

# Indian-South African Relations "Have Deteriorated Further", Nehru Tells Smuts

THE Indian government on June 3 made public the contents of letters from Pandit Nehru to Field Marshal Smuts expressing the Indian government's desire for steps to be taken in accordance with the U. N. General Assembly resolution on the treatment of Indians in South Africa, and indicating the unreadiness of the Government to agree to the return to South Africa of the High Commissioner for India, as requested by Smuts, until Indian-South African relations improve.

Copies of the letters, dated April 24 and May 6, were sent simultaneously to Trygve Lie, U. N. Secretary General.

Smuts replied to the first letter, stating that negotiations on the question at issue could best be carried out if the High Commissioner for India should return to South Africa and confer with Union authorities. Replying on May 6, Nehru said that his government did not regard the absence of the High Commissioner from the Union as in any way hindering solution of the question.

He pointed out that the High Commissioner had been recalled "as a consequence of the deterioration in relations between our two countries of which the General Assembly of the United Nations has taken note. The India Government have to state with regret that these relations have not only not improved since but have deteriorated further."

Up to June 3 Smuts had not replied to Nehru's letter of May 6.

## U. N. Vetoes U. S. Discrimination

Hearty congratulations to Byron Price, U. N. Assistant Secretary General in charge of Administrative Affairs, for refusing to sanction discrimination by the Metropolitan and New York Life Insurance Companies in housing accommodations for U. N. employees. Mr. Price cancelled rental agreements between the United Nations and the corporations involving 912 apartments when the companies insisted upon the right of excluding employees it regarded as "unsuitable" as tenants.

New York citizens have waged a long fight against the discriminatory policy of the giant insurance companies.

It is to be hoped, as Dr. Yergan stated in his letter of congratulation to Mr. Price, that the action of the U. N. Secretariat in giving concrete implementation to the U. N. principle of racial equality, will set a precedent for democratic hospitality instead of Jim Crow insults to dark-skinned U. N. delegates as well as staff members coming to America.

## 1,698 SENTENCED TO JAIL IN INDIAN RESISTANCE CAMPAIGN

Up to May, according to *The Passive Resister*, published by the Indian Natal Congress, 1,698 people had been sentenced and jailed since the passive resistance campaign began last June in protest against the South African government's discriminatory housing and land legislation aimed at the Indian minority.

The figure of 1698 includes 275 women. The prisoners, among whom have been Africans, have served a total of 181 years, 10 months, 3 weeks in jail, it was estimated.

Racial antagonism has been aggravated by the campaign organized in the Transvaal Province by white farmers to boycott Indian traders. The boycott movement has developed into a widespread scheme to drive Indians entirely out of business throughout the whole of South Africa.

A few of the wealthier Indians have attempted to find a basis of compromise which would save the South African government from further embarrassment. These compromisers, who met recently with General Smuts, are called Indian "moderates" in the South African European press and in press dispatches to papers like the *New York Times*. But the leaders of the passive resistance movement call them Quislings, "puppets of General Smuts."



SOUTH AFRICA'S GREATEST DEMONSTRATION OF AFRICAN-INDIAN COOPERATION: Part of the throng at the Unity Rally in Johannesburg May 4, organized jointly by the African National Congress, Transvaal Indian Congress, and Transvaal Branch of the African

People's Organization. Dr. Xuma, Senator Basner and other speakers denounced Smuts' failure to carry out the United Nations decisions on South West Africa and Indian discrimination. Greetings from Paul Robeson, Chairman, Council on Africa Affairs, were read and warmly applauded.

## Colonial Powers Emphasized Own Prerogatives At First Session of U. N. Trusteeship Council

A GOOD clew to the net result of the first session of the U. N. Trusteeship Council March 26 to April 28, is the statement of the British delegate, Mr. Ivor Thomas, when interviewed by *Commonweal*. He was somewhat more optimistic about the future of the trusteeship system than he had been at the close of the General Assembly session last December. The members of the Trusteeship Council, he said, "worked as a team," whereas during the General Assembly meeting, the administering powers had been the victims of what he called ignorant and abusive attack.

Contrary to the observation of Mr. Thomas, there was considerable opposition from the three non-colonial members of the T. C. (China, Mexico and Iraq) to the position taken by the administering powers on many of the points under discussion. But the six colonial powers on the T.C. (Britain, France, U.S.A., Belgium, Australia and New Zealand) ordered things pretty much as they pleased. The absence of the Soviet Union from the session made it difficult for the non-colonial minority to present a very effective opposition. Sharp criticism of some of the decisions made is expected when the report of the T. C. comes before the General Assembly.

As an indication of the general tenor of the session, one may cite the following matters of record:

- The colonial powers were firmly opposed to letting the Secretariat of U. N. use the slightest initiative in dealing with trusteeship matters. For example, the T. C. voted 5-4 that in circulating any petition the Secretary-General should give no background information or comments from any source unless the comments of the administering authority concerned were available at that time.

- There was opposition to acknowledging that the General Assembly or the Security Council might call special sessions of the T. C. The New Zealand representative, for instance, declared that the T. C. "should maintain a position of independence" and be "in no way subordinate to the Security Council." The Charter's provisions on this matter, however, could not be ignored. But a Chinese proposal that special sessions should also be called "upon the petition of the inhabitants of the trust territories with the approval of the majority of members of the T. C." was not adopted in the rules of procedure.

- The same jealous attitude was evident in the decisions on relations of the T.C. to other U. N. agencies. A proposal that representatives of such agencies be permitted to propose resolutions or amendments to the T. C. but not vote on them, was rejected. The Belgian representative wanted the Economic and Social Council in matters relating to trust territories to deal directly with the administering authorities rather than with the T. C., emphasizing that the T. C. was "only an organ for supervision and not for direct administration."

- The attempt was made to enable administering powers to screen petitions from inhabitants of the trust territories addressed to the U. N. It was decided to allow three months between the time of receipt of a petition and the review of it before the T. C. The

state concerned could in the meantime report that the grievance had been satisfactorily resolved.

- The colonial powers made a strong fight to virtually nullify the power of oral petition, one suggestion being that all such petitions be honored only if they had previously been submitted in writing. The drafting committee adopted the view that oral petitions should be regarded as "exceptional" and should be preceded by notice of their subject matter by the petitioners.

- On the matter of the questionnaires to be answered by states holding trust territories, the states concerned objected to the request for "comprehensive and detailed" information. The Belgian representative, supported by the British, made an effort to get adoption of the inadequate questionnaire drafted twenty years ago and used by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

- The T. C., by majority vote, decided that the administering powers, in answering questionnaires, should not be called upon to disclose information of international concern about armed forces and military bases in the trust territories. (The right to establish such bases without consent of the Security Council was one of the most hotly debated points at the last Assembly meeting.)

At its first session the Trusteeship Council:

- Adopted 107 rules of procedure, including provision for two regular sessions annually in June and November.

- Approved provisionally the questionnaire to be sent to states administering trust territories, the final decision to be made at the November session after consultation with specialized U. N. agencies.

- Established an investigating mission consisting of Belgium, Iraq and the U. S. to go to Western Samoa this summer in response to the petitions of the inhabitants of that New Zealand-governed territory for self-government.

- Reviewed petitions from Germans and Italians in British-administered Tanganyika asking the prevention of repatriation of the petitioners to their countries of origin; the T. C. decided not to intervene, leaving the matter in the hands of the British.

- Postponed for consideration until the November session petitions from the General Secretary of the All-Ewe Conference relating to British and French Togoland, protesting the division of the Ewe people between the two administrations and demanding unification following a plebiscite.

## News Notes

NAIROBI, KENYA—The U. N. committee on freedom of the press will please note: In Nairobi last month the publisher and editor of the only Indian-owned and African-edited weekly newspaper, *Habari*, were convicted of sedition and sentenced to jail because of publication of a letter written by an African soldier complaining against the European treatment of Africans. Also last month, the publisher and editor of the *Umma* newspaper in Khartoum were fined for allegedly attempting to "incite feelings of dissatisfaction" against the government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA—A resolution that the African branch of the Southern Rhodesia Labor Party should be disbanded was defeated at the annual congress of the party in April. The Trades and Labor Council of Rhodesia also went on record in support of African trade unions and proposed that the Industrial Conciliation Act which excludes Africans (as in South Africa) should be amended to give recognition to them.

WASHINGTON—The question of the disposition of the Italian colonies is again in the news. The U.S. State Dept. has emphasized that the Big Four conference to be held soon on this problem should be regarded simply as a preliminary meeting for the purpose of arranging for a commission of investigation to be sent to the Italian colonies to ascertain the views of the local population and secure other pertinent information. Meanwhile the former Italian colonies remain under British military rule.

ETHIOPIA—Two Sudanese doctors, graduates of the Kitchener Medical College at Khartoum, have arrived in Addis Ababa to serve with the Ethiopian Ministry of Public Health.

NIGERIA—The Secretary General of the Nigerian Union of Teachers, E. E. Esua, announced that a deadline of May 14th had been set for a teachers' strike in the event the government had not by that time arrived at a satisfactory decision with respect to improvement of salaries and other grievances of teachers.

PARIS—French, British and Belgian colonial officials and experts held a 3-day conference here last month and agreed to cooperate more closely in certain common matters of administration of their African colonies. Problems of health, food, labor conditions and soil conservation will henceforth be considered jointly by representatives of the three nations at periodic conferences to be held in Africa.

CAPETOWN, SOUTH AFRICA—Considerable excitement was stirred up in the House of Assembly not long ago when, for the first time, General Smuts referred to the African people as "Africans." "Why don't you call them 'natives'? That's their name," called out one member.

"Have you fallen for Communist propaganda?" shouted another.

"I cannot see anything wrong in calling a people by the name they prefer," General Smuts replied. Then he added, smiling: "I am an African as well."

The Natives' Representatives (white) in the House, who always refer to "Africans," still meet with Nationalist objections almost every time they use the word.

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W. A. HUNTON, Editor

## Government Cracks Down On South African Labor Unity

Coincident with noteworthy action by the South African Trades and Labor Council at its recent annual conference cementing ties between white and non-white workers (of which more below), General Smuts began talking about the desirability of separating African and Colored Workers from the general labor movement in their own unions.

Following this, an Industrial Conciliation (Natives) Bill was drafted for consideration in the Union parliament. Officials speak of the bill as answering the long heard demand for official recognition of African trade unions, BUT—

• *It would bar strikes by those unions. There would be compulsory arbitration of all disputes by officially appointed boards. Thus the unions would be no better off than they are now.*

• *It would not permit union organization of the hundreds of thousands of workers in the mining industry and in farming and domestic service. Thus only a minority of the employed Africans would have "recognized" unions.*

African leaders naturally oppose this phony recognition of their trade unions. The African National Congress has declared that the proposed bill "is unacceptable because it maintains the principle of racial discrimination and domination."

### Labor Conference Action

Now, let's look at the other side of the picture—which explains the reason for the government's bill. At the annual conference of the South African Trades and Labor Council held in April, a demand for the exclusion of non-European workers was defeated. Further, the conference by majority vote condemned the police brutality against the African mine workers during their strike of last August and repudiated the Council's Executive Committee for justifying that police brutality in a cabled message to the W.F.T.U.

It should be noted that the S.A.T.L.C. is a federation of predominantly white workers. Of the 117 affiliated trade unions, representing 168,000 members, 68 have some non-white members. Of the 170 delegates attending the conference, only 30 were non-white.

Writing on the African representation in S.A.T.L.C. and the conference action on this question, H. A. Naidoo, an Indian delegate to the Conference, who visited the United States last fall during the meeting of the U. N., says:

"A large number of African trade unions are still excluded from affiliation by reason of their inability to meet their financial obligations . . . although the Council has no color bar, many non-European members are prevented from exercising their influence in it.

"Despite these difficulties, there is an increasing sign that non-European workers are bound to play their full part in the S.A.T.L.C.

"With the increasing participation of Non-European workers in the S.A.T.L.C. there has been a growing demand for their exclusion. In recent years this demand has come mainly from unions which have come under the grip of fascist influence.

"At the last Conference this demand for excluding non-European workers took the form of a resolution seeking to amend the constitution by providing that only unions registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act shall become members of the Council.

## Smuts Rebuffed in Plea to Natives Representative Council

General Smuts met last month with six members of the Natives' Representative Council, whose members voted to adjourn *sine die* last August because their recommendations to the government were completely ignored.

The Prime Minister was in a conciliatory mood. He acknowledged that the N.R.C., established in 1936, had been given no responsibility and that it was merely a debating chamber whose resolutions fell on deaf ears. He recognized the dissatisfaction and frustration felt by the members but hoped that the Council would resume its functions.

"I think the time has come," Smuts said, "to place a measure of responsibility on the Natives Representative Council. Some executive authority must be given it. I should like to give the Council a bone to chew."

The Africans' attitude to the Prime Minister's tentative proposals (which appear to be designed to strengthen his position at the next meeting of the U. N. General Assembly) was expressed by the working committee of the African National Congress headed by Dr. A. B. Xuma. That body described the proposals as "vague and disappointing" and said:

*"The Prime Minister seems to have sidestepped the main cause of the deadlock—the demand of the Natives Representative Council for the repeal of discriminatory colour legislation against Africans and the Council's consequent resolution to adjourn indefinitely until such demands have been complied with.*

"The proposals in fact are a retrogressive step in that as long as present discriminatory legislation remains on the statute book the Africans are in effect asked by the Prime Minister in his proposals to administer their own domination, discrimination and oppression under the cloak of giving them responsibility and participation in the administration of their own affairs.

"In other words, we do not accept any proposal that does not provide for direct representation of all sections of the community in all legislative bodies."

"Clearly this was an attempt to exclude African workers, who are not recognized under the Industrial Conciliation Act. When put to the vote, the motion was defeated by 30 to 115. The card vote which was called for gave the following result: 36,373 voting in favor and 88,497 voting against, thus revealing an equally significant majority against this reactionary demand.

"After the defeat of this fascist-inspired resolution, nine delegates representing only 2,929 workers walked out of the Conference. The daily press seized the opportunity to report the incident as causing a 'split' in the S.A.T.L.C., although, as can be seen by the figures given above, the dissenting unions represented less than 2 per cent of the affiliated membership."

### COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

23 West 26th Street  
New York 10, N. Y.

Dr. A. B. Xuma,  
African Nat'l Congress,  
Sofiatown, Transvaal,  
South Africa.

This is your News of Africa  
for June, 1947

## 3,000 Kenya Africans Petition Government

One of the largest meetings of Africans ever held in East Africa took place on April 20th in Nairobi, Kenya, sponsored by the Kenya African Union. Over 3,000 men and women were present. E. W. Mathu and B. A. Ohang, African members appointed to the Kenya Legislative Council, and Jomo Kenyatta, author of "Facing Mount Kenya," were among the principal speakers.

Political activity among both Indians and Africans in British East Africa has recently risen sharply as a result of the government's plan for the reorganization of inter-territorial services and establishment of a central legislative assembly for Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika.



E. W. Mathu

In all three colonies the legislatures with their white and official majorities approved the proposals over the united opposition of Indian, Arab and African members who protested against the British government's abandonment of the principle of equal racial representation. The East African Indian National Congress has been active in bringing this question to the attention of all non-white peoples in East Africa and a joint Indo-African deputation is scheduled to take their protest to London.

It was against this background that the meeting on April 20 was held in Nairobi. The audience fully endorsed the stand taken by the African members of the Legislative Council in voting against the inter-territorial scheme. The meeting also declared that:

• The political objective of the African in Kenya must be self-government by Africans for Africans, and that in that African state the rights of all minorities would be safeguarded.

• More African seats should be provided at once in the Kenya Legislative Council.

• More land must be made available both in the Crownland and in the Highlands for the settlement of Africans.

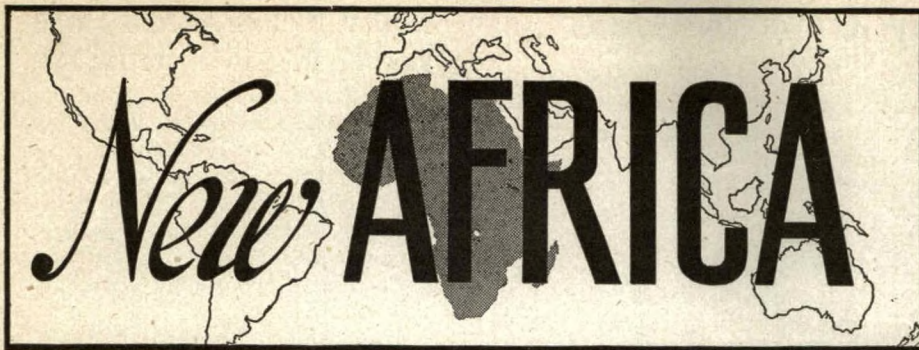
• The introduction of compulsory and free education for Africans, as is given to the children of other races, is overdue.

• Abolition of the Kipande (registration certificates) and pass laws is essential.

• A Royal Commission, like the Caribbean Commission, should be sent to Kenya.

• In view of the recent strikes in Mombasa, Kisumu, Kisii, Maseno and Asembo Bay, the government should take action at once to substantially improve wages, housing and other conditions of African labor and provide equal pay for equal work.

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**U. N. Faces Crucial Test on Issue of Colonial Freedom**

SO SHOCKING and flagrant was the Dutch aggression against the Indonesians as an example of imperialist oppression of subject peoples, that the United Nations was compelled to take action, setting an important precedent with which the imperialist powers were none too pleased.

It should be added, however, that the Security Council's "cease fire" order fell short of justice by failing to order the Dutch to withdraw from the territory taken by force of arms. The Dutch achieved their objective—access to the rich resources of Java—and are content to remain where they are.

The case of Indonesia is far from settled. And Indonesia is only one of several areas of colonial oppression whose problems the United Nations must face and solve. Pandit Nehru's message to the Council on African Affairs a few months ago is truer today than ever:

"I do not think that the United Nations can continue to function successfully or unitedly unless there is full freedom everywhere and an end of colonial domination both political and economic. The time has come when the United Nations must clearly accept this objective and work to realize it."

**Colonial Problems Facing the U. N.**

At the present time Egypt has brought the question of the Sudan and the evacuation of British troops from that territory and Egypt before the Security Council. The UN's Special Committee on Palestine is preparing its report to the General Assembly. Further, the UN may be faced with the demand for the independence of the French North African territories. It may be called upon to intervene in Madagascar, where fighting still continues. And it may hear a demand for correction of British misrule in Basutoland, South Africa.

Finally, the U. N. has

*the unfinished business of South West Africa and discrimination against Indians in South Africa to attend to.*

The provisional agenda of the U. N. General Assembly, which convenes September 16, includes the following items of concern to colonial peoples:

*Report on the action taken by the governments of South Africa and India to end the dispute between them regarding the treatment of Indians in South Africa.* General Smuts has flatly refused to rescind the discriminatory legislation affecting South African Indians and has taken no steps to meet the Indian government's request for consultation and settlement of the question.

**What About South West Africa?**

*Consideration of new trusteeship agreements, if any.* Under

this heading, it was anticipated that the South African government, in conformity with the resolution adopted by the UN last fall, would submit an agreement covering the mandate territory of South West Africa and placing it within the trusteeship system.

Instead, at General Smuts' behest, the South African government has moved to grant representation to the white minority of South West Africa in the Union Parliament, at the same time continuing administration of the territory as under the mandate system. As "a little gesture," South Africa will send reports on administration of the territory to the UN, but will concede nothing further to the international organization. In this manner General Smuts hopes to be able to eat his cake and have it too: to achieve virtual annexation of South West Africa while making a polite bow to the UN.

*The report of the Trusteeship Council. The action of the T. C. at its*  
(Continued on last page)

**An Appeal for Action**

The U. N. General Assembly convenes again on Sept. 16.

*NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT!*

Let the United Nations and the U. S. State Department Hear from the American Public, Urging

- Condemnation of the South African Government for its failure to place South West Africa under U.N. trusteeship, and insistence that this be done.
- Pressure by the U.N. for immediate correction of the grievances of Indians in South Africa, which led to the still unsettled dispute between the governments of India and South Africa, and launching of a U.N. investigation into the general denial of human rights to non-white peoples in South Africa.
- Immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Indonesia, Palestine, Egypt and the Sudan, French North Africa, Madagascar and all other non-enemy areas where they remain against the will of the inhabitants, and settlement of the problems of these areas through the United Nations rather than by unilateral action.
- Full adherence to and implementation of the provisions of the U.N. Charter pertaining to colonial and minority peoples.

*Help toward the realization of these democratic objectives by writing yourself, and getting organizations with which you are associated to send communications supporting the above-mentioned policies, to:*

Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, Lake Success, N. Y.

Secretary of State George C. Marshall, Dept. of State, Washington, D. C.

Members of the U. S. Delegation to the United Nations, Fisk Building, 250 West 57th St., New York 19, N. Y.

## Smuts Puts Taft-Hartley Act in the Shade

The Taft-Hartley Law shackling American organized labor is as mild as a summer breeze compared with legislation which the South African government has drafted in order to smash the developing unity of white and non-white workers and prevent African labor from organizing to win its rights.

These are some of the things that will happen to South African labor if the Industrial Conciliation (Natives) Bill, sponsored by Smuts, is enacted into law:

- It will be a crime for African workers to go on strike. Any who do so may be fined £500 (\$2,000) and, in addition, be sent to jail for three years.
  - Anyone organizing or belonging to a trade union which includes both Africans and non-Africans may be punished by a maximum fine of £100 plus one year's imprisonment.
  - Any African already belonging to a non-segregated trade union having collective bargaining rights would be compelled to cease membership, and within 30 days the secretary of any such union would have to delete the names of African members from the register or be found guilty of an offense.
  - A registrar representing the government would have authority to intervene in the affairs of any trade union regardless of the union's executive or its constitution, and could be empowered by the Minister of Labor to cancel the registration of any union regarded as "not in the public interest."
  - Workers in the mines, on the farms, and in government employment (these categories cover the vast majority of employed Africans) would be barred from trade union organization, and it would be a criminal offense for these workers to organize or for anyone to assist them to organize.
  - All disputes would be settled by compulsory arbitration, this authority being vested in a central mediation board of five members, none of them African and all government-appointed.
  - The labor minister could make any agreement binding on non-African workers if the mediation board so recommended. Thus the mediation board could fix wages and other conditions for European, Indian and other workers, as well as for Africans.
- The bill thus menaces ever South African worker. As one white labor leader described it, "The bill should be an exhibit in a museum, along with Hitler's Labor Front Law and Mussolini's Labor Corporation Laws to show the close relation among the three."

An all-out fight against the bill has

been declared by all sections of African labor and many white trade unions in South Africa, and it has been brought to the notice of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

We call upon American labor organizations to join in opposing this fascist anti-labor bill, making their views known to H. T. Andrews, South African Minister to the United States, Washington, D. C.

### "Organize or Perish"

In his address to the Third Annual Conference of the Gold Coast Mines African Employees Union, President J. N. Sam said:—

"We dig gold in exchange of poverty; we dig gold in exchange of sickness and death. This is the last honour one expects in the Mines.

"But do we make our voices clear? Do we fight for our rights or tell the authorities our immediate troubles and needs?"

And the *Asbanti Pioneer*, African Gold Coast newspaper, quoting the statement, asked its readers editorially:

"How long should YOU condone this play of economic and political forces which make you exchange daily your brain and brawn for just poverty, disease and untimely death?"

"The law of the modern world is—Organize or Perish!"

"It is for Africans in every walk of life to organize themselves and fight relentlessly against those conditions and abuses which seek to make them 'drawers of water and hewers of wood' for ever!"

## WFTU ACTS TO PROMOTE AFRICAN LABOR'S RIGHTS

Meeting at Prague in June, the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions took action on the status of labor in Africa, declaring that immediate reforms should be demanded from the governments of Britain, France, Belgium and South Africa, and from the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations and inter-governmental agencies.

The resolution adopted by the Council declared that racial discrimination prevailed in countries of the African continent in such fields as social legislation, wages, education and medical care.

A statement of policy set forth necessary remedies in these matters and indicated the goals of full trade union rights, democratic social legislation, and raising the standard of living of African workers. It was adopted unanimously.

This action by the General Council of WFTU arose from recommendations of the All-African Trade Union Conference held in Dakar, French West Africa, under the auspices of WFTU in April.

That conference was attended by sixty

## WOULD BAR AFRICANS FROM VOTING IN SOUTH RHODESIA

The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia has proposed to the Legislature that two Europeans be appointed to represent African interests in Parliament and that the Common Voter's Roll be closed to further Africans who may be qualified for the franchise, retaining only the 136 already there — 136 out of approximately 1,500,000 Africans.

To vote in S. Rhodesia at the present time one must have an income of £100 (\$400.00) a year or possess property worth at least £150. This effectively bars all but a handful of Africans from qualifying for the franchise even though the franchise law does not discriminate on the grounds of color or sex.

But the ruling class among the 95,000 whites in S. Rhodesia have decided to do as the South African ruling class has done and bar Africans from the national franchise altogether. In the same way the Rhodesians have adopted South Africa's pass laws, reserve system, economic color bar and other repressive devices.

The South Rhodesia African National Congress, headed by the Rev. T. Sankane, held an emergency meeting of leaders of all African organizations on June 21 to consider the Prime Minister's declaration. Their decision was to launch a vigorous resistance campaign against this attempt at disfranchisement.

And they are supported by liberal circles in England who demand that the King exercise his long-neglected right to veto legislation in Southern Rhodesia (a so-called self-governing colony) which is considered harmful to the interests of the African population.

### FAIR WARNING

A recent announcement of one of Nigeria's most militant trade unions reads as follows:

"The Executive Council of the Railway Workers Union of Nigeria wishes to warn all plain clothes detectives who mingle with the general body on our meeting days that, from now on, all such practice must cease.

"If, however, C.I.D. men [similar to our F.B.I. agents] wish to continue, they should understand that they are doing so at their own risk and this Council shall not in any way, directly or indirectly, be held responsible for whatever happens to them."

delegates representing twenty-five labor organizations in Tunisia, Algiers, South Africa, Nigeria, Gambia, Senegal, Morocco, Cameroons, Sudan, French Guinea, Madagascar, Ivory Coast, French Equatorial Africa, Belgian Congo and Sierra Leone. Altogether the delegates represented 902,000 organized workers in Africa

## Liberia's Independence Observed July 26

Liberia's Founding-Fathers said:

"No desire for territorial aggrandizement brought us to these shores; nor do we believe so sordid a motive entered into the high consideration of those who aided us in providing this asylum. Liberia is an asylum from the most grinding oppression.

"In coming to the shores of Africa, we indulged the pleasing hope that we would be permitted to . . . evince to all who despise, ridicule, and oppress our race that we possess with them a common nature; are with them susceptible of equal refinement, and capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man."

from Liberia's Declaration of Independence



W. V. S. Tubman, President of Liberia.

A century ago on July 26, 1947, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, born in Petersburg, Virginia, and the first president of the Republic of Liberia, signed the Declaration of Independence of that country. This marked the establishment of the first and only Negro republic in the continent of Africa.

In celebration of the 100th anniversary of this event an international exposition has been planned for Monrovia, capital of Liberia, extending through next year.

The centennial was marked in Washington, D. C. on July 26, by the presentation of a plaque commemorating the event to the Honorable C. D. B. King, recently appointed Minister of Liberia to the United States. The ceremony took place on the steps of the Capitol Building, the presentation being made by Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson and Congressman William L. Dawson.

Mr. Justice Jackson in his address reviewed the history of Liberia and its relations with the United States. He concluded with the statement that the Negro Republic's "road to a truly ideal society is uphill and stretches beyond our sight, but we will travel it together."

Since the first eighty-eight freed Negroes from America emigrated to Liberia in 1822, the principal characteristic of Liberia's history has been its struggle for survival. The chronicle to date is mainly one of overcoming the difficulties of the primitive environment, fending off the encroachments of predatory European colonial powers, and ridding itself of the burden of heavy foreign loans incurred at exorbitant rates of interest. That it has overcome and survived all these handicaps is by itself reason enough for celebration of the centennial.

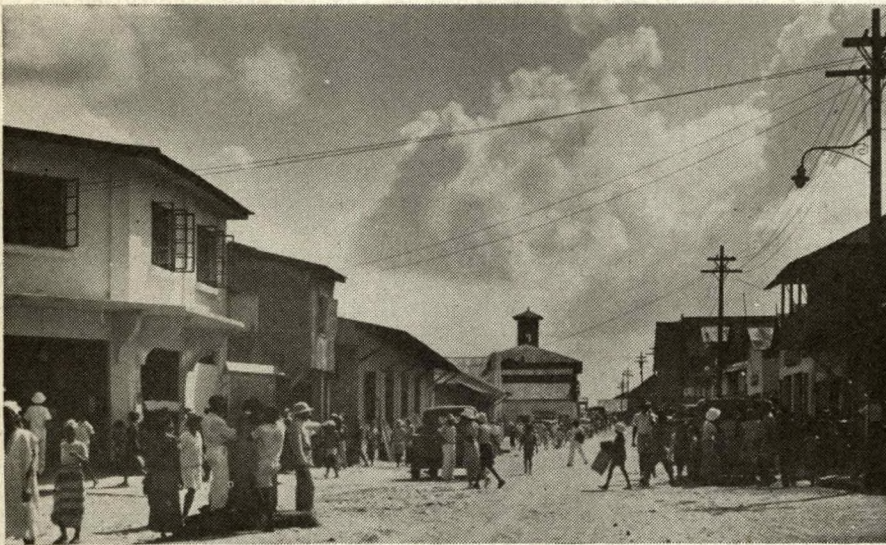
At the present time problems of a new kind must be faced as Liberia, as well as the whole of Africa, enters upon a new era of rapid advancement.

First, Liberia must keep pace with the agricultural and other economic reforms being made by Britain and France in its surrounding colonies, so that the Negro Republic can become economically self-sufficient.

Second, Liberia must proceed rapidly with the political and social reforms which have marked President Truman's administration as progressive, so as to hasten the bringing of democracy to all inhabitants of the country.

Third, Liberia, in maintaining and promoting friendly relations with the United States, must guard against becoming another Panama or Cuba, an outpost of American imperialism. This is a real danger. Other American corporations besides Firestone are becoming interested in exploiting Liberia's resources, and the U. S. government is spending considerable money on modern port construction and other works in Liberia (see *New Africa*, April, 1946). Liberia most assuredly needs development and it must have foreign help. But it must not be gained at the cost of its sovereignty.

We hope that the Republic of Liberia, during the next hundred years of its history, may become the model and beacon-light of progress and democracy in Africa.



Water Street, Monrovia.



A Scene in Liberia's Interior.

# Britain Looks to Colonies to Relieve Her Economic Crisis

BRITAIN is desperately trying to maintain her position as a first class power at a time when the events of history have rendered this impossible. The sun no longer shines perpetually on the British flag, and London is no longer the hub of world commerce. While the British worker pulls in his belt another notch and contemplates another grim, cold and hungry winter, Downing Street finds itself confronted with an adverse trade balance, a shortage of dollars, and the imperative necessity to reduce dollar purchases abroad.

This state of affairs has resulted in the British government's sudden awakening to the economic potentialities of its African colonies. From that source Britain can get much needed food supplies and raw materials and pay for them on a pound sterling basis instead of with dollars. Moreover, if this African market is properly developed, as it must be to supply Britain's needs on any satisfactory basis, there is the bright prospect that the African colonies will provide British manufacturers with a new and large purchasing market.

Therefore, Downing Street is going full steam ahead with various schemes for the rapid and intensive development of African resources. Says the London *Daily Telegraph*: "It has become necessary to apply the premise of the old nineteenth century expansionism to new fields and in a new manner. The problem today is to raise the standard of living of the world's backward peoples in such a way that they can absorb and benefit from the vast industrial production that is seeking markets.

"This can be done only by a revolution in agricultural methods among peoples like those of the African colonies, for their old subsistence method of wringing a living from the soil showed no prospect of a surplus to be invested in the products of modern industry. The shortage of primary products of all sorts, but especially of foodstuffs, timber and coal, which now beset us, have made this revolution economically feasible."

## Large Capital Investments

And so the British government is busily mustering private and state capital to bring about an economic revolution in her African colonies. The \$100,000,000 allocated for the extensive peanut-growing project in British East Africa (see *New Africa*, March, 1947), according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his statement to the House of Commons in June, is "only the first shot in the campaign for the more intensive development of the resources of the colonial territories."

It is now estimated that capital investments in British East Africa alone during the next ten years will amount to \$1,600,000,000. The sum represents about four times the amount of foreign capital invested in the same area in 1936.

During recent weeks announcement has been made of a \$20,000,000 hydro-electric station construction in Uganda, and of the formation of a \$400,000,000 Colonial Development Corporation to operate under British government auspices, but on a private commercial basis. A government commission has also reported favorably on a scheme paralleling that in East Africa to grow peanuts and other foodstuffs in the British West African colonies.

"Nothing could be more abhorrent," says the *Daily Telegraph*, "than a suggestion that these schemes are merely exploitation to solve our own immediate difficulties." Yet the fact remains that the schemes were not conceived until Britain got into her present difficulties. Also beyond denial is the fact that no capital outlay in any way approaching that for the economic schemes has yet been mentioned in order to provide for the rapid educational and social progress of the African millions under Britain's rule.

Britain's plans for bolstering her economic condition by leaning on her colonies have been made possible by the willing-

## What Price Colonial Labor?

"The relatively high average standard of living among British workers is maintained in part by the low average standards among workers in raw material producing countries, especially the British colonies. Mass poverty in Ceylon and the West Indies is, in one aspect, just a function of the cheap tea, and cheap sugar, and cheap bananas enjoyed by British consumers. That is one reason why British people are on the whole so complacent about their imperialism.

"On the other hand, the huge disorganized army of low-paid colonial labor at the same time acts as a threat to the higher standards in Britain, as for example Lancashire textile workers have good reason to know.

"Nor are such effects confined to Britain. Unemployed copper miners in the United States, accustomed to a wage of \$4 a day when in work, have often asked with a groan how any copper mine in any civilized country can keep in production, so long as wages in the mines of Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo average 16 cents a day."

Leonard Barnes, in *SOVIET LIGHT ON THE COLONIES*

ness of the U. S. government to revise the Anglo-American loan agreement so that Britain can get certain commodities from her colonies—on her own terms—instead of having to buy them from the U.S.A. So far as this phase of the loan agreement is concerned, the U. S. government is willing to consider the British Isles and Britain's colonies (but not the dominions) as an economic unit.

## Effect on African Producers

"The principal benefit" of the U. S. concession, a British official is quoted as saying (*New York Times*, July 23), "will be that we won't have to worry any more about prices at which the colonies are able to offer us food."

Quite right. But the Africans and other colonials will have plenty to worry about! The problem of making a living will become more acute than ever; for they will have to sell their cocoa, coffee, sugar, tea, peanuts, palm products, tin, cotton and other products more or less exclusively to British concerns instead of in the open market, and at prices dictated by the British and colonial governments (see *New Africa*, March, 1947).

Native peasant farmers and traders in the colonies have long protested against this economic straight-jacket which is a universal characteristic of colonialism. Will they submit to even more stringent measures?

One final point. As indicated by our correspondent, Desmond Buckle, in the last issue of the *New Africa*, these African economic schemes are linked with Britain's imperial strategy. This is no longer a state secret.

A speaker in a recent BBC broadcast, "Calling East Africa," remarked that the whole of Africa from Capetown, South Africa, up to Nairobi, Kenya, "forms a huge, sound, defensible base area. Economically, that area must not only be self-supporting in the primary needs of man at peace, but it should be able to produce the basic requirements of man at war.

"In this strategical set-up, East Africa, the new forward base area, must house, feed, train, clothe and shoe, entertain and refit the men and machines of a modern army."

Such, in brief, is the story behind the story about Britain's investment of millions of pounds sterling in her African colonies.

# Concerning the Dollar Invasion of French Africa

THE transformation of the French Empire into the French Union has, despite the limited degree of autonomy granted to the African territories, resulted in many not unimportant gains to the African people. Democratic and progressive measures which have electrified the African conscience were voted by the first Constituent National Assembly of France. The most noteworthy of these measures are the abolition of special jurisdiction over native Africans and the repeal of forced labor enactments.

Secondary schools are to be built in many territories and Dakar is to have a university. Although the decrees which were introduced with the establishment of local assemblies give advantages to European vested interests and therefore constitute a form of racial discrimination, the fact remains that for the first time the opinion of Africans is being consulted in the administration of their countries.

The immediate task is therefore to consolidate the rights already won, to render the local assemblies more democratic, and to raise the living standards of the people by the development of the natural resources of their territories in their interests.

In an article entitled "Africa on the March" appearing in the journal *Democratic Nouvelle* (Feb., 1947), Félix Houphouët-Boigny, Deputy for the Ivory Coast and President of the African Democratic Rally, said:

"Africans are expecting great things from a triumph of Democracy in France. With a France sincerely republican, truly democratic, the French Union will not remain an empty phrase."

But the triumph of democracy, we aver, does not depend upon France alone. The question whether the French Union becomes a reality is inextricably bound up with France's present economic problems.

## Economic Dependence on U.S.A.

French Africa, not unlike all other colonial territories, stands in need of outside capital for development. Metropolitan France is herself impoverished and is in need of help in her economic rehabilitation. About the only country in the world in a position to grant help to both France and her overseas territories is without doubt the USA.

An article published in the Paris *Libération* (May 16th) outlined the following terms on which the U. S. will give economic aid to France: "First of all, control over capital investments . . . . Secondly, a Franco-American pool for the technical equipment and development of overseas possessions, particularly North and West Africa. Thirdly, agreements providing for the organization of landing grounds in Africa for U.S. 'commercial' air lines . . . ."

"According to trustworthy information," continues the article, "the first batch of credits for France is to amount to one billion dollars. These credits will not be furnished by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, but by private American banks to private French banks. . . . As Washington does not rule out the possibility of a de Gaulle government, the former head of government has been asked to say what his position would be on economic treaties of this kind."

These terms can in no way be represented as altruistic. It is obvious that in operation their effect would be to subordinate French policy to that of American imperialism. It is little known that the American dollar already exercises considerable influence in the economy of French overseas territories. It is legitimate, therefore, to

survey briefly the extent of this dollar invasion in the case of French Africa.

In French West Africa the Franco-American Metals and Minerals Company controls the exploitation of the important iron ore deposits of Conakry. The bauxite of Guinea has been delivered into the possession of the Aluminum Company of Canada.

But what of the vast mineral resources of Senegal? Who controls them? The American trust, "Metals and Thermits," supplies the answer.

In the Cameroons a company financed largely by American capital has built factories for processing the oxide of titanium. One of the biggest trusts in the world, the Selection Trust, is engaged through its subsidiary company in the Cameroons in prospecting for diamonds and other minerals in Ubangi-Shari and elsewhere.

## Dollar Domination Feared

In view of the political conditions usually attached to dollar disbursements (the terms in the *Libération* article quoted above provide a typical example), progressives in the French Union are filled with anxiety about present economic developments in French Africa. The writer of an article in *L'Humanité* (May 30th), André Carrel, expressed this feeling of disquiet when he declared:

"We cannot believe that this new form of American expansionism could develop except under cover of silence of accomplices. And we know that to economic conditions are rapidly added political conditions. We have proof of that every day before our eyes. French opinion cannot any longer be kept in ignorance for, in short, it is our national independence which is at stake."

It is one of the tragedies of the post-war world that the wealth and influence of the great American republic which could be used to promote the prosperity and welfare of mankind are in fact being used in the interests of those who would barter the freedom of peoples for their own selfish ends.

Can there be any wonder that in countries that are trying to break with the past people now say with bitter irony: "Judas no longer takes his money in pieces of silver; he prefers dollars."?

DESMOND BUCKLE, *London.*



At Dakar, French West Africa: New Streamlined Railroad Cars—But No Shoes!



## News Notes

**TUNISIA, Fr. N. Africa**—A general strike here brought death to forty persons and injury to over a hundred on August 5, when soldiers acting on government orders moved to take over railroad property and crush the strike. Tunisian leaders assert that the troop action was also aimed at breaking the nationalist-independence movement.

**GENEVA, Switzerland**—After three years of consideration and debate, the International Labor Conference last month completed the preparation of conventions designed as a charter of rights for colonial peoples. Among the items of the charter are general social policy, the right of labor organization, labor inspection, protection against all forms of forced labor, and equal pay. The last point brought forth opposition from British delegates.

**NORTHERN RHODESIA**—A three-months long boycott of all shops in the so-called second-class trading area by 20,000 Africans at Luanshya came to an end a few weeks ago. The boycott was organized as a protest against the high cost of living. Cost of clothing and cotton piece goods has tripled in price since 1939 while the wages of Africans—\$6.00 a month for domestic servants and \$5.50 a month for mine workers is the average—have remained static. Africans in Broken Hill also took up the boycott movement.

**ADDIS ABABA**—Almost a year ago in September 1946, *New Africa* carried a note about a medical mission which the Soviet Union was sending to Ethiopia to aid in promoting public health service there. Last month the Associated Press reported from the Ethiopian capital that this medical mission had now begun to take up quarters in the Dejazmatch Baltcha Hospital. The mission consists of nine doctors (five men and four women), five nurses, a pharmacist and two administrators. They brought with them all their medical equipment, instruments and supplies. All expenses, including salaries, are being paid by the Soviet Union.

**LAGOS, Nigeria**—The *Daily Service* reports that a mining company has been organized by Africans with a capital of \$400,000. The directors of the company, with headquarters in Lagos, are E. A. Dada and Ernest Ikoli. An experienced Canadian mining engineer and geologist has been engaged by the company.

**JOHANNESBURG, South Africa**—Mary Susan Malahlele, a young Bantu woman of 30, received her medical degree from the University of Witwatersrand on June 21, and became the first African woman to qualify as a physician in the Union of South Africa.

## U. N. Faces Crucial Test On Colonies (Cont'd)

first session, summarized in the last issue of the *New Africa*, is expected to provoke sharp discussion when it is reviewed in the Assembly.

### The Trusteeship Council

*Election of additional members to the Trusteeship Council.* The U. S. Congress having approved the trusteeship agreement placing the U. S. in charge of former Japanese islands in the Pacific, this country has formally become one of the trustee powers (during the recent session of the Trusteeship Council, the U. S., though having *de facto* status as a trustee power, was counted as a non-trustee).

It is now necessary to elect two new members of the T. C. without trusteeship responsibility in order to make an even balance between the trustee and non-trustee states serving on the Trusteeship Council. India appears likely to be one of the new members elected to that body.

(The present membership of the T. C. consists of Britain, France, U. S. A., Belgium, Australia and New Zealand as trustee powers; . . . and China, Mexico, Iraq and the U.S.S.R., the latter not participating in the Council thus far.)

*Report on information from non-self-governing territories.* The Charter calls for all the colonial powers within the U. N. to submit annual reports on conditions in their respective colonies. These reports are to be reviewed by a special committee prior to coming before the General Assembly. This item on the agenda represents the one and only opportunity for U.N. members to deal with conditions in the large majority of colonial countries which lie outside the sphere of the trusteeship system.

*The Palestine Question also looms large on the Assembly agenda.*

### Representation for Colonial Peoples

Various phases of the work of the Economic and Social Council have necessarily included the problem of the colonies. Most significant in this respect was the debate during July on the Eco-

## THEATRE BENEFIT SEPT. 26

The Council on African Affairs is pleased to announce its sponsorship of a Preview Performance of Theodore Ward's play "OUR LAN" on Friday evening, September 26, at the Royale Theater, New York City.

Tickets for this benefit performance, \$1.80 to \$4.80, may be obtained from the Council's offices. Telephone MUrray Hill 3-7622 for reservations.

PAUL ROBESON, Chairman  
WM. JAY SCHIFFELIN, Vice Chairman  
MAX YERGAN, Executive Director  
EDITH C. FIELD, Treasurer

nomie Commission for Asia and the Far East.

The delegates from India, Siam and the Philippines raised sharply the demand that this Commission should include representatives of the millions of peoples in the East whose welfare was under consideration. They criticized the composition of the Commission as being overloaded with Western authority.

It was finally voted that the non-independent Asiatic countries should be admitted to associate membership on the Commission. However, the European colonial powers insisted and won the point that this right should be conditional on the approval of the states responsible for the international relations of the colonies concerned.

### Imperialists Resist U.N.

In this compromise decision, as in the decisions on trusteeship and in the refusal of the Netherlands government, supported by Britain, France and Belgium, to acknowledge the right of the U. N. to intervene in Indonesia, we see again the firm determination of the colonial powers to keep their colonies absolutely free of international authority, and to evade the obligations which they assumed in signing the U. N. charter.

This is the crux of the problem of colonial freedom which the United Nations must face squarely and resolve if the world's colonies are not to be a continuing source of international conflict and world insecurity.

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## The United Nations and Non-Self-Governing Territories

There are roughly 300 million inhabitants of colonial countries throughout the world. These people have no direct representation or voice in the United Nations. Openly in revolt in many areas and everywhere impatient of the slow progress toward self-government, these people will be anxiously watching the current session of the United Nations General Assembly.

For at the present meeting the members of the United Nations will have before them for the first time reports regarding the conditions of the people in the majority of the colonies, submitted by the governing powers in accordance with Article 73(e) of the Charter. After considering these reports, the delegates will be called upon to decide what specific measures the United Nations should and will take toward promoting the well-being and self-government of the colonial peoples, the the objective stated in Article 73 to be "a sacred trust" accepted by all the member states.

So far as the special category of colonies known as trusteeship territories is concerned, the Assembly will be called upon to review and approve the work of Trusteeship Council which held its first meeting earlier this year (see June issue of *New Africa*).

There are at present only 9 trusteeship territories including the Pacific Islands under the U.S.—whereas there are 74 other areas which have been designated "non-self-governing territories" (the term itself has never been defined) thus coming

within the scope of Article 73. Of these the United Kingdom has 43, France 16 (four of which were taken off the list this year), the United States 7, Netherlands 3, New Zealand 2, and Belgium, Australia and Denmark one each.

Last year's General Assembly meeting, despite the opposition of the colonial powers, voted to establish a special committee to examine the information submitted concerning the non-self-governing territories, with a view to aiding the General Assembly in its consideration of the information and in determining how best to utilize it. This decision represented a victory for those delegates who argued that the information reports should not be merely "filed and forgotten," but should serve as the basis for constructive U.N. action on behalf of the colonial millions.

### The Preliminary Skirmish

The special committee met at Lake Success from August 28 to September 12 and prepared its report for the Assembly. The committee was composed of the colony-holding powers mentioned above and an equal number of non-colonial states elected by the General Assembly—Brazil, China, Cuba, Egypt, India, Philippines, the Soviet Union, and Uruguay.

Sharp differences of opinion arose between the representatives of the colonial powers and the elected delegates over the character of the information reports submitted and questions of future procedure. On some of these points of difference, however, the representatives of Brazil, China, Cuba and Uruguay either abstained or voted with the colony-holding powers.

Information reports were available for only 57 of the 74 non-self-governing territories and these reports varied markedly in form and substance. The Soviet delegate, Jacob Lamokin, called the attention of the committee to the general absence of information on such matters as the relative living standards of the indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants of the colonies, electoral procedures, civil rights, discrimination, land tenure, corporal punishment, and tax and tariff structures.

Notwithstanding the excuses given by the representatives of the colonial powers for the incompleteness of data submitted, the committee was compelled to draw the conclusion that the "information transmitted up to this date does not draw a sufficiently clear picture of the living conditions of the peoples of the non-self-governing territories." Proposals were made for securing the submission of more uniform and complete reports in the future.

### Disagreement on Political Information

At the first meeting of the committee the Philippine delegate, General Romulo, and the Soviet delegate criticized the failure of the colonial powers to give adequate information regarding the participation of peoples in the colonies in local self-government and their general political progress, and the failure to include this item in the agenda of the committee along with matters of education, health, labor and economic conditions. It was noted that the United Kingdom reports

(Continued on next page)



At the tremendous overflow rally in New York on September 11, called by the Progressive Citizens of America, the demand that the American government adopt a democratic policy in both domestic and foreign affairs was voiced by Dr. Kingdon, Henry Wallace, Lena Horne and Paul Robeson, shown here (l. to r.) chatting together during the meeting.

were completely void of such political information, whereas the United States reports had included such political data.

This same question arose again and again during the subsequent meeting of the committee. Representatives of the colonial powers insisted upon adherence to the literal wording of Article 73 (e) which calls for the submission of "statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to social, economic and educational conditions" in the non-self-governing territories. The Soviet, Indian, Egyptian and Chinese delegates, on the other hand, argued that Article 73 as a whole clearly implied that information on political progress was required and that, further, it was impossible to separate political factors from educational, economic and social conditions.

The committee finally voted that the transmission of political information should be regarded as optional but that it should be "duly noted and encouraged" by the General Assembly.

The strongest proposals with regard to this question and other functions of the U.N. in relation to non-self-governing territories were advanced by the Soviet representative. He recommended that a special questionnaire be prepared by the Secretary General following consultation with members of the committee in order to secure "fuller and more accurate information;" that the administering authorities should give "detailed data on the participation of the populations in the local organs of the administration;" that the Secretary General should transmit summaries of information from unofficial organizations and individual in the colonies together with the official governmental information; that U.N. representatives should make yearly on-the-spot-examinations of conditions in the colonies; and that the committee should examine petitions from local populations of the colonies, together with official information submitted.

None of these proposals secured the support of the majority of the committee, although in at least one instance the vote was as close as 5 to 6.

#### Criticism of Colonial Conditions

It fell to the Indian delegate, Dr. P. Pillai, and the Soviet delegate, Mr. Lamokin, to provide the committee with detailed information on such colonial matters as discrimination in educational expenditures and facilities and the inadequacy of educational service in Kenya and other territories; discrimination in wages; the deterioration of health because of malnutrition and other factors; discrimination in immigration regulations in East African colonies; the evils of labor migration; and the expropriation of land and resources in colonies by foreign monopolies.

Authorities such as Lord Hailey and various official documents were cited in substantiation of these charges. The Egyptian representative, Taha bey El-Sayed Nasr, joined in this criticism. These representatives pointed out that the information submitted by governments failed to give adequate data on these matters.

The representatives of the colonial powers at first attempted to bar discussion of the substance of the information and to hold the committee strictly to questions of procedure. When this failed, they argued that conditions in the colonies should be compared with conditions in independent countries in the same geographical area.

The delegate of the United Kingdom, Mr. Poyton, was most insistent on this matter, asserting that "*these territories are not backward because they are non-self-governing, but are colonial territories because they are backward.*"

The British, French and Belgian delegates all gave instances of what their governments had done to promote the welfare of their colonial dependencies. They failed, however, to refute any of the specific points of criticism made by the Indian and Soviet representatives.

#### Proposals on Future Procedure

One of the most important positive recommendations of the committee to go before the General Assembly was initiated by the Indian representative.

After amendments by the U.S., Australia and Cuba, which detracted from its original effectiveness, the proposal, as approved, recommended that a special committee be constituted "to examine the information transmitted . . . on the economic, social and educational conditions in non-self-governing territories, and to submit reports thereon with recommendations as it may deem fit, and with such substantive recommendations as it may deem desirable relating to functional fields generally but not with respect to individual territories."

It was further recommended that the committee be composed of those states transmitting information for their colonies and an equal number of elective members. This is the composition of the committee originally established and also of the Trusteeship Council, and experience has demonstrated that the point of view of the colonial powers prevails in such an arrangement. Attempts to recommend a larger number of elective members on the committee were defeated.

It now remains for the General Assembly to consider and act on the proposals from its special committee. It is to be hoped that the Assembly's decisions will be truly liberal and in the interest of the colonial peoples.

#### Analysis of Information

The statistical tables which appear on other pages of this issue were compiled by the Council on African Affairs from the information reports transmitted by the United Kingdom government.

The tables, as a whole, reveal the incompleteness of the data presented for many of the territories. They also reveal clearly that the health and educational needs of the peoples in the areas dealt with are far from being satisfactorily met by government and are, indeed, shockingly neglected in many instances, particularly in the African territories.

The same conclusions may be drawn from the information transmitted by the other colonial powers. Analysis here presented has been confined to the British colonies, partly because they are the most numerous and partly because the statistical information presented is in general more uniform than for the colonies of the other powers.

Eighteen of the British colonies with largest population in Africa, the Caribbean and Asia have been used as the basis of this analysis of educational and health services. No information report has yet been submitted by the United Kingdom for Nigeria with its population of over 22 million and, therefore, it is not included in the analysis.

It is obvious, of course, that statistical tables of this type have their disadvantages. Expenditures for education and health, for example, may include varying items in different territories. And figures for total and school populations in most of the colonies are merely estimates or guesses. Further, the number of doctors or hospital beds should be supplemented by information as to their quality, distribution and accessibility to the population. Nevertheless, the tables do show the general picture of educational and health needs in the colonial territories.

Expenditures for education and health in Table I exclude expenditures for buildings and maintenance and for vocational education (unless indicated as government-aided) where such expenditures are separately listed. For comparative purposes, all sums of money have been converted to U.S. currency at present rates of exchange: £ Sterling=\$4.00, \$ Hongkong=\$.25, \$ Malay and Singapore=\$.47½, \$ Trinidad=\$.83½.

ALL INFORMATION IN THE TABLES, UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED, IS FOR THE YEAR 1946. BLANK SPACES IN THE COLUMNS DENOTE THE ABSENCE OF INFORMATION IN THE REPORT FOR THAT TERRITORY.

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