

The history of the small states and nations that were created in Europe after the last Great War (1914 - 1918) has been admittedly unstable and the twenty years of uneasy peace between this war and the last have been marked by characterised by weakness and political disintegration due to the existence of small states and nations unable to ensure their own defence and yet each pursuing its own political destiny. The fate of Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Czechoslovakia in this war shows that the days of small states and nations having a separate or neutral existence is over. After this war we shall probably see larger groupings of states and nations.

If that is true of the smaller states and nations in Europe, it is also true of colonies. After this war we shall see small and isolated colonies brought within a larger scheme of things and as General Smuts has said the colonial settlement will have to conform to the Atlantic Charter and the framework of Security bases for the United Nations upon whom shall devolve the duty of maintaining the peace of the world and reestablishing the economic prosperity of the world. We Africans are of course interested in the destiny of the British Colonies, particularly African colonies where we have vital interests at stake.

recommendations for
It is very likely that the post war colonial settlement of British South + East Africa will take this form: *may be made along these lines: -*

- A Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika will be united or federated to form the state of Greater East Africa.
- B Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia will also be grouped together to form the state of Greater Rhodesia.
- C The Protectorate territories of Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland will probably be annexed to the Union of South Africa.

The question that we have to bring to the forefront in these broad considerations is that of the determination of a satisfactory status for the African people in these areas. Before dealing with the other territories, let us consider the position of the protectorates as being more immediate *interest* to us.

The Annexation of the Protectorates.

The British Government has pledged itself to consult Native opinion in the Protectorates before final decisions are made on the matter. It is important that the essentials of effective consultation *should be* set out before the issue actually arises.

- (a) The Union of South Africa should indicate clearly the terms and conditions of the incorporation of each protectorate and the inhabitants of the area should *should be fully informed about these facts.*
- (b) The people of the protectorates should be given adequate time to get acquainted with the facts, take advice from whosoever they wish to *consult*, and form *a free decision* on the matter.
- (c) The consultation should not be selective, that is, consulting certain persons such as chiefs only, and leaving out other persons and bodies whose opinions might be inconvenient to the negotiations. All sections of the people, those for and those against should be consulted. The chiefs as well as the educated Africans should be given an opportunity of expressing an opinion.
- (d) If in the judgment and wisdom of the British Government *it is* necessary to proceed with the transfer of these territories then the terms of incorporation should be worked out in consultation with the *chosen* representatives of the Native inhabitants.

It is doubtful whether Native opinion within the Union of South Africa shall be consulted on this matter, but two things are perhaps clear. The first is that the inhabitants of the protectorates shall insist that the status of the Africans within the Union shall be improved before they can come into the Union. The second thing is that the eventual terms of transfer will have to come before our Union Parliament in the form of a bill on which the Parliamentary representatives of the Africans shall have their say. What shall be their line of strategy on this vital issue? In our thinking and planning we must bear these considerations in mind and, if need be, take suitable steps now while the political weather is still calm.

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