most probably, the relations of metropolitan to colonial territory will survive in some form or another, as those relations are, and always have been, the natural consequence of the inequality in political organising-power of different peoples. In that case, the problems treated in this book will remain, and will have to be given the same consideration as they were given in 1919; the book might help to make that consideration broader, more farsighted and based on better evidence than at the conclusion of the first world war.

On the other hand, there are those who refuse to believe in the imminence of a new war, or who at least think that nobody can foretell its approach with any degree of certainty. Therefore, even at this moment, it cannot be quite useless to try to discover what can be considered as justified in the colonial grievances, in the hope of alleviating any genuine hardships by a more liberal policy. It is hard to imagine that any concessions of this kind would endanger the position of any colonial Power in the event of an armed conflict.

This book has been conceived, perhaps somewhat rashly, as one that can be read from cover to cover, and might interest students of colonial policy and administration as well as those concerned with social science in its wider sense, including national and international public law. It may serve to emphasise both the similarities and the differences between phenomena in the narrower and in the more comprehensive fields of research, so as to make it clear that in our time none of these fields can be thoroughly explored without taking into account what is going on in the other.

E. M.

## APPENDICES

## Appendix I

### THE RATIFICATION AND APPLICATION OF THE TREATY<sup>1</sup>

One of the great difficulties encountered up to the present time by the Mandatory Power in Syria in the "treaty policy" which it is desired to follow, has been the absence of "responsible spokesmen" (*interlocuteurs qualifiés*). Successive governments formed by us lacked authority, or, when they represented a fraction of the Nationalist Party, withdrew this collaboration. The situation seems to be entirely changed in the negotiations carried on by the principal representatives of the Nationalist *bloc*, which appears to have behind it, in recent months, a large proportion at least of the urban and rural population.

The experience of governments, in Syria as in Iraq, shows the dangers of extremism and exaggeration in national claims in the East. Both know that an intransigent opposition leader, supported by the masses because he flatters them, is soon worn out by the exercise of power and is immediately compromised in the eyes of the people by his relations with a Western Power. Therefore there may be reason to fear that after the ratification of a treaty submitted to a newly formed legislature — the Netherlands *bloc* is participating actively in treaty negotiations — may also find itself deprived, by the natural working of political and social forces, of some of its prestige. In fact, even in an Oriental country, even an élite of intellectuals as highly developed as in Syria, differs considerably from a Western country. Below the statesmen, politicians capable of responsible office, possessing a sense of political and international realities gained by experience, there exists an ardent younger generation insufficiently balanced because they have recently been admitted *en masse* to modern education. Below those again are the people, very much as they were twenty years ago, even more under the influence of religious passions, prejudices, sects, of tribal attachments, of rivalries between town and town or village and village, than under the inspiration of precise national ideas. A Syrian peasant or a Bedouin, has only hazy ideas

<sup>1</sup> Extract (translation) from French Memorandum No. 9, R. Montagne : *Un Exemple du Changement Pacifique : La Syrie : Son Evolution du Régime du Mandat à celui de l'Indépendance*, showing some of the difficulties involved in the transition, which appear to the editor of this book to apply *mutatis mutandis* to circumstances in other countries as well as Syria. This Memorandum was drafted in 1937.

of what the State is, and still less of the internal or external dangers which may threaten it.

These general conditions are extremely favourable to the emergence of leaders richer in family connexions than in clear ideas. Politicians, displeased because of the limited opportunities open to them, embittered politicians, returned exiles anxious to play their part, all seem to be equally able to attract followers.

The minorities themselves, either by direct opposition or by the reactions they provoke, may play their part not only at the polls but in the life of the country during the period of transition. It is harder for them than for us to trust the Nationalist *bloc* because their very life is at stake. They are obsessed by the recollection of Armenia and Iraq, and their justifiable distrust engenders threats which tend to aggravate the situation.

The negotiators of the Treaty have made a distinction, by useful advance in the methods of discussion, between compact and scattered minorities. Perhaps the analysis should be pushed farther. Ethnic religions and linguistic minorities nowhere exist in a pure state. In the Jebel Druse, Christians live in the villages, just as Turks, Kurds and Sunnite Arabs are scattered in the Alawayite Mountain. Consequently, in regions benefiting by an autonomous régime there are in the midst of the particular minorities other more scattered minorities which act as ferments, allying themselves with the Sunnite Arab majority and making the reactions of the main group more violent. On the other hand, many better defined groups are to be found in regions too small for an autonomous régime : the Ismailites of Silimiyeh, Cherkesses of Kuncitrah, the Kurds of the Upper Jezira. These are more in danger because they are generally strong enough to resist the local pressure to which they are exposed, but not numerous enough to have a special position in the State. It is groups of this kind which have been decimated in Iraq by the centralizing State.

No resistance however seems possible for those minorities scattered in families here and there in the various rural regions of the Syrian interior.

The application of the treaty in the first three years following ratification is evidently an important and delicate matter. The threatened dangers arise from local particularisms. Rivalries between town and town have always played a large part in this great Arab province. If, in the large cities, the conflict is between sects, Homo and Hama have always been rivals. Aleppo and Damascus easily form a common front; inhabitants of the two cities help one another when they are travelling, without distinction of belief, against non-citizens. The important part taken by Damascus in recent events, like

the considerable part played by youth in the national life, gives the capital a privileged position which tends to increase throughout the country the number of officials natives of Damascus. The influence of the citizens of the old Ommayad city creates certain reactions and favours the revival of local particularism. If early intervention by the rural population in the State is unlikely, as they are often strongly reinforced by the urban bourgeoisie, this is not the case with the Bedouin tribes. Many hundreds of pastoral nomads have no contact with the settled population. With their own customary law, since they are recent comers from Arabia, they in no way admit the superiority of town and rural dwellers. For geographical reasons (the zone of settlement of the tribes forms a thin ribbon on the borders of the interior plain) there are hardly any chiefs, such as there are in Iraq, capable of participating in the activities of a modern State. Between the settler and the nomad populations there is a kind of economic, political and juridical frontier. The creation of an organization to replace our "Bedouin control" and directed henceforward by Syrians, seems to us one of the most formidable tasks the new independent State will have to face. Mistakes or lack of tact with regard to the Bedouin risk the revival of half-forgotten traditions of the *ghazu*, the raid and the infliction of tribute on the settled population.

The danger is all the more serious as the Bedouin form contingents easily used in internal warfare, as is shown by past history, and especially that of recent years in Iraq at the time of the revolt of small compact non-autonomous minority groups, as the Assyrians and the Yezidi. If the causes which led to the crushing of these small communities,<sup>1</sup> beginning with the weakest, took a similar course in Syria, no doubt the Christian Kurds of the Jezira and the Ismailites would find themselves at odds with the nomads, and disorder would gain ground.

In so far as the compact minorities are concerned, the development of the Alawayite Mountain might no doubt be achieved by wise governors nominated by the Syrian State if it were possible to assume populations with a long and proved tradition of independence of their military strength. But the maintenance of order in the Jebel Druse, so near the Transjordanian frontiers and the pipe-line, so easily disturbed by foreign agitators, presents a difficult problem which will demand the constant efforts of a government not only prudent but free from external intrigues.

The situation of the minorities would not be dangerous in itself and could be faced with a certain degree of optimism if the enthusiasm for Arab unity

<sup>1</sup> See : *Survey of International Affairs for 1934*, (R. I. I. A.) pp. 109-176.

had not acquired so much strength in Syria and throughout the Arabian peninsula. The desire for cultural unity which it implies, the rigorous suppression of all variations, the absolute rejection of any policy of local autonomy are part of indisputable dogmas accepted by a great part of the youth of the new States in the Peninsula. The notion is gaining ground that, in order to absorb the minorities and to fight internal and external dangers, it is necessary to be strong and capable of a levy *en masse*. The development of paramilitary formations canalizes, co-ordinates and strengthens the movement. Only the wisdom of the leaders of these great waves of enthusiasm fed by writers, poets, soldiers and orators can prevent a wreck on the rocks of reality.

[The memorandum goes on to deal with the problems of exterior relations, especially with Turkey, for which the Sanjak of Alexandretta (now the republic of the Hatay) is the object of irredentist sympathies. As the status of the Hatay has been altered and may be subject to further modifications, this section is not given, but it has great historical interest.]



## Appendix II

### THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE GERMAN COLONIAL CLAIMS

The purely economic arguments for a return of the ex-German colonies are twofold : that the raw materials available in the colonies are essential to Germany, and that the markets they provide are a vital outlet for German manufactures at a time when protectionism is rising elsewhere in the world. Lack of these necessities has forced upon Germany unwelcome financial and economic expedients — notably exchange control and the costly development of substitute and synthetic materials.

It must, however, be observed first of all that there are other justifications for Germany's exchange control and autarky programmes than the lack of colonies. The National Socialist régime has embarked upon an enormous — and, as appears at present, successful — programme of reflation, involving the reconstruction of much of Germany's economic system for the sake of reducing unemployment from the six or seven million which existed when it took power to the 500,000 or less which exist today. Not only have enormous public works schemes been launched at successive intervals, which have provided Germany with tangible assets of an indestructible character, but an immense rearmament programme has been financed which has restored — perhaps more than restored — her to the military position she occupied in Europe in 1914. Though this has been achieved by a huge, and possibly partly hidden expansion of internal debt and the reduction of reserves of gold and foreign exchange, it would be absurd to suggest that the possession of a few colonies would have obviated its necessity and enabled Germany to achieve the same remarkable economic resurgence without it. Herr Hitler has often pointed out that this activity is the best backing that the national currency can have. Furthermore, the adoption of exchange clearing has given Germany peculiar advantages in foreign trade, particularly in the extension of her Danubian and Balkan trade, for which, it may be supposed, the trade and possession of her ex-colonies would not be an acceptable substitute. The return of colonies would bring Germany again within the orbit of the "free" system of international trade existing prior to 1929, for exchange clearing is an administrative necessity of the new orientation of Germany's economic structure. The taking over of Austria's considerable riches and foreign exchange reserves did not induce her to alter her economic methods

— indeed one of her first acts was to assemble legal reasons why she could not hold herself responsible for the new “ province’s ” existing debts.

There are two possible views of the economic development of Germany. The view of responsible National Socialist economists is that the great expenditure on public works and armaments, the expansion of agriculture, and the conduct of foreign trade on the present lines is essentially productive and strengthening to the national economy. The other view is that Germany has overspent, has produced a lopsided economy which does not give enough scope to foreign trade to supply her with the consumption necessities of her people, and that this largely self-imposed blockade must periodically be broken by the acquisition of the property of others.<sup>1</sup> On either thesis the recovery of her ex-colonies would be an undoubted benefit, just as the union with Austria was an economic benefit. By the former thesis, Germany has achieved so much by herself that the control of colonies would be a valuable but not essential addition to her resources. By the latter, the economic expansion of Germany is essential, and if she cannot obtain colonies she must obtain resources elsewhere — but no end to the process is easily discernible.

Whichever of these views will prove correct in the long run, — and there may be elements of truth in both, — an examination of the available statistics clearly indicates the difficulty of substantiating the view that the return of the ex-colonies would make Germany a “ satisfied ” Power. Valuable they would be and the denial of their value is an incessant provocation to German public opinion — but their value must not be over-estimated. It is unquestionably far less than that promised by the growth of German-Danubian trade. Its precise value is hard to assess, for it must be recognized that the use of existing statistics does not convince National Socialist Germany, which believes that totalitarian methods would render colonies far more valuable than the methods adopted in the 30 years prior to the War in which Germany had colonies.<sup>2</sup> The truth or error of this belief cannot, of course, be demonstrated, though it has been briefly examined in Chapter IV.

Such figures as we have, however, go to show that Germany’s colonies were of little value before the War. Their trade was less than 1% of Germany’s total foreign trade.<sup>3</sup> Of Germany’s total pre-War oversea investments, only about 10% were in the whole of Africa and Asia and a hence correspondingly

<sup>1</sup> For an exposition of this view see *The Banker*, February 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. G. Johannsen and H. H. Kraft, *Germany’s Colonial Problem*, p. 42. “ The present state of production cannot in any way be taken as a criterion for the possible extent to which the ex-German colonies can be developed in the future...”

<sup>3</sup> Grover Clarke, *The Balance Sheets of Imperialism ; The Colonial Problem*, p. 287.

smaller proportion in her actual colonial territory.<sup>1</sup> The total German population in all the colonies was, in 1914, only 24,010<sup>2</sup> and it is now accepted even in Germany<sup>3</sup> that the ex-colonies do not form a satisfactory outlet for Germany's "surplus" population — certainly they could not have relieved the unemployment problem of 1933 so effectually as the Four-Year plan.

The extent to which the colonies were able to supply Germany with raw materials and certain foodstuffs before the War is indicated in the following table. It will be observed that the total imports of these materials, 2,177,500,000 marks, was only a small part of Germany's total imports of raw materials of all kinds in 1912, while the proportion contributed by the colonies of the total imports of raw materials was only 1.4%.

*Exports of the Principal Products of the former German Colonies and the corresponding Imports of the German Empire  
(Million Marks)*

Products	Exports of the Colonies			Total German Imports 1912
	1903	1907	1912	
Diamonds .....	—	—	30.4	—
Rubber ..	4.7	10.8	21.1	184.8
Palm Oil .....	4.6	5.6	10.8	106.4
Copra .....	4.2	5.3	11.7	96.0
Ivory .....	1.4	1.8	0.9	7.9
Hides.....	0.5	1.9	4.3	647.4
Beeswax .....	6.1	1.5	0.8	8.4
Maize .....	0.1	1.2	0.3	143.2
Coffee .....	0.5	0.6	1.9	252.6
Cocoa .....	0.9	2.9	5.4	63.6
Sisal .....	0.3	2.2	7.4	1.7
Cotton.....	—	0.5	2.6	579.8
Phosphates .....	—	0.7	5.0	45.1
Copper Ore .....	—	1.3	6.5	7.0
Lead .....	—	1.0	0.3	33.6
Total .....	23.3	37.3	109.4	2,177.5

It will be noted, however, that the production of the colonies was rapidly expanding under the impetus of capital investment and the outlay of public money, which brought the colonies almost to a self-supporting stage by 1914,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Problem of International Investment*, Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Johannsen and Kraft, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Touzet, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Touzet, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> Johannsen and Kraft, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

and it is therefore pertinent to enquire how far the colonies would be able to supply German raw material deficiencies today, after the further investment made by Germans and nationals of the mandatory and other Powers since the War,<sup>1</sup> and the changes in the structure of German foreign trade brought about by the National Socialist régime. Figures showing the position in 1912 and certain post-War years indicate that Germany might obtain from her colonies a considerably greater quantity of raw materials than before the War. This presumes, of course, that the whole of the exports of German colonies would go to Germany, in spite of the fact that only between a half and two-thirds<sup>2</sup> of colonial exports went to Germany before the War and that some of the colonies are partly or wholly included in the Congo free trade zone. Totalitarian methods might, however, introduce such a monopolistic situation; there is no inherent impossibility in it. Even so, the value of the raw materials of the colonies to Germany would be a small if positive quantity, and one which might be increased with the expenditure of capital. At present, the colonies could supply 3.7% of Germany's raw material needs.<sup>3</sup> It is thought by Germans that when the colonies produce about one-eighth they would be of the greatest benefit to Germany — "her total imports of foodstuffs and raw materials amount to some 3,000 or 4,000 million R.M. per annum, and if she could obtain commodities to the value of 400,000,000 R.M. or 500,000,000 R.M. from territories under her own control her foreign exchange balance-sheet would be materially relieved. Careful investigations have led to the conclusion that such an output could probably be anticipated after the lapse of about ten years."<sup>4</sup>

The importance of the colonies in Germany's export trade is slightly less today than it was before the War, declining from 0.3% in 1912 to 0.1% in 1935.<sup>5</sup> In 1912, the colonies imported 83.2 million marks' worth of German goods, which formed 61.0% of their total trade.<sup>6</sup>

Germany, however, thinks less in terms of the small proportion of her present export trade which could be absorbed by colonies than of the amount of labour which could be employed in such trade as could be carried on: "It has been shown that about half a million persons could find gainful employment in Germany by the production of goods for investment, and, by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Johannsen and Kraft, *op. cit.*, p. 42: "There can be no doubt that the pace at which the ex-German colonies have been developed by the mandatory Powers is much slower than it would have been under a German administration".

<sup>2</sup> *The Colonial Problem*, pp. 294-295.

<sup>3</sup> Touzet, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> Johannsen and Kraft, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

that of export articles for the former German colonies. This circumstance is of paramount importance just now, because 1,500,000 fewer persons are at present employed in the exporting industries than was the case in 1929.”<sup>1</sup>

It should, of course, be stressed that for the various purposes Germany may have in mind, the ex-colonies are of very different value.

Some of the Mandates pay their way as incompletely now as they did when colonies of Germany, notably South West Africa, New Guinea, and Togoland.

Enough has, however, been said to indicate that, whatever German contentions to the contrary may be, the mandatory Powers have invested heavily in the territories<sup>2</sup>, and not least among the problems that would arise in the event of transfer, would be the question of the indemnification of those who would lose their property. The cost would certainly be high and might well offset the advantage Germany derived from the colonies for a considerable time. Germany's present attitude towards foreign obligations is not very encouraging in this respect. Finally, there would arise the problem of the fiscal régime in the 'B' Mandates, and especially the Mandates in the Congo zone. Germany would get small commercial advantage out of the colonies if she administered them on the lines of the Mandate System, and it would, therefore, seem inevitable that she would insist on assimilating them to her own régime.

Perhaps, indeed, the question of greatest economic interest to Germany is that of how far the reoccupation of her former colonies would relieve the foreign exchange shortage and increase her own supplies. Though, as we have seen, colonies, in general, supply Germany with raw materials, the Germans tend to lay emphasis on the fact that in 1913, against exports of 51.0 million marks to her African colonies, imports were only 43.2 million marks, while in 1935, exports were only 5.6 million marks and imports 13.2 million marks.<sup>3</sup> Though up to 1914, the colonies had a generally adverse balance on their total trade, in recent years they have had a favourable balance, which in 1933 amounted to 39.1 million marks.<sup>4</sup> Figures, however, are somewhat beside the point. A totalitarian régime would manipulate the trade of its colonies to its own requirements, and if Germany monopolized the import trade of her colonies and took only a small part of their exports,

<sup>1</sup> Johannsen and Kraft, *op. cit.*, p. 47. At the moment, however, Germany is taking action to deal with an actual labour shortage.

<sup>2</sup> Out of a total of £17.7 million invested in Togo and Cameroons up to 1936, £15.8 million was German; and out of £47.2 million invested in Tanganyika, £33.5 million represents pre-War German investment (S. H. Frankel : *Capital Investment in Africa*, p. 158).

<sup>3</sup> Johannsen and Kraft, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Touzet, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

and if other nations accepted this position without protest, they would afford her a constant stream of *devisen*, which might be in the region of 100 million marks to 150 million marks a year, depending on the course of commodity prices. Such a policy, of course, would be a complete repudiation of the position that her economic claims are based on her needs for just the raw materials which her colonies produce. But the possibility exists, and accordingly it is hard to see much foundation in the view that the colonies would be without value or unproductive of foreign exchange.<sup>1</sup> It would entirely depend on the way in which they were used and the importance, in National Socialist eyes, of the projects they were intended to assist or to promote. That Germany could make some use of their produce there seems no doubt, while if she preferred she could exchange this, at the world prices ruling, for other commodities of which she felt greater need. Germany might, of course, spend so much on administering, fortifying or building public works in the colonies that they would prove a bigger drain on her foreign exchange reserves than they contributed to it; but there is no inherent reason why this should be so.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Touzet, *op. cit.*, p. 226 *et seq.*

## Appendix III

### STATISTICS RELATING TO THE GERMAN COLONIES, 1913-14<sup>1</sup>

A. THE AFRICAN COLONIES				
	<i>German E. Africa</i>	<i>South West Africa</i>	<i>Cameroons</i>	<i>Togoland</i>
Date of Acquisition . . . . .	1885-90	1884-90	1884	1884
Area—square miles . . . . .	393,500	322,000	197,489	34,600
Native pop. . . . .	7,645,770	80,556	3,326,132	1,031,978
Whites . . . . .	5,336	14,830	1,871	368
Chief products.	Rubber Sisal Hides Coffee	Livestock Hides Diamonds	Rubber Cocoa Palm-oils	Palm-oils Rubber Cotton
Minerals . . . . .	Gold, Mica	Diamonds Copper		
Chief ports. . . . .	Dar-es-Salaam Tanga	Swakopmund Lüderitzbucht	Victoria Douala	Anecho Lome
Railways . . . . .	771 miles	1,222 miles	193 miles	203 miles
Exports . . . . .	31,418,000 M.	39,000,000 M.	23,336,000 M.	9,958,000 M.
Imports . . . . .	50,309,000 M.	32,500,000 M.	34,241,000 M.	11,427,000 M.
Revenue and Expenditure	54,760,000 M.	54,140,000 M.	15,340,000 M.	3,380,000 M.
Deficit or Subsidy . . . . .	40,940,000 M.	38,520,000 M.	6,940,000 M.	None
B. THE PACIFIC COLONIES				
	<i>New Guinea and Bismarck Archip.</i>	<i>Samoa</i>	<i>Caroline, Pelew, Marianne, Marshall Is.</i>	<i>Kiaochow</i>
Date of Acquisition . . . . .	1885-6	1889-99	1886-99	1897
Area—square miles . . . . .	90,000	10,000	5,160	220
Native pop. . . . .	719,000	55,000	15,000	192,000
Whites . . . . .	968	557	459	4,470
Chief products.	Copra Cocoa Cotton Rubber	Copra Cocoa	Copra Phosphate	Coal Silk
Minerals . . . . .	Mother-of-Pearl		Phosphate	Coal
Chief ports. . . . .	Herbertshohe	Apia	Jaluit	Tsing-Tau
Railways . . . . .				272 miles
Exports . . . . .	5,100,000 M.	5,100,000 M.	6,900,000 M.	79,640,000 M.
Imports . . . . .	5,871,000 M.	4,900,000 M.	3,400,000 M.	2,062,700 M.
Revenue and Expenditure	5,060,000 M.	1,130,000 M.	Included in New Guinea	26,470,000 M.
Deficit or Subsidy . . . . .	1,650,000 M	160,000 M	Included in New Guinea	10,340,000 M.

<sup>1</sup> M. E. Townsend : *The Rise and Fall of the German Colonial Empire, 1884-1918*, (New York 1930), pp. 265-6.

## C. AREA, POPULATION, AND TRADE OF THE B AND C MANDATES

	<i>Present Mandatory</i>	<i>Entry into Force of Mandate</i>	<i>Area</i> <sup>1 a</sup> (000's square miles)	<i>Population</i> <sup>1 b</sup> (000's omitted)			<i>Imports</i> <sup>1 a</sup> (Old U.S. gold dollars) (000 000's omitted)		<i>Exports</i> <sup>1 a</sup>	
				<i>European</i>	<i>Asiatic</i>	<i>Native</i>	1929	1937	1929	1937
Tanganyika (B)	Great Britain	July 1922	374	8.5	33.4	5,096.2	19.6	11.0	18.1	16.4
British Cameroons (B)	Great Britain	July 1922	34	0.4	—	817.6	1.0	0.8	1.5	1.5
British Togo (B)	Great Britain	July 1922	13	0.04	—	293.7	0.3	7	1.0	7
South West Africa (C)	South Africa	December 1920	323	31.0	—	328.5	14.6	6.9	17.1	10.9
French Cameroons (B)	France	July 1922	166	2.3	0.07	2,338.8	7.6	5.4	6.7	7.4
French Togo (B)	France	July 1922	20	0.4	0.06	762.9	4.0	2.1	3.3	2.0
Ruanda-Urundi (B)	Belgium	July 1922	21	0.9	0.6	3,385.7	1.7	1.4	0.4	1.8
New Guinea (C)	Australia	December 1920	91	3.2	1.7	500.0 <sup>6</sup>	4.2	3.8	5.6	7.3
Nauru (C)	Australia <sup>7</sup>	December 1920	0.01	0.2	1.1	1.6	0.5	0.5	1.7	1.3
Western Samoa (C).	New Zealand	December 1920	1.1	0.6 <sup>4</sup>	0.5	51.2	1.4	0.5	1.4	0.9
Marianne Caroline, & Marshall Islands (C)	Japan	December 1920	0.8	0.08	51.6 <sup>5</sup>	50.5	3.3	3.2	3.5	4.3
Total			1,043.91	47.62	89.03	13,626.7	58.2	35.6	60.3	53.8

<sup>1</sup> Chief Sources : (a) *League of Nations Statistical Year Book*, 1936-7; (b) R. R. Kuczynski : *Colonial Populations*, Oxford University Press, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Nauru is a British Mandate administered by Australia.

<sup>3</sup> Chiefly Indians.

<sup>4</sup> There are also 2,453 half-castes.

<sup>5</sup> Chiefly Japanese.

<sup>6</sup> Areas under Government control only.

<sup>7</sup> Not available separately.



## Appendix IV

### LABOUR CONDITIONS IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA

(Summarized from French Memorandum No. 10, *Le Travail et la Main-d'œuvre autochtone en Afrique Occidentale Française*, by M. Henri Labouret.)

#### LABOUR CODE

Up to 1925 no need for special regulation of native labour was apparent, though certain regulations were applied to forest work in the Côte d'Ivoire. But as early as 1921, the question of labour supply was considered by a committee of qualified persons summoned by the Governor. It was decided to lay down certain general principles, which were published in a decree of October 22, 1925, and elaborated in an *Arrêté* of March 26, 1926.

The first article provided for the establishment in each colony of a Labour Office, fixed a minimum age-limit for workers, prescribed hours of work in different enterprises, a rest of two hours at midday and a weekly day of rest, and certain days of holiday; conditions for the keeping of records, for the provision of identity books, for sickness etc. The particular regulations for each of these matters are determined by the local lieutenant-governor after consultation with Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Agriculture, etc.

The second article deals with wages and conditions of payment (including reserved payments, for which stamps are affixed, which the worker receives at the end of the contract), conditions of housing and rations, and provision for repatriation.

The third article deals with the medical supervision for workers engaged under contract. A decree of March 26, 1926 provides for the inspection of workers on their arrival at the place of work, when those not fit for work are rejected and repatriated at the employer's expense. Those who are returned are subjected to vaccination against small-pox and to various preventive injections required by the colonial health service, the measures taken being inscribed in the register of the enterprise. The amount of the rations provided is fixed by the local administrative authority on the basis of the local military ration, with the possibility of the substitution of locally produced foods with the approval of the Health Services. Camps for workers must be in selected positions, taking into account the danger of malarial and other dangers, and provided with water and sanitary requirements. If health conditions are

unsatisfactory the matter must be rectified at the employer's cost. Where more than a certain number of workers are employed, a doctor or nurse must be resident. The execution of these provisions is secured by visits of inspection by medical officers.

The fourth article provides for regular visits by inspectors, by local officers, and by representatives of the Health Services, and for arbitration where necessary. Penalties by imprisonment or fine are provided for certain offences against the code.

More recent legislation provides protection for women and children, and for compensation for accidents.

An *Arrêté* of January 20, 1932, provides for the organization of an inspectorate with headquarters at Dakar to supervise the execution of the labour code. For two years (1934-36) this office was suppressed for reasons of economy, and the local service of inspection was attached to local services. M. Labouret insists on the need for a specialized service apart from the ordinary administrative officers. The question was particularly important for the plantations and forest undertakings of Guinea and the Côte d'Ivoire. He suggests that a special service for these provinces might be staffed from the home country inspectorate, but recommends prudence in this matter because of the great difference between conditions at home and in Africa, and, a preliminary apprenticeship in Africa, conditions.

The *Arrêté* of March 29, 1926, provided for labour bureaux to establish proper relations between supply and demand; and these bureaux did excellent work until it was unfortunately found necessary to curtail their activities during the depression for reasons of economy, but they do not appear to have justified the hopes placed on them. The arbitration tribunals provided for do not appear to have done much work.

A certain amount of unemployment is registered for general workers and for employees in the colony of Senegal and in Dakar.

Since 1927, a certain number of natives of the second contingent called up for military service have been put to public works in connexion with irrigation and railway construction. The total in 10 years was only 16,000 for irrigation works and 4,465 for railway work. For irrigation, only 600 men were taken in 1936. The workers are taken from the near neighbourhood and may be accompanied by their families. They receive food, lodging and rations, medical attendance etc., and a small monthly payment, with some reserved pay which may amount to 125 or 250 francs at the end of two years' service. It is desired to replace this compulsory labour by voluntary labour.

The population are subject to certain *prestations* or demands for public

services, which may in many cases be redeemed by money payments. The actual days of work rendered in this way in 1935 totalled about 21 million, the number of days which could be exacted from any one person ranging from four in Senegal to eight to ten in Côte d'Ivoire. The work was mainly on road maintenance.

The number of workers engaged in private enterprises was put at 22,785 under written contract and 117,803 without written contract; corresponding numbers for public services were 825 and 37,497, making in all a total of 178,908.

The question of deferred payments has caused some trouble. The reason for their institution was that the man leaving his family for a long period should make some contribution to the family when he returned. In fact, those who stay at home working on their own plots and the common land can provide for themselves and the absent worker ordinarily pays the taxes. Seasonal workers complain that, when they return home, members of the family on both sides demand presents and the head of the family confiscates the remainder of the money for the payment of family debts. The worker himself generally seeks to buy a few commodities which he can sell with profit on the way home, and he does not like a system by which he only gets the money when he has returned to his village where there are no shops.

The authorities have taken measures to prevent excessive recruiting, and the numbers to be recruited in any district are now fixed by the local governor, and many enterprises find it difficult to secure labour. There is not the same willingness or need to go down to the coast to work now that there are good communications in the interior and the farmer can sell his own groundnuts on the spot. In the northern part of the Côte d'Ivoire the peasant can earn five francs a day by selling rubber gathered in forests and does not need to go far afield to work; and he has been encouraged to plant cocoa and coffee trees for himself, and to extend his cultivation of rice.

Employers are also hampered in obtaining workers by the higher wages obtainable in the neighbouring British colony of Gold Coast.

Seasonal migration plays an important part, the most important being the migration of French Sudan peasants, usually about 60,000 to 70,000 a year, to the plains of Gambia and Senegal in winter. These men usually work two or four days a week for an employer, receiving in return a small plot which each cultivates for himself. Before the crisis, these Sudanese migrants could hope to make from 1,600 to 2,000 francs in five months' work. When earnings fall below this they either stay at home or go elsewhere.

There are also migrations from the French interior to Gold Coast and

Nigeria. M. Labouret estimates that about 200,000 per annum go to Gold Coast, largely to Coomassie; British authorities admit the importance of the work done by French natives in developing the colony. It is estimated that in the present century they have cleared and planted about 150,000 cocoa farms covering more than 1,400 square miles, and contributed largely to building the post of Takoradi, roads, and to the exploitation of gold and diamond mines. Unskilled labourers are able to earn from 1/6 to 2/- a day, which contrasts with much lower wages on the French coast.

## Appendix V

### LIST OF MEMORANDA ON THE COLONIAL PROBLEM SUBMITTED TO THE CONFERENCE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE<sup>1</sup>

#### I

##### MEMORANDA PRESENTED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE

- Austrian Memorandum No. 8.* — Austria and the Colonial Problem, by Stephan Verosta.
- Belgian Memorandum No. 1.* — Le Bassin conventionnel du Congo Belge.
- Danish Memorandum No. 1.* — A Comparative Study of the Economic Development of Small Countries with and without Colonies (The Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden), by H. M. Gormsen.
- French Memorandum No. 4.* — Les Compagnies à Charte comme Instrument de Mise en Valeur internationale de l'Afrique, by René Hoffherr (in *Politique Etrangère*, 1937, III).\*
- French Memorandum No. 5.* — La Coutume indigène en Pays colonial : Applications, Dérogations, by René Maunier.
- French Memorandum No. 6.* — Le Statut des Etrangers dans la France Métropolitaine et la France d'Outre-Mer, by Jean de Lauwe.
- French Memorandum No. 8.* — La Question des Matières Premières et les Revendications coloniales : Examen des Solutions proposées, by Gilbert Maroger (Centre d'Etudes de Politique étrangère) 1937.\*
- French Memorandum No. 9.* — Un Exemple de Changement pacifique : La Syrie; son Evolution du Régime du Mandat à celui de l'Indépendance, by R. Montagne.
- French Memorandum No. 10.* — Le Travail et la Main-d'œuvre autochtone en Afrique Occidentale Française, by Henri Labouret.
- French Memorandum No. 11.* — Le Cameroun, by Henri Labouret (Centre d'Etudes de Politique Etrangère) 1937.\*

<sup>1</sup> The majority of these memoranda were distributed in the form of mimeographed documents, and may be obtained at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, or at the headquarters of the national committees and institutions affiliated to the Conference. Published documents are indicated by an asterisk.

- Netherlands Memorandum No. 1.* — Définition du Terme " Colonie " et distinction des différents Types de Colonies, by Emanuel Moresco.
- Netherlands Memorandum No. 3.* — An Outline of Agriculture in the Netherlands Indies, by C. J. J. van Hall.
- Netherlands Memorandum No. 4.* — The Colonial Question, by B. Schrieke.
- Netherlands Memorandum No. 6.* — Claims to Colonies, Markets and Raw Materials, by Emanuel Moresco.
- Swiss Memorandum No. 4.* — La Colonisation et la Politique démographique en Suisse, by Hans Bernhard.
- United Kingdom Memorandum No. 1.* — Raw Materials and Colonies, by the Information Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London), 1936.\*
- United Kingdom Memorandum No. 2.* — World Population, by A. M. Carr-Saunders (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1937).\*
- United Kingdom Memorandum No. 3.* — The Production, Consumption and Sources of Supply of Raw Materials in the United Kingdom. [Prepared in the Study Groups Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs].
- United Kingdom Memorandum No. 4.* — The Status of Aliens and the Position of British Subjects in the British Empire, by A. Berriedale Keith.
- United Kingdom Memorandum No. 8.* — Capital Investment in Colonial Territories. [Prepared in the Study Groups Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs].
- United Kingdom Memorandum No. 9.* — Colonial Trade, Shipping and Commercial Policy. [Prepared in the Study Groups Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs].
- United Kingdom Memorandum No. 10.* — Public Finance of the Colonial Empires. [Prepared in the Study Groups Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs].
- United Kingdom Memorandum No. 11.* — Considerations Affecting the Transfer of Colonial Territories. [Prepared in the Study Groups Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs].
- United Kingdom Memorandum No. 13.* — The Definition and Classification of Colonies and Dependencies and the Status of the British Dominions. [Prepared in the Study Groups Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs].

- United Kingdom Memorandum No. 14.* — Colonial Populations, by R. Kuczynski (Oxford University Press, London 1937).\*
- United Kingdom Memorandum No. 15.* — Some Statistics of External Capital Invested in Ceylon, Malaya and the British West Indies [Prepared in the Study Groups Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs].
- United States Memorandum No. 1.* — Raw Materials in Peace and War, by Eugene Staley (Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 1937).\*
- United States Memorandum No. 2.* — Limits of Land Settlement: A Preliminary Report on Present-day Possibilities, by Ten Authors (preface by Isaiah Bowman), (Council on Foreign Relations, New York 1937).\*
- United States Memorandum No. 3.* — Peaceful Change: a Study of International Procedures, by Frederick Sherwood Dunn (Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 1937).\*
- United States Memorandum No. 4.* — American Experience with Problems of Population in the Philippines and Puerto Rico, by Joseph Ralston Hayden.
- United States Memorandum No. 5.* — The Reversal in American Expansionist Policy, by Robert Gale Woolbert.

## II

## INTERNATIONAL MEMORANDA

- Memorandum No. 1.* — Native Labour in Africa with Special Reference to International Conventions, by C. W. H. Weaver.<sup>1</sup>
- Memorandum No. 2.* — Monetary Aspect of the Raw Materials Problem and the Revival of International Trade, by Michael A. Heilperin [International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris, 1938].\*
- Memorandum No. 6.* — Restrictions on the Exploitation of Natural Resources by Foreigners, by Grayson Kirk.

<sup>1</sup> See *Colonial Questions and Peace*. A Survey under the direction of E. Moreasco. (International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris, 1939) Chapter XVI. The Problem of Native Labour.

## III

DOCUMENTS PLACED AT THE DISPOSAL  
OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE  
*Germany*

*Memorandum No. 1.* — Beiträge zur Deutschen Kolonialfrage, herausgegeben von Diedrich Westermann. [Preface by F. Berber. Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Instituts für Aussenpolitische Forschung, 1937. Essener Verlagsanstalt, Essen, 1937].\*

*Royal Institute of International Affairs*

*Peaceful Change.* — Lectures delivered at the London School of Economics, edited by C. A. W. Manning (Oxford University Press, London, 1937).\*



## Appendix VI

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