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FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU

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11, DARTMOUTH ST. LONDON S.W.1.

REPORT of a Conference on THE COLONIES, THE WAR AND THE FUTURE held at St. Peter's Hall, Oxford, on 18th - 20th July 1941.

FIRST SESSION - INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

Chairman: JOHN PARKER M.P.

On opening the Conference John Parker said that violent denunciations of imperialism get nowhere at all. A hundred years ago radicals put forward constructive proposals which led to the development and independence of the "white" colonies. Today radicals must give the lead in the development of the "black colonies". We must put forward schemes for progress towards democratic self-government in the colonies, and not be content to accept without question the system of indirect rule. Tribal organisations must become part of a larger whole, and self-government in conformity with western civilised ideas must be the ultimate aim of our work.

A. CREECH-JONES M.P. said that recently Lord Moyne had outlined what the newspapers called a "new charter" of social development. He had said "The colonies are neglected estates. It is up to us to see that they get a fair deal". What are the problems of these "neglected estates"?

At the outbreak of war it was difficult to say what was the purpose of our colonial empire. There had been liberal declarations of policy but practice had been confusing and inconsistent. But owing to the disorders in the West Indies and elsewhere, the British conscience had been stirred, and Parliament was now asking if the machinery of control was adequate.

Our "sacred trust" to the colonies had expressed itself in conflicting ways. There was the segregation of natives in S. Rhodesia, stagnation in the Protectorates, a system of indirect rule in Nigeria, white paramountcy in Kenya, and colour discrimination in N. Rhodesia. In all colonies the standard of social and economic conditions was deplorable. There had been a series of disturbing reports exposing squalor and disease, malnutrition, inadequate education and labour exploitation. We have a noble and disinterested Civil Service, but the money spent has always been inadequate and the social problem has continued to be very bad.

With the war, certain economic problems had become obvious. The colonies had been drained of their resources by the flow of wealth overseas. The internal economies were inadequate to maintain a reasonable standard of living. There were large monopolies exploiting consumers and producers. There had been a rapid development of industrialisation with tragic effects on the life of communities. The native reserves were becoming overcrowded. Since the war it was more than ever clear that the economies of many territories were lopsided. They must now turn away from exports, and build up subsidiary industries, mixed farms, etc. In the meantime, most development was being badly held up owing to war conditions, and Social Services were only just being maintained.

On the other hand, there had been certain progressive features since the war. There had been a development of labour departments and labour legislation. There had been the passing of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. Since the passing of the Act little had actually been done, but it was up to us to see that development schemes were pushed forward.

DAVID ADAMS M.P. said he thought there was no fear of our going too quickly with colonial self-government. People had to have the chance to learn through their own mistakes. Even in this country where we had years of experience and education there was often apathy. The House of Lords was an outstanding example. There was much too little attention to colonial affairs in the British Parliament and the colonies had no other Tribunal.

DR BAROU said the fundamental question was to undermine the monopolies dominating colonial life and this could be done by an extension of co-operation.

DAVID FREEMAN attacked the vicious system of discrimination along racial lines in education and said that did not exist in Malaya.

IN REPLY

CREECH JONES said he doubted whether indirect rule could stand up to future strains. It was correct that vested monopolies must be undermined and the co-operative movement extended, but more Government assistance was needed in this. He did not accept the view that representative Government might be proceeded with too quickly. The colonies were pushing us along rather than the other way round. Colonies do not want paternal, benevolent Government. That was the attitude of Lord Lloyd, also of Lord Hailey who now wished to concentrate on Social Services alone. But the development of responsible Government cannot be kept apart from the development of Social Services.

SECOND SESSION - THE FIGHT AGAINST NATURE IN THE COLONIES

Chairman: HUGH FRANKLIN

PROFESSOR W. M. MACMILLAN said that the war had made it possible to see the colonial problem independently and not as a factor in European politics. With the disappearance of the Sovereign national state the colonies must become units in themselves.

The idea of the "dual mandate" needs rethinking - the problem was to develop the resources there for the benefit of the colonies themselves. It was natural poverty that had made them colonial areas - the first task was to overcome nature and develop their resources. Western civilisation needed a great deal of adaptation to the conditions of the tropics.

The Report on Nutrition shewed that food was deficient throughout the tropics. Vast areas could not rear cattle. They were short of protein and vitamins, often deficient in mineral salt, and lacking pure water. The population of Africa was inadequate. Africans themselves did not thrive on the oppressive heat and sickly damp of the climate, though bacteria did. The population had a low resistance to disease, and whole areas were infected with hookworm, parasites and malaria.

The area had remained outside the stream of world culture. It suffered from lack of contact with outside. The lack of transport resulted in appalling fragmentation - political units like Nigeria were composed of different tribes and languages not integrated together.

The Africans were sunk in ignorance and superstition, though the reaction against the early monopolies had tended to sentimentalise on this point. Export products - sugar, cocoa, etc. - were often grown at the expense of the food needs of the natives. Aspirations to meet the vast needs of health and education were arising. The difficulty was the lack of means.

The colonies fell roughly into three types:

(a) West Indies - where Europeans had first attempted to tackle nature themselves, where their numbers were dwindling, leaving a ruined soil and an imported population reduced to the level of a helpless proletariat.

(b) Malaya, a more hopeful area with more resources and experience. Chinese labour was far more efficient than African, and a reasonably intelligent capitalism on the plantations had provided for health needs, etc. But bigger interests were escaping their fair share of taxation.

(c) Africa, where there was still a chance to build on better lines, if certain sentimental fallacies were overcome - the conservative 'go slow', which meant not at all: the fear of contact; the over-scientific and insufficiently human approach of anthropology; the negative approach of internationalisation.

Exploitation must be controlled; the colonies must be enabled to levy taxation adequate for their own purposes; capital must be supplied for industrialisation; Africans must be educated in collective large scale agriculture to make possible the introduction of up to date methods.

G. V. JACKS (Deputy Director, Imperial Bureau of Social Science) said that during the last century, new settlement had always resulted in a depletion of soil fertility. But recent settlement has caused particularly rapid soil exhaustion, partly because of agricultural progress which enables more efficient exploitation of the soil. First yields decline; then the soil begins to disappear, washed away by water or blown away by wind. Enormous areas in N. America, Africa and Australia are now barren wastes. The wastage of land is not yet serious for the world as a whole, but was becoming serious in some countries. If erosion increased at present rates the U.S. might be incapable of organised existence by the end of the century, and even sooner in Africa.

Erosion is a warning of the lack of harmony between human society and its environment. Systems of agriculture are being practiced which are unsuitable for the soil. The New World and the Tropics are colonised by European agriculturists on methods and on social forms suited only to Europe. The first stage of settlement is that of destructive agriculture, and if continued long enough settlement may have to be terminated altogether. The alternative is the second stage of constructive agriculture, restoring soil fertility to a new high level. This revolution is accompanied by profound social changes, as is starting now in the U.S.

There was a comparable revolution in Britain in the fifteenth century with the enclosure of the open fields and the growth of the system of private land-ownership. But unrestricted ownership of virgin land is bound to be destructive, because of exploitation of the soil for private profit. The most disastrous consequences have followed in the U.S.; where the aim has been to export in maximum quantities. In all countries export agriculture has resulted in soil erosion. Since the failure of markets for American export crops in 1930, Americans have been forced into an agricultural revolution. Soil-saving grass is replacing soil-exhausting arable crops as in fifteenth century England. This cannot be done in America by subsidised competition between individual farmers, so that co-operation is beginning to develop. Farming communities, known as soil conservation districts, are built up, with elected leaders possessing legal authority, deciding how all the land of the district shall be worked. In the last five years these districts have sprung up spontaneously all over the U.S., and have met with dramatic success.

This revolution has not resulted from a recognition of disasters ahead, but from the failure of export markets. In parts of Africa, disasters are imminent, and are recognised by the authorities, but as long as crops are sold abroad, nothing will be done.

But to abandon the "export complex" means jettisoning the economic base of colonial development. But the future trend must be towards more self-contained economy. European civilisation does not fit in with the conservation of African soil. The war might have offered the opportunity to develop a self-sufficient agriculture. Local production is being encouraged. The situation is not unlike the situation in the U.S. in the 1930's, but the economic necessity to switch over to soil-conserving agriculture is not yet so imperative. We cannot, either, be certain if the African land will benefit from self-sufficient agriculture, though there is reason to believe that self-contained agriculture can always, and export agriculture can never, be made to conserve soil fertility.

The spread of soil-saving agriculture in the U.S. is largely due to the accompanying social trend away from individualism towards communal responsibility. Some corresponding change is required in the tropics, and it will involve recognition that human society in its relation to the land is indivisible into black and white. At present the whites have to exploit the land in order to maintain their superiority over the blacks, and the blacks have to exploit it in order to exist at all in competition with the whites. A common base is now needed, and the new society will be something specific to the African environment.

IN DISCUSSION

W. BENSON pointed out that international schemes could be positive, and showed how the ILO and mandate system had developed from negative rules to constructive programmes.

D. FREEMAN said that Malayan prosperity was dependent on Chinese labour and farsighted administration. The State owned the land, minerals and rivers, and had forest reservations throughout the mountains and foothills. They were far ahead of Burma in health and medical services. Yet they were an exporting country dependent on imports for food.

RITA HINDEN said that very little was being done in Africa to cope with soil erosion.

MARGARET COLE stressed the importance of agricultural co-operation, as shown in the Soil Conservation Districts of U.S.A., in China and India. Africa was different in that the soil was being exploited by vested interests from outside. Co-operation had only been possible in America and China when the big financial interests had been ruined by the crisis and war.

DR FORTES said that white civilisation in breaking up the tribe had robbed the African of security, social stability and co-operation within the group. The tribe was the only weapon we had against the dangers of uncontrolled introduction of an alien way of life.

SIR SELWYN GRIER strongly supported indirect rule and opposed the introduction of the plantation system in W. Africa, showing how the Africans themselves had built up the cocoa, palm-oil and ground-nut industries without it.

IN REPLY

G. V. JACKS said the local authorities were doing what they could to control soil erosion, but had insufficient funds. A revolutionary change was needed in the conditions of land tenure to really tackle the problem. The choice lay between reducing exports or ruining the soil.

W. M. MACMILLAN said that internationalisation was an excuse for escaping responsibilities. Indirect rule did nothing to bind the tribal units together. Africans themselves had brought great trouble to the soil and social system of the Gold Coast. Advanced agriculture could only be carried on in large plantation units.

THIRD (INFORMAL) SESSION - LABOUR IN THE COLONIES

W. BENSON said that he would confine his remarks to Africa. There are about 100 million Africans and only 5 - 6 million African wage-earners. But in spite of the small number of wage-earners the labour problem is more important in Africa than in other colonies. The bulk of the population in Africa are agriculturists, producing crops or living on a subsistence economy, so that the fundamental problem is still one of rural betterment and better prices for the primary producer. But schemes of rural betterment will fail unless the labour position is improved. The labourer leaves his village and accepts a wage as a single worker in European employment. He is given no social insurance at his place of work, and returns to his village in times of unemployment or need. This means that the village economy is subsidising the industrial labourer. On the other hand, if industrial wages were increased, there would be the danger of a large-scale rural exodus, undermining the new wage standards.

This dilemma is revealed clearly in S. Africa today. The African industrial labourer is put in a difficult situation owing to the competition of poor Africans from the village. At the same time the development of rural life has become difficult owing to the absence of men in industry.

We must recognise the fact that an industrial population has now emerged in Africa - a population dependent on wages. This might eventually help the rural areas by providing good markets for their produce. Industrialisation is often frowned upon because of bad social conditions among the workers. But if it is accepted as a fact from which there can be no retreat, these conditions will be improved. Very comprehensive labour legislation has become essential - not merely the fixing of minimum wages, though these are also necessary. There is a need for vastly improved Social Services and social insurance.

There are four lines by which the dilemma of the labour problem and the problem of rural advancement may be met:-

- 1) improved communications and trade between the town and the country.
- 2) repayment of part of industrial wages to rural areas.
- 3) improved Social Services.
- 4) the admission that industrialisation has come to stay.

D. FREEMAN referred to labour conditions in Malaya. He said there had been many strikes recently owing to low wages, while the companies are making enormous profits. In 1931 wages had been cut to the bone, and had only risen gradually to their earlier level. With the present increased cost of living, there was a new and dangerous position. The Government says this is due to new and subversive activities and has sent Ordo Browne to report. Tamils and Chinese were now joining together in common action. There was a Trade Union Act on the Statute book but it was not yet in operation. No Unions had actually been registered.

PROFESSOR MACMILLAN said it was important to press for the setting up of local labour departments in the colonies.

A. CREECH JONES praised the magnificent work of the International Labour Office in getting its labour conventions adopted. There is great need for review of labour problems by the Colonial Office. The Colonial Office has an itinerant Labour Adviser, but it needs a permanently staffed Labour Department. Trade Union legislation ought to conform to certain standards. Funds should be protected and Unions should have elementary rights for conduct of disputes. The T.U.C. should show much greater interest in these matters.

We had as yet no settled policy regarding African peoples attracted to the mines. Social Services had to be developed for these industrial workers. Colour discrimination in granting responsible jobs had to stop. There was a need for a strong Inspectorate to supervise labour conditions.

W. BENSON said that great progress had been made by the Colonial Office in adopting ILO conventions since 1932. But the conventions governing contracts of employment, and the abolition of penal sanctions had not yet been accepted.

FOURTH SESSION - COLONIAL ECONOMICS

Chairman: SIR DRUMMOND SHIELS

RITA HINDEN said that although the war had brought great misery to the peoples of Europe, the colonial peoples had not suffered direct attack. The war might prove to be a revolutionary turning-point in the economic history of the colonies because it had brought many grievances and discontents into the open and given birth to a new attitude to colonial affairs in this country.

The economic opportunities of colonial peoples had been severely limited. They could either be primitive peasants, labourers, or producers of raw materials for European consumption. There was little opportunity for them to engage in a trade industry or the professions. If they were primitive peasants they could only eke a very meagre living from the soil on the basis of the traditional shifting agriculture which was the only type of agriculture they knew. This type of agriculture was getting progressively more difficult as Europeans encroached on the land, and the soil and vegetation deteriorated through over cultivation. As labourers, the life of colonial peoples was also difficult. They were uprooted from their village life, leaving behind them social disintegration, and brought into entirely new and not very satisfactory living conditions, which created new aspirations and new discontents. Even in colonies where there was a long tradition of wage labour so that home life was not broken up, the labourer had few social services and no social insurance, and was subjected to demoralising periods of unemployment. As primary producers, colonial peoples were also deprived of secure and stable existence, being dependant on the vagaries of an export market over which they had no control, and on the need to purchase expensive imported articles to fulfil their daily food and household requirements.

In spite of the difficulties of economic existence in the colonies, many colonies had progressed remarkably in trade and revenue in the inter-war years. But one must look behind the statistics to see their real meaning. Export statistics might be impressive, but how much of that export value actually enriched the colonial peoples and how much was drained away overseas? Revenue figures might be high, but they might represent customs taxes on food and other necessities, which were a heavy burden on the people's standard of living.

The war had come as a great disturbing force in the colonial economic system. Shipping had become scarce and expensive, crops could not be sold, imports had risen steeply in price, taxation had had to be increased. The primitive peasants had not been much affected. The labourer had benefited to some extent in countries such as Malaya and N. Rhodesia, producing essential war materials; but they had suffered in countries, such as the W. Indies, which did not produce essentials. In either case there had been restlessness and strikes among colonial workers. The increased cost of living and other factors had upset the even tenor of his life, and there had been much labour unrest since the outbreak of war. Colonial producers had mostly suffered severely through inability to ship their crops. Here the British Government had been helpful in purchasing the surplus crops, and though one might criticise details of the purchase schemes, it was essentially a generous and wise policy. It was only a pity that more planning to develop alternative

production, or to allow for storage and processing of surplus crops, had not been done before the war. Today, owing to machinery and personnel shortages, it was not easy to develop alternative production.

In general, a much more progressive attitude to all these problems had developed since the war. The new Colonial Development and Welfare Act, the remission of debts, industrial legislation, the sending of a Comptroller of Development to the West Indies, the admission that secondary industries should be developed, were examples. But we had to beware that there was not reaction after the war, when perhaps there would be great demand for colonial products, or demand for emigration to the colonies. We had to be extremely vigilant to prevent such a reaction from setting in.

SIR ALAN PIM said he did not propose to make a comprehensive plan for the future of the colonies, as no-one could predict the future, but he would outline some possible post-war dangers judged by the experience of the last war; and then would discuss some aspects of development under the new conditions.

Two important factors are first that all colonising nations will have in future to work together more closely than hitherto; and, second, that we will have to adjust ourselves to our new position as a debtor instead of a creditor nation. Because of this, much will depend on the policy adopted by the U.S., the one remaining creditor nation.

One danger we can foresee is that when we grapple with post-war unemployment we might repeat the proposals of the Empire Resources Development Committee, which enlisted support after the last war. This Committee wished to develop colonial resources by practical business men, the profits to be paid to the British Treasury to liquidate the war debt. Such crude proposals will not be repeated but there are other ways of imposing an unfair burden on colonies to relieve unemployment at home.

In future both trade and capital investment will be more subject to Government control than before. Exchange control and commodity control schemes have come to stay, though more attention must be paid to the needs of consumers.

Most colonial territories have now passed the initial stages of development. Their external trade has been developed but is concentrated on a small number of products. That internal trade is small, little capital has been accumulated, and little secondary industry. A good deal can be done by encouraging small industries and internal trade. Markets are the main determining factor, and special circumstances, such as scarcity of outside supplies during the war, may help to create a market for colonial industries.

In the past progress has mainly depended on the introduction of European capital, and on European needs. The alignment of railways has depended on the presence of minerals. Mining and commerce alone have been able to obtain equity capital. Much more capital, with very little interest return, will be needed in future. How is this capital to be obtained and applied after the war?

There have been many projects put forward for applying capital to Africa on a grand scale, particularly in Central Europe. But these schemes have been based on European interests, and on the idea of European settlement. Dr. Schacht has put forward a scheme for international chartered companies for colonial development. Such companies, independent of local administrations, would become too powerful and impede progress towards local self-government. They would also have difficulty in raising capital. Capital application must be better controlled in future to avoid waste - and expenditure must be planned internationally to cut across political boundaries.

It is not easy to determine what the best future organisation of mining should be, but a fair share of profits must be retained by local administrations, and there is much to learn from the taxation of the gold-mines in the Union. The future of European agriculture is also doubtful, because it is not an economic proposition. For the natives, peasant cultivation may have to be supplemented by plantation methods, run by the natives themselves. Most important for the agricultural future is the settlement of the question of land tenure.

But the most important problem is the development of the capacities of native peoples so that they should be able to take advantage of science and new economic opportunities. In the past African development has depended on the use of Africans as great masses of undifferentiated labour. Those days of undifferentiated labour have gone.

In internal trade, the African has developed little. In East Africa the Indian has monopolised retail trade, and in W. Africa the Syrian is predominant. Africans now want to expand, but are hampered by these vested interests. The Africans have practically no share in the import or export trade - it is monopolised in W. Africa by the United Africa Company, and the small African share is actually decreasing. Co-operative organisation has been recommended to combat this position, but this may or may not be workable.

IN DISCUSSION

N. BAROU said there must be an organised world economy, so that products could be bought at different prices in different areas. If the profit motive was displaced capital would have to come from public sources. Could we not supply machinery to the colonies under the Lease and Lend Act. Joint colonial plans should be prepared by the governments now in London. We should send co-operative and trade union 'missionaries' to the colonies.

M. ASHCROFT thought the admission of colonial M.P.'s to Westminster would do something to rouse public and Parliamentary interest in colonial problems. But we must also encourage the development of a militant colonial workers movement.

DAVID ADAMS MP said the Colonial Office should establish minimum standards of subsistence for the colonies.

JOHN PARKER MP said the economic situation at the end of the war would necessitate financial reconstruction on international lines. The Powers would have to provide public capital, through large scale five and ten year plans.

IN REPLY

SIR ALAN PIM favoured the international pooling of colonial needs and supplies; and the development of communications on a regional basis.

RITA HINDEN thought what was needed was very liberal grants of capital for the development of public services. As long as we had the factories and the workers colonial needs could be supplied.

The development of co-operation was the clue to the problem of the colonial peoples.

FOURTH SESSION - SOCIAL PROGRESS

Chairman: FRANK HORRABIN

MARGARET WRONG said that in talking of education we must realise that we are dealing with people, and put ourselves into their places. We must know what Africans are thinking. There are so many different types of Africans, each thinking and feeling differently - from the backward Dinka tribesman of the Sudan, to M. Eboué, Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa. But there are certain things which most Africans have in

common - the feeling of the land, and a sense of the unseen. They are animists and have a profound mistrust of mechanistic materialism.

The isolation of Africans has now finally broken down. Africans in villages throughout the Continent are interested in what is happening in Johannesburg, and criticism is made on all the foibles of European administrations. But much wider-spread education is necessary if we are to co-operate with Africans. Education is very inadequate throughout Africa, particularly female education. The system of voluntary effort in education helped by Government grants-in-aid is a good one. The way for further development has been cleared by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, though the absence of many education officers owing to the war is holding up progress.

It is essential that further financial grants should be given for Social Services. Another proposal was that Africans should be given scholarships to come to Europe. The Rhodes Trust should extend their scholarship system to Africans, and not only give them special grants. Also, there must be a further Africanisation of the administrative services. This might mean less efficiency for some years, but people can only learn by responsibility. Finally, positive steps must be taken to break down colour prejudice. It was not sufficient merely to deplore it.

UNA MARSON said that most of the troubles of the W. Indies go back to the days of slavery. As slaves the people have been degraded. When they were emancipated no money had been given them on the land, though £20 millions had been given in compensation to the planters. So the freed slaves had been forced to continue working for the planters under very bad conditions.

In the 1930's, unemployment in the W. Indies was increasing. Workers who had been employed in Cuba and San Domingo returned home through the failure of employment there. They had received better wages in Cuba than they could get in Jamaica and were dissatisfied. Some attempts at land settlement had been made to solve the unemployment problem - but this was not properly organised. Often unsuitable land was given and inadequate housing. Then there was the spread of banana disease, undermining the returns from the banana industry. The tourist trade also had bad effects - it created a class of touts. No industry was developed, owing to lack of planning and capital, although there were many possibilities. The elementary school system was unsuitable for the needs of West Indians - it was based too much on the old English system. There was no vocational training, no apprenticeship, and little skilled labour. Standards of nutrition were low. The Governments allowed things to drift along without planning, and without continuity of policy as between one government and the next. There was no dole for the unemployed. Little attempt was made to understand the psychology of West Indians and to help them get over their inferiority complex inherited from their slave days. The wives of civil servants often created difficulties - they maintained a monopoly of the charitable and social work for themselves, and did not work together with the West Indians.

The riots of the 1930's were not caused by propaganda, but by growing pains. There was the universal desire for a better standard of living. The higher pay which West Indians had received in Panama and elsewhere caused discontent with the low standards in the W. Indies. Everyone saw that trouble was brewing, but nothing was done.

The British are responsible for their colonies, not only at times when the colonies could yield wealth, but now also when they are poor. The British should have taught them methods of co-operation, Trade Unionism, thrift, trading, which they understood so well themselves. The T.U.C. had given them very little encouragement, and nobody in Jamaica during the troubles had understood how to organise a Trade Union. If

the West Indians are now to go forward, there must be a change in the British attitude. The wrong of slavery was not automatically wiped out by emancipation. There is still colour prejudice, creating havoc in people's lives. The black man must be respected in his own country.

IN DISCUSSION

SIR SELWYN GRIER said that he used to be a Governor in the W. Indies, and in his case, people of African descent were welcomed in social work. But it was true about the lack of continuity in policy. The responsibility for this lay in Whitehall. Local administrators made representation after representation to Whitehall, when action was necessary, but nothing was done. There were also grave problems of over-population. When Cuba and San Domingo shut out West Indian labourers, terrible problems were created. Land policy is very unsatisfactory.

In Africa the future depends on education. The modern idea of imperialism is that the Empire is one big family of which the Africans are the youngest members. Our duty is to see they get a fair deal. People who recommended during appeasement that Africans should be handed over to Germany had a lower standard of morality than people who had bought and sold Africans in the past. There must also be an Africanisation of the services. Achimota might have done great things in this but was crippled by lack of funds. A progressive policy was held up in Whitehall, and public opinion must counter this.

DR MORGAN said that no West Indian girl had ever been able to win a scholarship to Great Britain and so women had been excluded from all the professions. This was important from the point of view of improving health conditions, which were deplorable. Women must have the vote if these conditions are to be changed. The ferment in the W. Indies was due to the lack of proper political constitutions, but Governors could not pass the blame on to the Colonial Office.

DR BELFIELD CLARKE described how, owing to his African descent, he had been unable to get a job in the African medical service, and parts of the West Indian Services were also closed to him. Every coloured person should have a manhood status - he should be entitled to certain basic rights and a basic standard of living. For the French, the question of colour was of little interest, and the British should learn from this, or there would always be discontent. An empire cannot be built on the colour bar basis.

DR BAROU said that the colour question was fundamental. Intellectual imperialism was sometimes worse than political imperialism. Secondary industries must be developed, and technical education made available. But most important was to find something to replace the dying religious culture.

GUSTAVE MOUTET said that the French believed that development had to be by the colonial peoples themselves. The ideas of the French revolution were universal, and the French wanted colonials to become French citizens and have a say about things in France, so coloured deputies had a place in the French Parliament, and they did not encourage local parliaments in the colonies. An African colonial Governor-general had recently been appointed. But he was not appointed because of his colour, but because he had the right ideas and the right qualifications.

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