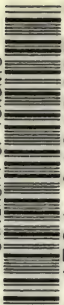


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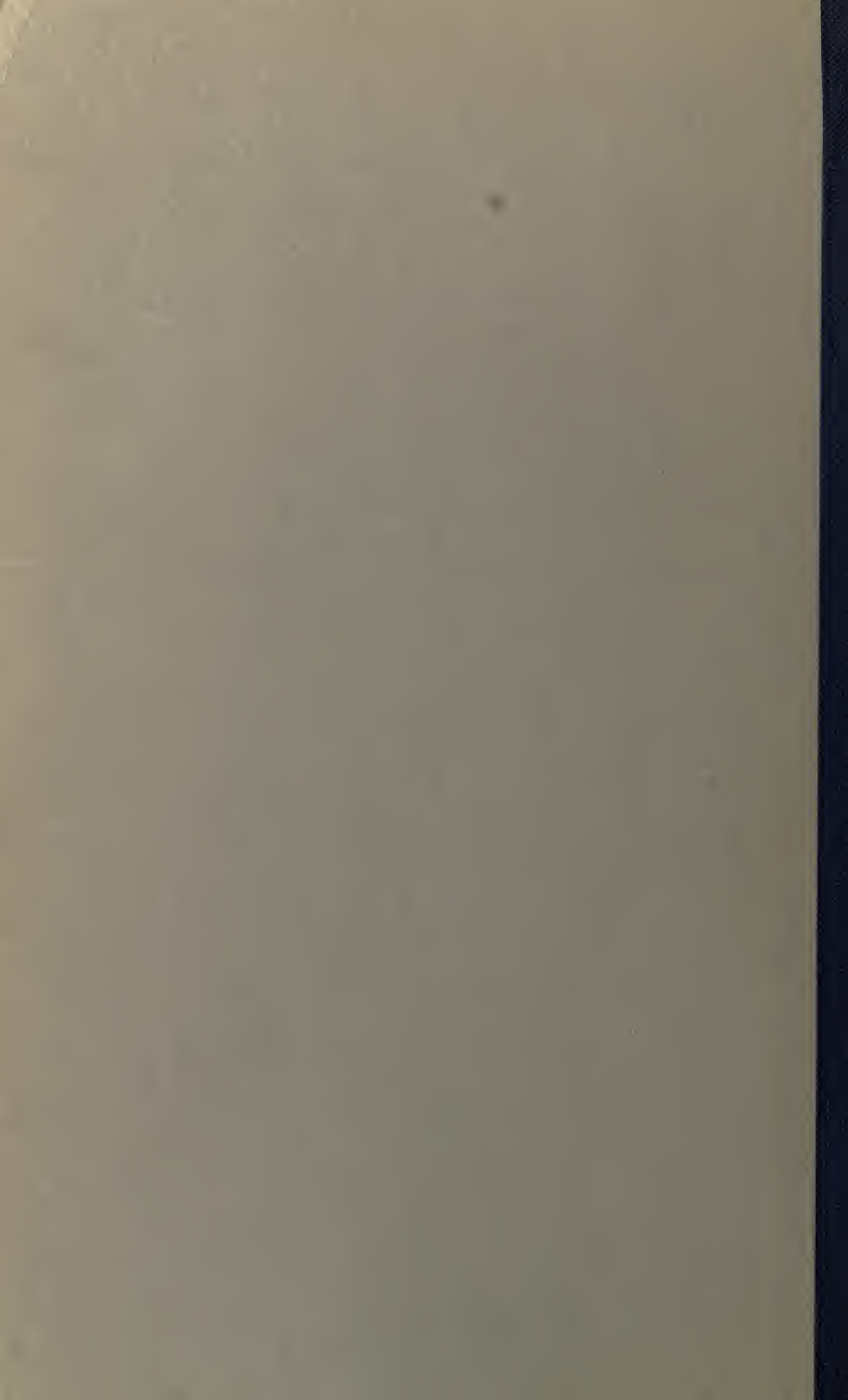


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# THE EMPIRE IN AFRICA: LABOUR'S POLICY.

## I.—INTRODUCTION.

As politically Labour becomes better organised and more powerful it is being necessarily compelled more and more to consider and to formulate a policy with regard to a number of problems not immediately connected with industrial and economic domestic questions. The time may be not far distant when Labour will be called upon to assume responsibility for the Government of the country. It must therefore be prepared with a policy, worked out in some detail, applicable to all the wider problems of our society and government. Such a policy should in each case be most carefully considered; it must spring directly from the broad economic and political and social principles and ideals of Labour, and it must be worked out in sufficient detail, and in a practical manner, so that Labour may, as soon as it has the power, take the first steps to put it into operation.

One such problem, to which Labour has hitherto naturally given little detailed attention, is the Empire. About a quarter of the earth and over one-quarter of the earth's inhabitants are included within the British Empire. Of the 435 million inhabitants of the British Empire only about 65 millions, in the United Kingdom and the Dominions, enjoy any kind of responsible government; the remaining 370 millions have practically no control over their governments, which are ultimately responsible to the British Cabinet, the imperial Parliament at Westminster, and the electorate of the United Kingdom, which numbers about 21 million persons. The government which has been applied to the various Dependencies, Crown Colonies, and Protectorates in Asia and Africa differs considerably from place to place. Politically, Labour must now have an imperial policy, springing from Labour principles and applicable in each locality. In this pamphlet we shall consider the problem of what should be the policy of Labour with regard to the Empire in Africa. But we shall consider only those parts of our African Empire which are governed as Crown Colonies or Protectorates. In other words we shall omit the Union of South Africa, since it is a self-governing Dominion, and we shall omit Egypt, since the problem of its government is in Africa unique, and should either be considered separately or in conjunction with the problem of Indian government.

Over one and a-half million square miles of African territory and some 28 million Africans are subject to British rule in Crown Colonies and Protectorates.\* The

\*The following were the African Crown Colonies and Protectorates in 1914:—

A.—WEST CENTRAL AFRICA.	Area, sq. miles.	Population.
Nigeria .....	336,000 ...	17,125,000
Gold Coast, Ashanti, and Northern Territories.....	80,000 ...	1,503,386
Sierra Leone.....	24,915 ...	1,403,132
Gambia .....	4,504 ...	200,000
Total .....	445,419	20,231,618
B.—EAST CENTRAL AFRICA.		
British East Africa.....	246,822 ...	2,807,000
Uganda .....	109,119 ...	3,361,117
Zanzibar .....	1,020 ...	196,733
Somaliland .....	68,000 ...	300,000
Nyasaland .....	39,573 ...	1,200,000
Total .....	464,534	7,864,850
C.—SOUTH AFRICA.		
Bechuanaland .....	275,000 ...	125,000
Basutoland .....	11,716 ...	405,903
Total .....	286,716	530,903
D.—RHODESIA .....	340,000 ...	1,654,000
E.—THE SOUDAN .....	984,500 ...	3,000,000

administration in this vast area and over these 28 millions is absolutely autocratic. We propose in this introduction to indicate the general character of this administration and to consider what Labour's attitude should be towards it, if it follows out in Africa the principles and ideals which it has professed in Europe. In later chapters we shall consider in greater detail the more important aspects of the problem and attempt to show how Labour should proceed to apply its policy in detail.

Practically the whole territory of this African Empire was acquired between 1880 and 1900. It was acquired, therefore, during that virulent outbreak of economic imperialism which afflicted all the Great Powers of Europe during the last 20 years of the 19th century. The objects of the acquisition were quite clearly stated by Mr. Chamberlain and other exponents of this imperialism; they were economic, the provision of markets for the products of British industry, sources of raw materials for British industry, and profitable fields of investment for British capital. The keynote of this imperialist policy was therefore the exploitation of tropical possessions for the benefit of British capital and British industry.

It should be remarked, however, that until quite recently there have been notable divergencies in the actual interpretation of this imperialistic policy. They are indicated in greater detail below. But it may be here stated that while in British East Africa, Nyasaland, and Rhodesia the exploitation of the land, its resources, and the labour of the native peoples for the benefit of the white immigrant and capitalist, has been the rule, it has been the exception in British West-Central Africa. The character of British policy in West-Central Africa has been determined by various considerations, some of which redound to the credit of the Colonial Office and of local administrators, and it is important to note that the native population of these areas exceeds in numbers the native population of the whole of the rest of British Africa. It is necessary to emphasise the relative excellence which has marked British policy in West-Central Africa for two main reasons: first, because it furnishes conclusive evidence that an economic relationship between these African peoples and the outer world is not incompatible with just and humane government; secondly, because there is at present a marked tendency—of which the palm kernel ordinance is symptomatic—on the part of the Colonial Office, at the dictation of capitalist interests, to modify, in a reactionary direction, the policy hitherto pursued, a tendency which Labour must strenuously resist.

It should be borne in mind that of the 32 million inhabitants of these territories only a few thousand are white men, and these, apart from Government officials, are either capitalists, planters, miners, and settlers, as in East Africa, Nyasaland, and Rhodesia, or, as in West-Central Africa, chiefly merchants and miners. The central organ of government is entirely in the hands of the white men. Except in the West African Dependencies, where a few natives are nominated by the Governor to serve, the unofficial representatives upon the central organ are composed entirely of white men engaged upon various enterprises in the Dependencies. A very large portion of the revenue is everywhere expended upon the salaries and establishment of the officials of the administration. In East Africa, Nyasaland, and Rhodesia direct taxation, far exceeding that levied upon the white population, is imposed upon the native population, which has been deprived of its best land, sold and leased at very low prices to white men. Everything is then done by taxation and administrative pressure to compel the native to work for extremely low wages for the white planter or capitalist who has dispossessed him of his land. Little or nothing is done in any portion of British protected Africa to educate the native to take his place as a free man in the economic or political system which the European has imposed upon Africa.

The principles of government described in the last paragraph are clearly contradictory of two of Labour's most fundamental principles and ideals. Labour is opposed to any social or political system which allows the exploitation of one class or one individual by another class or individual. At home Labour is attempting to substitute a system of equal economic opportunity and industrial democracy for a system based upon the economic exploitation of the worker by the capitalist. In Africa the policy of Labour must follow the same lines; it must aim at substituting a system based on the



common economic interests of the inhabitants for the existing system based on the economic exploitation of the native by the white man. At the same time Labour must aim at substituting a political system of responsible and representative government for the existing autocracy. In a word Labour's policy, if based upon Labour principles, must be the abolition of economic exploitation and the education of the native so that he may take his place as a free man both in the economic and political system imposed upon Africa.

two pronged attack.

## II.—LAND AND LABOUR.

The questions of land and of 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 for three main purposes: (1) To provide for its sustenance, (2) for purposes of internal trade and commerce, and (3) for export trade where such has been or could be developed. 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, without the means of subsistence, is compelled to work for wages or to starve.

### ORIGINAL LAND SYSTEM IN AFRICA.

When Europeans first descended upon Africa they found the following system in force in most places:—

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 enjoyed fixity of tenure and the benefit of his improvements, subject to the performance of his social and political obligations. He could not permanently alienate the land he occupied, which reverted to the community at his death. He could be expelled from his holding by the heads of the community for grave misdemeanour. 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 of cultivation.

### THE TWO LAND POLICIES IN AFRICA.

Labour, in working out its own policy, must first realise that there are two administrative policies to-day actually in conflict 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 European capitalist exploitation or ownership of the land, may be called the European Policy.

1. THE AFRICAN POLICY.—This policy 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 at fostering the growth of large native industries. It does not seek to exclude European enterprise and capital, but to confine them within the limits where they can be usefully exercised without infringing the liberties or arresting the progress of the native peoples. It encourages the European merchant, and issues licences to Europeans for the collection of certain forest products for a term not exceeding ten years, 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, not exceeding one square mile in area per applicant, and with the proviso that no one person or group of persons shall hold more than three square miles.

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. This is the policy generally followed in British West Africa (see A in above footnote).

2. THE EUROPEAN POLICY.—This policy favours the economic development of the country by European 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 European syndicates and individuals immense areas of land. It encourages and assists European 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 own profit. 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 in European employ divorced from their land.

The territories to which this policy applies are British East Africa, Nyasaland, Rhodesia, and parts of South Africa (see B, C, and D in above footnote).

#### FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTER OF THE CONFLICT OF THE TWO POLICIES.

This conflict of policy is not confined to the portion of tropical Africa under British protection. It is going on all over the African tropics. The future of the tropical African peoples and of their relationship with civilisation is bound up with it, and will be settled, for good or evil, in accordance with the triumph or the defeat of the schools of thought which these policies respectively represent. The problem is one from which Labour cannot dissociate itself, for, sooner or later, Labour as the Executive Power in the British State, will be called upon to take decisions in regard to it.

The question to be determined is whether the "African policy," in force to-day over the bulk of the British Protectorates in tropical Africa, shall be deflected from its course by the "European Policy" at present confined to East Africa and Nyasaland (and practically all the colonies of other nations), or whether the latter shall be modified in accordance with what experience has shown to be just and wise elsewhere.

#### RESULTS OF THE TWO POLICIES.

Before considering what should be Labour's policy towards these problems it is necessary to consider what have been the effects of these two existing policies upon (a) the economic development of African territories (b) upon labour and the social conditions of the African population.

##### (a) *Economic Results of the Two Policies:—*

The European 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. The facts, however, 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. Here are the facts:—

In Nigeria and West Africa generally we have in operation the African Policy, under which native communities work their own land, as free men, with no other stimulus to labour than that supplied by their natural commercial aptitude. They cultivate, gather, prepare, and sell to European merchants palm kernels, cocoa, cotton, shea-nuts, rubber, ground-nuts, etc. In British East Africa and Nyasaland, under the European Policy, the most fertile land has been alienated to European



companies and planters, who employ natives to produce cotton, hides and skins, coffee, oil, seed, copra, sisal, rubber, ground-nuts, etc. A comparison between the exports of these territories shows that the economic exploitation of the land under the African Policy compares favourably with that under the European Policy:—

## AFRICAN POLICY.

	Area, sq. miles.	Population in 1,000's.	Exports 1913, in £'s.	Exports per head of population.
Nigeria .....	336,000	16,500	7,352,377	8s. 10d.
Gold Coast .....	80,000	1,500	5,427,106*	£3 12s.
Gambia .....	4,500	200	867,187*	£4 5s.
Sierra Leone .....	24,195	1,403	1,731,252	£1 3s.

## EUROPEAN POLICY.

British East Africa .....	246,322	2,800	1,039,252*	7s. 1d.
Nyasaland .....	39,573	1,200	234,317	2s.

\* Excluding bullion and specie.

It is, of course, true that the natural wealth of British tropical Western Africa is far greater than that of East Africa. But when due weight has been given to this fact it is clear from these figures that the economic exploitation of African territory under the African Policy is more successful than under the European Policy. The reason for this becomes obvious as soon as one examines—

(b) *The Social Effects of the Two Policies:—*

## 1. NATIVE GOVERNMENT AND THE LAND UNDER THE AFRICAN POLICY.

Native polity and social economy are inseparably connected with the preservation of the native system of land tenure, which is the basis of the social structure. The chiefs in council hold the land in trust for the people. This trusteeship is the foundation stone of their authority. The administration of the country throughout British West Africa has been hitherto conducted through the existing mechanism of native government, which it has been the object of the Executive to maintain and improve. If the authority of the chiefs in council as trustees for the land, adjudicators in disputes, and allotters of unoccupied land were destroyed the native mechanism of Government would fall to pieces, and an entirely new mechanism would need to be created at great cost.

## 2. LABOUR UNDER THE EUROPEAN POLICY IN EAST AFRICA.

In British East Africa the effect of the European Policy in creating a Labour problem can be seen most 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 British East Africa is nominally free. There is no slavery, and no native is compelled to work. But our occupation is creating a large and discontented landless proletariat which is a danger to the country and to the British occupation, and works in conditions which in some respects reproduce or even exaggerate the evils of slavery.

The main causes of this are (1) the ownership of immense areas of land by Europeans; (2) the acceptance by the Government of a duty to help European owners in the development of land; (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; (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., Kenia, 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.

The trend towards employment under Europeans is further assisted in Nyasaland by taxation, since the native who stays at home pays double the tax paid by the native employé. There is no such differentiation in British East Africa. But the policy of the planter in British East Africa has been to force the Government into the position of a recruiter of native labour for them, and this has affected the policy of the Government in spite of the vigorous opposition of a number of officials. When labour was short there the Government was induced by the settlers to step in. Magistrates were accordingly instructed to "encourage" labour migration by "moral suasion." Some magistrates ignored the instruction and were attacked by the settlers and their representatives. Others sent police or tax-collectors to get men. Others appealed to the chiefs, a procedure which was effective, but undermined the position of the chiefs with their own people. It is inevitable that the "advice" of officials reaches the individual native in the form of compulsion.

As a European cannot, in tropical Africa, put the land to fruitful use by his own exertions, the policy of expropriating the native communities from their land can only be pursued for the deliberate purpose of stultifying native progress, and forcing natives into the employ of European syndicates and individuals.

Once administration is directed to this end and the native is looked upon not as the rightful owner of the soil but as a predestined labourer in the interests of Europeans, compulsion in various forms follows as a matter of course.

Pressure is incessantly brought to bear upon the Administration to procure cheap and abundant supplies of native labour. Pressure is exercised by the Administration upon the chiefs, who, in turn, are compelled to put pressure upon their people. Licences are granted to recruiting agents who have behind them the authority, whether openly exercised or not, of the officials. The Administration's first care, under such a system as this, is not, and cannot be, the welfare of the native, but the interest of the European exploiter of the soil.

Innumerable evil results follow. Native society is broken up. Native cultivation of food crops suffers. The labour obtained is indifferent in quality, sullen, and unresponsive. Punishments in the shape of fines and floggings are constant. In due course, native uprisings occur with the inevitable loss of life and financial expenditure.

The evils of employment under European settlers may be summed up as follows:—

1. The natives get worse food than they get in the villages.
2. In many plantations disease is prevalent.
3. The sanitary and moral conditions are bad generally.
4. As a result the physical condition of the labourers deteriorates.
5. Severe punishments inflicted by employers.
6. All these evils are credited by the natives to the Government, not to the settlers, and actually the Government does nothing except to send an inspector occasionally to see that the contract rates of pay are observed.
7. Surrender of personal freedom.

The results of this system and policy are:—

1. The quality of the labour is bad; much deliberate idling, hence frequent fines, flogging, and much bad feeling, leading to sedition and general dislike of the British occupation.
2. Economic confusion. Labour is withdrawn from cultivation, hence scarcity of food. Money is given as wages in response to no economic need, hence a superabundance of cash which further raises prices.
3. Frequent desertion—a heavily punished criminal offence.
4. Matters have been made worse recently by the explicit compulsion of porters for war service, who have died in tens of thousands. However necessary, this has finally destroyed our claim to protect natives against war with natives, and has produced, even in Nyasaland, a general desire that our occupation should cease.
5. There is now grave danger of insurrection.



## A POLICY FOR LABOUR.

Labour now has to consider how it can apply its principles in a definite and detailed policy to the conditions in East and West Africa which we have briefly described above. Labour's principles may be described as:—

(1) No economic exploitation of one class (native) by another class (white man.

(2) The Government must secure for the native the opportunity of developing, as a free man, the economic resources of the land for the benefit of the native communities.

In applying these principles Labour has to remember that the conditions in British territory on the East and West Coast are different because in the East the European policy has already been largely applied, the land taken from the native, his tribal institutions destroyed, while in the West attempts to introduce this system have in the main been resisted by the Government. Although, therefore, it is possible to outline a general policy for Labour to apply to all African tropical possessions, it will be necessary to apply special provisions in East Coast territory where the European policy has already alienated the land to Europeans and created a landless native proletariat.

The general policy of Labour, if it is to apply the two principles, must be as follows:—

### (a) LAND.

1. The land should be treated by the administration as the property of the native community or communities.

2. Native rights in land and in the land's natural and cultivated products 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.

3. Definite alienation of land, alike to Europeans or to natives, should be prohibited for any purposes whatever.

4. Every native family should be assured sufficient land for its support, with security of tenure.

5. 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 to make the most economic use of the land. In general, native communities should in every way be encouraged and assisted in developing their land and in improving their live stock.

6. Concession of land to Europeans for purposes of cultivation and grazing should, when granted, take the form of short time leases and should be only granted over restricted areas and after careful inquiry and with the consent of the native community affected and under Executive supervision. Licences granted to Europeans for the harvesting of natural products should only be granted after careful inquiry and with the consent of the native community affected.

7. Mineral products 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 by the State.

### (b) LABOUR.

**SLAVERY.**—Every form of slave-trading and slave-owning should be prohibited. The prohibition should be absolute of 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.

**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 a 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 the employ of immigrants or white men, or between those who work and those who do not, should be prohibited.

**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.

**THE COLOUR BAR.**—In all territories no barrier 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.

A policy such as that sketched above would continue and develop the African Policy pursued in West Africa and prevent any extension of the European Policy now pursued in the East. The following special provisions would be required in order gradually to introduce Labour's policy into territory on the East Coast, where alienation of land to Europeans has already introduced the European Policy:—

(a) LAND.

1. In order to give to every native family sufficient land for its support, the Government must, if necessary, re-enter upon alienated land. The Government must take power to cancel, revise, or repurchase concessions of alienated land in order to provide land for the natives.

2. The Government must stimulate and organise village production, and thus show the natives that money can be earned in the villages. This will not only stem the dangerously rapid disintegration of village life, but also improve the quality of labour generally.

3. The Government must encourage tribal self-government in whatever form natives themselves wish. Where tribal authority has fallen into decay, European officers should have the duty of (1) reviving it, whether in old or in new forms, and (2) provisionally allocating land among families.

(b) LABOUR.

1. The Government must make labour free in fact as well as name everywhere.

2. The Government must prohibit every kind of influence by magistrates and other Government agents in obtaining labour, and persuade the natives that the supply of labour to settlers is no concern whatever of the Government. The Government should publicly announce to all native authorities that all pressure to persuade natives to work for wages is forbidden.

3. Public Departments, when they have occasion to employ labour, must treat labour as entirely free, adjusting wages to supply.

(The effect of this will be (i.) at first labour will be scarce and dear; (ii.) increased wages will be balanced in time by increased output of the labourer; (iii.) if the attractions offered are sufficient, free labour will be as plentiful in the end as forced labour is now.)

### III.—GOVERNMENT AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

#### (a) THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

Though there are differences in the form of the Central Government of the various dependencies, they are in their main outlines the same. Usually the Central Government consists of a Governor appointed by the Crown, an Executive Council composed of officials, and a Legislative Council nominated by the Governor and consisting of official and unofficial members, the officials being in a majority. The unofficial members are representatives of European commerce, European planters, and in some cases missionaries. Laws are made by the Governor in Legislative Council. In Nigeria there is no Legislative Council, but there is an advisory and deliberative body, the Nigerian Council, consisting of the Governor, the members of the Executive Council, other official members, three European members representing commerce and industry, four European members nominated by the Governor, and six native members nominated by the Governor. In Uganda there is no Executive or Legislative Council, the administration of the native kings or chiefs having been retained; in some parts the king is assisted by native ministers and a native assembly. In British East Africa the Legislative Council has a majority of officials, but there are elected representatives of the whites, two or three Indian nominees are supposed to look after the interests of the Indians, and some nominated missionary may presently be appointed to look after the cause of the natives of the country.

It will be seen that in every case responsibility rests at present with the Colonial Office officials, and that in no case is there any representation of the natives in the European sense of that term. Whereas in West-Central Africa local government is carried out by the existing native mechanism of government (native councils, emirates, etc.), recognised by the Central Government, steps should be taken to secure direct representation for the larger units upon the central administration with the object of developing and extending those powers of self-government inherent in native society. Labour principles require that we should constantly have as our ultimate aim, first the establishment of genuine representation both for natives or native Councils and Indians on the Legislative Councils, and secondly the gradual transfer to these Legislative Councils, after education has spread and representation has become established, of responsibility. It is important that representation should come first, in order to prevent legislation in the interest of the exploiters before the natives have an effective voice more commensurable with their numbers. Responsibility should begin in the municipalities and in the government of the smaller areas, in the supervision of sanitation, irrigation, roads, and possible education. Only after experience of this should responsible government be extended to wider areas.

#### (b) LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Where the native system and institutions of local self-government have been retained they should be encouraged and developed, care being taken that the development is in the direction of popular rather than autocratic control. Where as in parts of East Africa they have been destroyed, the administration must develop new institutions of native local self-government in accordance with the needs and desires of the population.

In this connection attention must be directed to the question of revenue and finance. The revenue of a dependency should be expended upon services which serve the needs and interests of the native population. In many dependencies this is not the case; revenue is expended almost entirely upon public works and departments which serve the economic interests of the white population, and nothing is done to develop, e.g., roads, bridges, in native areas. Besides the provision of native schools and education, an adequate part of the revenue should be put at the disposal of local authorities for the development of roads, bridges, etc., in native areas.



## (c) INTERNATIONAL CONTROL.

The adoption of the mandate system under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations makes it necessary to consider even in the case of British dependencies the possibility of some kind of international control. Under Article 22 the mandate system is, of course, applied only to the late German colonies. But it is applied because the Peace Conference adopted a principle which has already been put forward by Labour, namely, that the "well-being and development of" the peoples of African territories is "a sacred trust of civilisation," and that the European State administering the territories must be considered only as a trustee or mandatory answerable for its trust to the rest of the civilised world. It is essential that the obligations and rights of the mandatory power and of the native inhabitants should be defined in the mandates. But once this is done, and if the professions of Article 22 are honestly carried out by the League and its mandataries, the system must have great effect upon the status of European States in non-mandated African tropical territory. The implications of the mandate system and its honest fulfilment must be so important that it would be not only inconsistent but practically impossible for any State to refuse to accept in non-mandated territory the same obligations as are accepted under the mandates. In a word, the principle of trusteeship under a League of Nations cannot be confined arbitrarily to particular pieces of territory; it must be extended to cover all tropical Africa, and the right of the community of nations to supervise the due carrying out by the trustee of the obligations of its trust must be frankly recognised.

## IV.—EDUCATION.

The paramount importance of education in tropical Africa must already have become apparent to the reader of the previous pages. The European has introduced into Africa his own civilisation, his own form of government, and his own economic capitalist system. Unless the Labour principles for the government of these African territories be adopted, the native social and governmental system must inevitably be destroyed, and the native will be subjected to a Government which he can neither understand nor control, and to an economic system which exploits him. European Governments have nowhere in Africa made a serious attempt to give the African the knowledge which alone would make him capable of understanding and controlling the circumstances which those Governments impose upon him. Europeans have, indeed, in many cases deliberately kept the natives uneducated and ignorant in the hope that they may be more docile under economic exploitation. In Nigeria the revenue for 1916 was £2,830,000, the expenditure on education was £46,000; in British East Africa the revenue was £326,000, and the expenditure on education £1,250.

We have seen that Labour principles require that the British system of administration shall be altered and shall aim at conditions in which the native will take his place as a free man in the economic system, reaping for himself and his community the riches of his own country, and will also take his place as a free citizen controlling his own government. Both these results depend ultimately upon education, and the first duty of the Governments of the various dependencies must be to put into operation a deliberate and detailed educational scheme to carry out these two objects. The broad outline of such a scheme must in every dependency include the following provisions:—

1. Primary education must be accessible to all children of school-going age, i.e., the Government must provide a primary school accessible to the children in every town and village.
2. Training colleges must be provided for teachers.
3. There must be technical colleges providing for a curriculum in arts and science specially adapted to African territories.
4. An African University must be provided, with a curriculum which need not—probably should not—be that of the American or European Universities, but broad enough and high enough to secure recognition by the professional authorities in Europe and America.



5. By providing experimental and model farms, agricultural machinery, expert advisers and instructors, technical agricultural education, etc., the Government must aim at educating native communities to make the most economic and advantageous use of their own land. We have already referred to the necessity of Government providing capital where the preparation or cultivation of some agricultural product requires expensive or intricate machinery or can only be undertaken on a large scale: such services should be regarded as essentially of an educational nature.

Finally, a word of warning may usefully be added with regard to the ends of a Governmental educational programme in Africa. That continent has in most places quite enough African lawyers; her great need to-day is for scientific agriculturists, forestry experts, doctors, sanitary officials, and accountants. Africa needs scientific agriculturists in thousands, to teach the people how they may grow two cocoa pods where one grows to-day, to educate millions of people in the value of artificial manures and insecticides. Africa needs doctors and a sanitary service sufficiently adequate to fight victoriously against mosquito and tsete fly, to break through—as only native doctors can—the dense fog of native ignorance and superstition, so that Africa may no longer be the breeding ground of plague and disease. Africa needs thousands of trained accountants to teach the natives the principles of finance, and the individual African how to take care of his own money and—what is equally if not more important—other people's money.



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