TEXT FLY WITHIN
THE BOOK ONLY

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_154273

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Call No. 325.4431 Accession No. 25662

Author M11M. Macaulay.

Title Mandates.

This book should be returned on or before the date last marked below.

16 AUG 1964

MANDATES

Reasons, Results, Remedies

by

NEIL MACAULAY

Foreword by

SIR EDWARD GRIGG,

K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., D.S.O., M.C., M.P.;

and twelve illustrations

METHUEN & CO. LTD. LONDON

36 Essex Street, Strand, W.C. 2

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

TO

M. W. AND G. S.

GOOD COMPANIONS

IN GRATITUDE

FOR THEIR HELP AND INSPIRATION

Haec olim meminisse juvabit

FOREWORD

HAVING played an insignificant part in bringing Mr. Macaulay and Messrs. Methuen together for the production of this book, I opened the advance copy of it sent to me with some anxiety and much interest. Mr. Macaulay's knowledge of his subject I knew to be first-hand, and his opinions on it vigorous and sound ; but of his quality as an author I had no more idea than the man in the moon.

That mild anxiety was soon dispelled. Mr. Macaulay's style is not quite as classical as that of his great namesake, but it is, like his opinions, frank, lucid and fearlessly polemical. There is nothing more heartening in these Laodicean times than to meet a man who holds conservative opinions without diffidence and proclaims them without reserve. If we had had plainer speaking on this colonial question in the last few months, it would not have become as troublesome as it is at the present time ; and we must take to the plainest possible speaking now, if it is not to become, not merely troublesome, but dangerous to the peace of the world.

From that standpoint I have no hesitation in commending this book and wishing it a wide circulation. Not that I subscribe to all Mr. Macaulay's observations on foreign policy and the present complicated state of the world's affairs. What impresses me is the thoroughness with which he has written the history of the

late German colonies, and also the knowledge with which he records recent German activities therein. Facts are often more eloquent than argument, and they are set out here in full. I do not indeed know of any other book to which the ordinary reader can go for a short, accurate and readable presentation of the circumstances, past and present, in these colonial regions which are once more threatening to embroil the chief European Powers.

I hope, therefore, that the book will be widely read and its conclusions studied with the care which they deserve.

EDWARD GRIGG

Tormarton, Glos.
October 22nd, 1936

CONTENTS

Part I. Reasons

I.	THIS MANDATE BUSINESS	1
II.	MANDATES *vice* PROTECTORATES	8
III.	LIGHT ON COLONIAL WAR-GUILT	12
IV.	CATEGORIES OF MANDATES	22

Part II. Results

I.	THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION	29
II.	DECLARATIONS BY BRITISH MINISTERS	35
III.	GERMAN COLONIAL PROPAGANDA	50
IV.	THE GENTLE ART OF 'WOBBLING'	69
V.	SOUTH-WEST AFRICA TO-DAY	78
VI.	TANGANYIKA TO-DAY	101
VII.	RUANDA AND URUNDI TO-DAY	130
VIII.	TOGOLAND AND CAMEROONS TO-DAY	137
IX.	NEW GUINEA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS TO-DAY	147
X.	PALESTINE AND SYRIA TO-DAY	161

Part III. Remedies

I.	WHAT IS BEHIND IT ALL ?	171
II.	ANALYSIS OF THE LEAGUE'S FAILURE	188
III.	A MONROE DOCTRINE FOR AFRICA	194
	INDEX	203

ILLUSTRATIONS

A NATIVE DHOW OFF THE COAST OF TANGANYIKA WITH WARSHIP IN BACKGROUND *Frontispiece*

GERMAN GOVERNOR'S PALACE, DAR-ES-SALAAM. PRE-WAR *Facing page* 14

THE RUINED RESIDENCE . . . 'LIKE AN ENORMOUS ICED WEDDING CAKE' 14

FIRST GERMAN AEROPLANE, DAR-ES-SALAAM, AUGUST, 1914 20

CAPTURED GERMAN GUN, DAR-ES-SALAAM 20

MOUNT KILIMANJARO, TANGANYIKA, 19,320 FEET 104

MASAI WOMEN WITH THEIR CATTLE, TANGANYIKA. THE NECKLETS ARE MADE OF COPPER WIRE AND NEVER TAKEN OFF 110

NATIVE FRUIT MARKET, DAR-ES-SALAAM 110

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, DAR-ES-SALAAM 114

FIRST IMPERIAL AIRWAYS AEROPLANE, MBEYA, TANGANYIKA, 1932 118

TRANSPORT BY CAMEL 118

TEL-AVIV, GENERAL VIEW 164

(*Photo by courtesy of Israel Cohen*)

'Where there is no vision, the people perish.'—

PROV. xxix. 18.

'The time has come for a fresh start. . . . We must, for many purposes at least, replace the make-believe machinery of an over-ambitious, all-embracing League of Nations by the really effective co-operation of groups of nations drawn together by effective ties of geographical proximity, of historic tradition, or economic interest. . . .

'In such a fresh start for the world it is natural that we of the British Commonwealth should take the lead. We are the bearers of a long tradition of ordered liberty, of freedom of thought and speech, of fair-play to the individual.'

The Forward View. L. S. AMERY

PART I. REASONS

I

THIS MANDATE BUSINESS

WHEN Ambassador Gerrard returned from Berlin to Washington in 1915, he was asked by President Woodrow Wilson what exactly was the root cause of all the trouble in Europe. His reply was terse.

'It's all this King business,' he said.

If one were asked why, every now and then, some M.P. gets up in Parliament and asks what the British Government is going to do about the German demand for the restoration of her colonies, one might paraphrase Mr. Gerrard and say, with equal truth, that it is all due to this mandate business. The reply received by the questioning M.P. is generally evasive. Immediately afterwards Dr. Heinrich Schnee, or Dr. Hjalmar Schacht or Herr Propaganda-Minister Paul Joseph Goebbels gets up on some rostrum in Germany and declares that Germany will never rest content until the national wounded honour is placated by her old colonies. The man-in-the-street does not pay too much attention to these happenings. All the same he is rather puzzled at the inconclusiveness of the whole affair, and sometimes wonders if the mandates might not possibly end in another war.

Had Lord Justice Darling been alive to-day, he

might well have added to his repertoire of judicial witticisms by asking in his own inimitable fashion : ' But what *is* a mandate ? '

Let us start, at least, by trying to define what is meant by a mandate.

Certain words in the English language tend to be grossly overworked. Why this should be so is no mystery when one recalls the physical energy cum mental inertia of the Anglo-Saxon race in general. With the abundant wealth of the richest and most flexible language in the world to choose from, our politicians and our Press elect, day after day, to go on ' exploring ' the same dusty avenues, seeking the same chimerical ' collective security ' and building up the same fragile paper ' safeguards '. These phrases take one nowhere. Few pause for a moment even to think how exactly they would define these terms. It is so much easier to go on repeating the same parrot cries, using the same threadbare catchwords, and passing the same small change of a debased mental coinage.

In the case of the word ' mandate ', especially as applied to colonies, it is little wonder that the average, easy-going, even-tempered Englishman has become thoroughly bemused by the loose talk and woolly thinking that has arisen of late like a smoke-screen from the front benches of Westminster.

What, then, is a mandate ?

A mandate, surely, is something entrusted to some one—not quite a blank cheque, but a power of attorney upon which the holder takes such steps as he thinks fit within the limits of justice and morality. President Franklin Roosevelt received a ' mandate ' in 1931 from the American people for a New Deal. He forged ahead following his own spacious vision, and his

country emerged from the slough of despond in which it had been wallowing. When he and his Brains Trust went too fast, or too far, and overstepped the line, the Supreme Court of the United States was always there to put the super-charged locomotive back on the rails.

The National Government in 1931 also received from the electors of Great Britain a 'mandate' to lighten the ship of State by throwing the Gold Standard overboard, and by putting out a few storm-anchors in the shape of tariffs. They too went ahead, and there is no denying that, by and large, the country *has* prospered in consequence. As and when the steersman let the vessel fall away from its course, Parliament and public opinion stepped on to the bridge and righted matters.

Exactly the same thing applies to colonial mandates. In precisely the same fashion, at the end of the Great War, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Japan, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand received from the Allied and Associated Powers a 'mandate' for the governance of the ex-German colonies. These Powers, be it noted, represented millions of human beings who had made untold sacrifices to win the war. 'The ex-German colonies represent the only *tangible* assets which Great Britain and her Empire acquired in return for all the blood and treasure, the four million dead and wounded men and women she had offered up in a struggle which was none of their seeking.'—(*Open Letter to the English Man-in-the-Street.*)

Are not these facts as plain as a pikestaff?

One would think so. 'Yet a few politicians and some of the gentry who have been lending money all over Europe for the last twenty years in the effort to put Germany on her feet again have a trick, when

it suits their book, of confusing the plainest issue. Newspapers, even the best-intentioned, do not always let the man-in-the-street have the plain unvarnished truth about the colonial mandates.'—(*Ibid.*)

A section of the British Press, indeed, has so egregiously distorted the question nowadays that we find lies like the following being fed to their readers :

' *The Share-out.* Germany signed the Armistice on condition that none of her territories should be seized. These territories were seized and given out under mandates thus : Great Britain ——— acres.'

(Even at this date, it seems necessary to reiterate the historical fact that on November 11th, 1918, when the last of the Central European Powers saw the serried panoply of all their might in armaments crumble into anarchy and dissolve into defeat, *Germany surrendered unconditionally*—giving up her army, navy and her colonies, not from the standpoint of President Wilson's ' Fourteen Points ', but from the ruins of complete disaster. The conditions laid down at the Treaty of Versailles were undoubtedly severe, but who—remembering the many crimes against humanity of which Germany and Austria were guilty—will say they were too severe ! As one English writer [Professor Hearnshaw] has put it, the imperfections of that treaty lay not in the conditions imposed, but in the manner of their carrying out.)

Again, writing in the *Evening Standard*, Mr. Bruce Lockhart furnishes yet another example of crude *suggestio falsi* when he states :

' These German colonies were invaded by the Allies at the beginning of the Great War.'

He goes on to assert that ' the beginning of hostilities by Great Britain in Africa was an infringement of the Congo Basin Treaties of 1885, on the strength of which Germany made no attempt to fortify her colonies '.

(Now it is true that this writer in the article quoted, professes only to give the pros and cons of the subject, and sets forth as a matter of public interest the arguments he claims to have heard during repeated visits to Germany within the last few years. Nevertheless, he makes no attempt to analyse the inaccuracies he has listened to regarding the German case for the return of colonies, and contents himself with dismissing the British side of the subject in a paragraph. The average reader of such an article, unaware of Mr. Lockhart's former connexion with international finance in Central Europe, would not be inclined to make the necessary discount.)

It may be as well, therefore, to nail to the mast, here and now, two of the inaccuracies to which this writer has given publicity. The first of these is that the Allies infringed the Congo Basin Treaties, and, at the beginning of the Great War, invaded the German colonies in Africa. On the contrary. The truth is that the Imperial Government in August 1914, drew the attention of the Berlin Foreign Office to this clause in the Congo treaties, and expressed the hope that the conflict would be confined to European battlefields. They stated, for their part, that they were prepared to abide by the pledge they had given, that natives would not be called on to fight in a white man's war in Africa.

The reply to this proposal was a simultaneous invasion by native troops, led by German officers, of South Africa, Kenya, Nyasaland, and the Belgian

Congo at several points. These incursions were beaten back. A perfectly natural corollary was the counter-attack made by British forces into German territory, an attack which, however, was far from being an ' invasion '.

The second inexactitude is that Germany, relying on the Congo Basin Treaties, did not fortify her colonies in Africa.

One can admit that the land-locked and easily defended ports of Dar-es-Salaam and Tanga in East Africa, Luderitzbucht and Duala in West Africa in 1914 needed no bristling show of defensive shore-guns and forts. But inland there were *bomas* (bastions) and land strongholds in carefully chosen positions. Behind all loomed a numerous, well-armed, well-drilled, and well-organized black army of native troops led by picked German officers. These forts and this army were partly the result of ceaseless strife between German administration and the indigenous tribes. This black army was known as ' Protectorate Troops ', but when the Great War broke out they provided offensive material of the toughest calibre. The third and latest inexactitude put forward by German colonial propagandists is that of General Ritter von Epp who, at the Nuremberg Nazi Congress in September, 1936 stated that Dar-es-Salaam was bombarded on August 5th, 1914, another proof that Britain was the aggressor in Africa. The truth of the matter is that a British cruiser chased the German vessel *Moewe* into the harbour of Dar-es-Salaam on the date mentioned and, as the latter slid into the narrow entrance channel to the anchorage, fired a parting shot. This shot, for the purposes of the great Nazi drive for colonies (the order for which went out as the

immediate result of vacillation by the National Government on the subject) has now become magnified into the bombardment of an open town. And so the game of ' You're another ! ' goes merrily on.

As Germany, by aggression, was herself the first to violate the treaties already cited, it is scarcely surprising that, from the point of view of elementary self-defence, the Union of South Africa and Australia should have retaliated by seeking out and destroying the enemy on their flank in German South-West and the Cameroons, Samoa and New Guinea, at points forming the focus of never-ending unrest and intrigue, and furnishing naval bases for sea-raiders like the *Emden* and the squadron of Admiral von Spee, which, for all their admitted gallantry, were wreaking untold havoc on unarmed British sea-borne commerce. The old game of ' twisting the Lion's tail ' has its recognized rules and its inevitable results. After one has been scratched by an infuriated beast, it is no use crying out :

' *Cet animal est méchant. Quand on l'attaque, il se défend.*'

II

MANDATES *VICE* PROTECTORATES

IT will be conceded by every man whose intelligence can see through the clouds of the last great European struggle that Great Britain and other Powers held on, perforce, to the German colonies won by right of conquest, and that they did so from realistic and perfectly understandable reasons of self-defence. But why, it will be asked—why, in the name of common sense was a mandate necessary for the ex-German colonies thus taken over?

Who invented such a word to cover self-protection?

Or such a system to fit such a logical outcome?

For an answer to that question one has to go back to the atmosphere of Versailles of 1919. Many are apt to believe nowadays that the plenipotentiaries of the victorious and exhausted nations at the Peace Conference that year constituted a veritable 'Thieves' Kitchen'. That is a favourite taunt of the defeated Central European Powers who consistently refer to the Treaty of Versailles as a 'Diktat'. The taunt is quite unjustifiable, of course, but let it pass.

There were men around those tables in the Palace of the Kings of France who were actuated by the highest of ideals. There were others who were adepts at chicanery and diplomatic intrigue. All the same, it is perfectly just to assert that one and all were

haunted by the same dread—the dread that any Power in the future should ever again become as strong and ruthless as the Germany of 1914.

Men commit more mistakes from fear than from greed. At Versailles the mistakes made in the hope of world appeasement far outweigh the injustices wrought from motives of national aggrandisement.

In an attempt to reconcile the Wilsonian ideal of 'No annexations' with the completely justifiable right of Alsace and Lorraine to return to their old allegiance, it remained for the subtle mind of Jan Christian Smuts to evolve a compromise. With his training as a lawyer and his background as a member of a nation once defeated by Great Britain, he it was who hit on the idea of 'mandated' territories. His knowledge of British colonial history exemplified in his own lifetime, and his wide reading of Roman and Constitutional Law showed him that the first step leading across the stream of national evolution towards self-government was, in any dependency of the British Crown, always a Protectorate.

As years went on this—not infrequently with a hop and a skip between the stepping-stones in the case of more vigorous communities—was followed by Crown Colony government, and ultimately led up the other bank to complete citizenship on the firm ground of Dominion status. These things he had seen and noted in the case of his own country, and he has more than once testified to the generous liberalism of English thought as exemplified in the union of the two Boer Republics under the benignant shadow of the Throne of Windsor.

If that, then, were the series of progressions in the case of colonies acquired from coloured races within

the Empire, something analogous, he reasoned, was needed in the case of colonies taken away from a peccant country like Germany. It is obvious how the idea of ' mandated territories ' appealed to the clever mind of slim Janny Smuts, as his countrymen dub him. Colonel House, the adviser to President Wilson, Lord Hugh Cecil, the advocate and upholder of the League of Nations ideals, and Lord Milner, the greatest British pro-consul in Africa of modern times, were all consulted and all agreed. The drafting of the terms and conditions of the different mandates, to bring them within the framework of the League, and yet to leave them as integral parts of the British Empire, was entrusted to Mr. L. S. Amery, the then Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

To the terms and obligations of these mandates we shall return later.

Suffice it now to say that, first and foremost, last and always, the underlying idea was not to hold back from Germany her former overseas possessions until such time as she should, like a naughty child, say that she was sorry, whereupon they would be returned to her. Far from it. The mandate idea was to throw a life-line to the backward races of mankind across the stormy seas of modern civilization, and to draw—at no matter how distant a time—these races into that great family of free nations, the Britannic Commonwealth.

In January 1919, at Versailles, General Smuts moved the following resolution :

' Having regard to the record of German administration in the colonies formerly part of the German Empire, and to the menace which the possession by Germany of submarine bases in many parts of the

world would necessarily constitute to the freedom and security of all nations, *the Associated and Allied Powers are agreed that in no circumstances should any of the German colonies be restored to her.*'

This was unanimously adopted, the remembrance of the ghastly ' unrestricted submarine warfare ' being too present in men's minds to admit of any other course. In the national consciousness of Great Britain there was most certainly no lust for fresh possessions overseas, for she was already burdened with the tutelage of one-third of the globe. This resolution was prompted simply and solely by the natural and legitimate desire of the householder to put beyond the reach of the burglar for all time the tools of his nefarious trade.

III

LIGHT ON COLONIAL WAR-GUILT

It will be noted that General Smuts in this resolution refers to the ' record of German colonial administration ' and leaves it at that. It has become the fashion of late for the propagandists of German equality to denounce the lie of colonial war-guilt. In support of this contention, these propagandists cite the charge of the Allied and Associated Powers to their representatives at Versailles, viz., that German dereliction in the sphere of colonial duty had been revealed too completely to permit of their reassuming responsibility for 14,000,000 natives in Africa. The German reply to this indictment was that it was based largely on the Blue Book published in July 1916, setting forth the alleged German atrocities in that continent, which allegations had been thoroughly discredited.

Now, most of us who are old enough can remember the many hysterical statements on which, in the early part of the war, the alleged German atrocities in Belgium and elsewhere were founded. It is true that the Atrocities Blue Book of 1916 contained many records which were unreliable, but it is not true to say, as General Hertzog rhetorically stated in a speech made in South Africa ten years later, that ' the unreliability and unworthiness of these accusations [German cruelties to natives in South-West Africa] are sufficient

to condemn it to a shameful grave with all similar writings of the war period.' It is also equally untrue to say, as Germans of to-day maintain, that the 1916 Blue Book influenced the Powers in coming to the decision which they took at Versailles regarding German colonies and German colonial guilt.

What influenced the Powers at Versailles was a damning collection of evidence put before it from German East Africa. This evidence covered only about a dozen cases of barbarity of which Germans had been guilty during the campaign itself. In every one of these cases, however, the incriminating evidence came from *German sources*. This was quite a different kettle of fish from the 1916 War Atrocities Book, and was compiled in 1919.

In other words, the cruelties practised were so callous that Germans themselves came forward and denounced the malefactors. What made matters all the more heinous was the fact that these crimes had been perpetrated in most cases on helpless coloured prisoners of war, Indian and African. Their enormity was such that decent men of the same nationality as the criminals felt they could not stomach them or keep silence about them. Furthermore, to arrive at these cases hundreds of others were sifted and discarded for the sole reason that the evidence constituting the *dossier* rested on the testimony of British, Indian, native or other non-German witnesses.

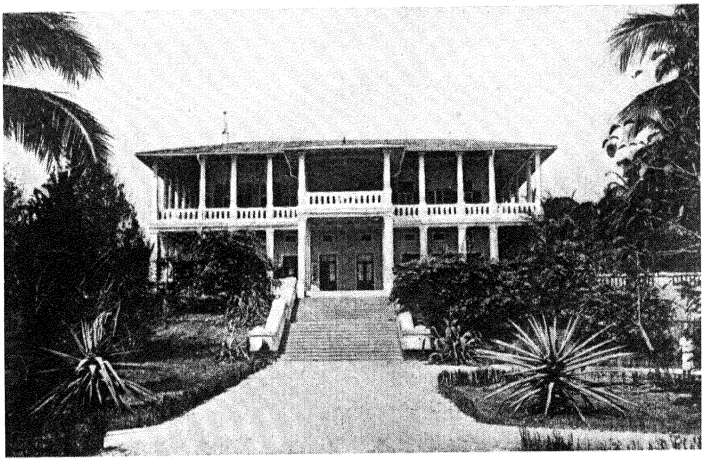
So much for the actual war-guilt of German colonials in the field.

As for the pre-war record of Germany in the continent of Africa, there is a whole series of irrefutable facts. The Herrero rebellion in South-West and the Maji-Maji rising in East Africa were both due to German

misrule in these countries, the result of a harsh and unsympathetic administration which looked upon colonies as something to be exploited, and not even as an estate to be developed for the inhabitants, regarding natives as divinely ordained to serve white masters.

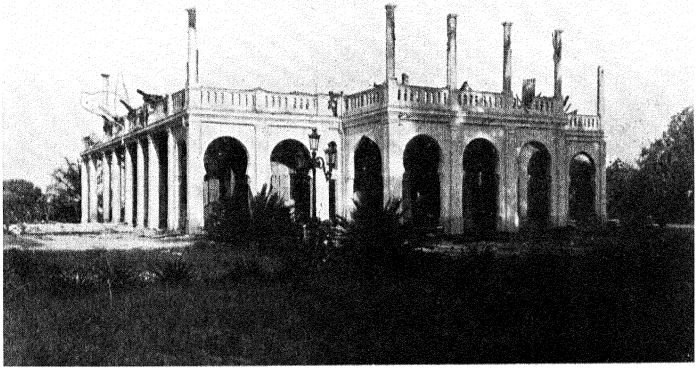
It is well known and incontestable that in both these native risings the German colonial Government of the time was guilty of ordering the systematic extermination of many thousands of natives after the trouble had been suppressed, and this quite apart from the carnage during the rebellion and the hangings and shootings immediately thereafter. In both instances the method used was the wholesale laying waste of great tracts of country or the removal of great herds of cattle. The result was a famine in which men, women and children perished. In comparison with this Teutonic ruthlessness, the blowing of prisoners from the guns during the Indian Mutiny at Lucknow pales into insignificance, and the usual *tu quoque* argument levelled at British colonial administration fades into silence.

The official German census for South-West Africa shows that in 1887, the Herreros numbered 85,000. After the rising of 1911 they had been reduced to little more than 15,000. When the Imperial *Reich* assumed the government of South-West Africa in 1892, the tribe mentioned had some 150,000 head of cattle. By Government order these natives were forbidden to own any cattle whatsoever, and so effectively was this order enforced that within the space of two years every head of stock in the tribesmen's possession had gone. The unspeakable order of General von Trotha, who was in command of the military punitive ex-



1 GERMAN GOVERNOR'S PALACE, DAR-ES-SALAAM. PRE-WAR

2 THE RUINED RESIDENCE . . . 'LIKE AN ENORMOUS ICED WEDDING CAKE'



pedition against the Herreros: 'Kill all. Take no prisoners,' was executed to the letter by most of his lieutenants who were enjoined to see that there would never be another Herrero rebellion.

In the case of the Maji-Maji rebellion in German East Africa in 1907, the same blind blood-lust was not so apparent, but official German sources of the time show that 200,000 Bantus met their death in this rising, of whom 30,000 were exterminated by famine enforced by a cold-blooded order to devastate all native gardens and prevent the planting of fresh crops, and to seize or slay every head of stock, cattle, sheep and goats in native possession.

Spasmodically, the national conscience of the German people reasserted itself. 'In 1912,' says a writer in the *Church Times*,[1] 'General Seitz, who had succeeded von Trotha as military Governor of South-West Africa, issued a personal secret letter to magistrates warning them of the danger of fresh rebellion because of the brutal excesses of Europeans and the refusal of the Courts to punish guilty police officials, with the consequent despair of the natives of obtaining justice and a blind hatred of everything white.'

Dr. Karl Peters, the prototype of Prussian ideas as applied to overseas expansion, after a blood-stained career in Africa, found himself confronted with the outraged conscience of his own fellow countrymen, and was put on trial at Leipzig. The charges included maladministration, plunder, the burning of villages, the flogging and chaining of women and children, forced concubinage and murder. He was found guilty on all counts.

[1] Rev. J. MacNaught.

The Governor of the Cameroons, Herr von Puttkamer, was later charged with similar offences and found guilty. Both men were sentenced to imprisonment and loss of civil rights. With all their flaws of character and with all their rough-shod methods of bringing subject races to heel, the early Empire builders of Britain and the red-rubber merchants of Belgium never equalled in enormity the offences of men in the position of authority which Trotha, Peters and Puttkamer held.

One swallow does not make a summer, of course, but the protests made in the Reichstag from time to time before the war against colonial maladministration, and the pleas urged in extenuation, show clearly that ruthlessness towards black races was looked upon by most Germans as a necessary concomitant of overseas expansion. Although early British, Belgian and French history of the 'opening up of the Dark Continent' contain many dark pages also, it is unquestionable that, right up to the end of 1918, the German hold on the natives of Africa rested entirely on a basis of fear.

Incidentally, the common German boast that native troops remained loyally with von Lettow Vorbeck, and fought bravely on up to the Armistice at Abercorn, is ill-founded, for the methods used and the ideals inculcated by that successful leader were also based on arrogant ruthlessness. The secret of von Lettow's success lay in his choosing for his *askaris* (native soldiers) only members of the warlike tribes of Africa, notably Nubians and Wassukuma. Into the ears and hearts of these men he and his lieutenants at all times dinned the watchword : 'The fighting man is the salt of the earth. *You* are a fighting man, and when you have

fought and won, you are entitled to the best of food, drink, and the choice of women and loot.'

The response in most cases was instantaneous and flattering. For those who did not live up to this ideal, there was the jackboot or the terrible rhinoceros-hide *kiboko,* and those who could not stay the course were abandoned to the enemy. The swaggering attitude of German *askari* prisoners, after their capture, in the East African campaign was very noticeable, and has often been commented on in books and articles dealing with that time.

The argument, therefore, that the stout resistance put up by native troops under German leadership during the last war proves that native loyalty and affection towards their white masters did actually exist, must be discounted by any impartial tribunal if the facts given above are borne in mind.

To revert, however, to German pre-war colonial maladministration. If further proof than that which has already been adduced in these pages were needed, one might quote from the report of Mr. Alexander Powell, American Vice-Consul in Egypt, published in 1913. In this it is stated :

' There is not a town in German East Africa where you cannot see boys of eight to fourteen years of age shackled by chains running from iron collar to iron collar, and guarded by soldiers with loaded rifles, doing the work of men under the deadly sun. Natives with bleeding backs are constantly making their way into British and Belgian territory with stories of maltreatment by German planters, while stories of German tyranny, brutality and corruption (of some instances of which I have myself been a witness) were the staple

topic of conversation on every club veranda and steamer deck along the coast.'

Again, the late Bishop Frank Weston of Zanzibar, who had an intimate and unrivalled knowledge of the east coast of Africa, in a pamphlet entitled *The Black Slaves of Prussianism* summed up German rule in East Africa in these words :

'The German method of governing Africans is cruelly inhuman and destructive of the natives' self-respect. It is exactly designed to make him and keep him the obedient slave of that European Power for ever and a day. The fear of the Germans is so deeply rooted in the natives that the power of incentive remains only with those who, sharing in the administration of the country (i.e. the *akidas* of alien race imposed on the people as headmen, etc.), act for their own profit. As slavery the system is splendid. Otherwise it is sheer cruelty, and all the Africans I know, of whatever tribe or religion, have for years past been longing for the Germans to go from their land.'

It is now, let us hope, clear how the mandate idea evolved. It is clear, let us hope also, that the so-called ' colonial war-guilt ' was a very real thing, substantiated by evidence of reliable importance. . . .

One other factor must be remembered, and that is the German treatment of minorities under Nazidom. Jews, Catholics, Poles, Freemasons, and others have been subjected to a system of calculated cruelty, imprisonment and banishment from the Third *Reich*, until to-day there is hardly a vestige left in Germany of liberal ideas, free thought, or liberty of action. The record of Hitlerism is stained with the ' Blood Bath ' of

July 1st, 1934. The floors of Versailles and Locarno are knee-deep in scraps of torn-up treaties. The sky of Europe is darkened with swarms of aeroplanes which General Goering is building, feverishly building, against the day when Germany will, in no uncertain fashion, assert her right to world hegemony.

All offers of a twenty-five years' peace with the Western Powers of Europe are but dust in the eyes of France, England and Belgium, intended to cover Hitler's firm intention of smashing Russia and establishing an overlordship in Austria and the Balkans before turning to the task of annihilating France. *Mein Kampf*, the book in which Hitler set forth the basic principles of Germany's foreign and domestic policy, in the German edition at least, shows clearly the steps to be taken and the order in which they will be taken. The statesmen of Britain who shut their eyes to these facts will one day be impeached by disillusioned millions of treason against the realm. Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Winston Churchill know the truth and have secret information of Germany's fantastic armaments which they have laid before the Prime Minister and the Committee of Imperial Defence. . . .

Germany—the Germany of the Rhine castles and shining vineyards, the Germany of the highly industrialized Ruhr basin, the Germany of the free Hanseatic cities, of Luther, Goethe and Wagner—is, alas, like a giant struggling in a nightmare. Oppressed by distorted figments of his dreams and seeing around him a horde of conjectural enemies bent on his destruction, this uneasy giant flings out an arm or a leg hither and yon—now into the demilitarized Rhineland, now into Danzig and Austria. Yet all

the time he is unaware of the unreality of the terrors which appear to surround him. The fault lies not in the stars but in himself.

Sixty million people, most of them decent, God-fearing folk, hard-working, simple-minded peasants, artisans and professional workers, bewildered with the tumult of thousands of loud-speakers and the tramp, tramp, tramp of marching feet find themselves to-day on the slippery slope which their leaders, a gang of homicidal maniacs, have prepared for their destruction.

They have learned many lessons during the past three years. They have, they are told, been lifted out of slavery into light, into strength through joy. Unemployment is gone, because no man need be idle who can watch a lathe in a munition factory or drive a tractor along one of the marvellous new military roads leading to the west. In their total abnegation of self, allowing their thinking to be done for them by others, the German people have now had their attention turned to the dire need for raw materials and Germany's inalienable right to the colonies where these materials exist. For 'raw' read 'war'[1] but the slogan remains the same :

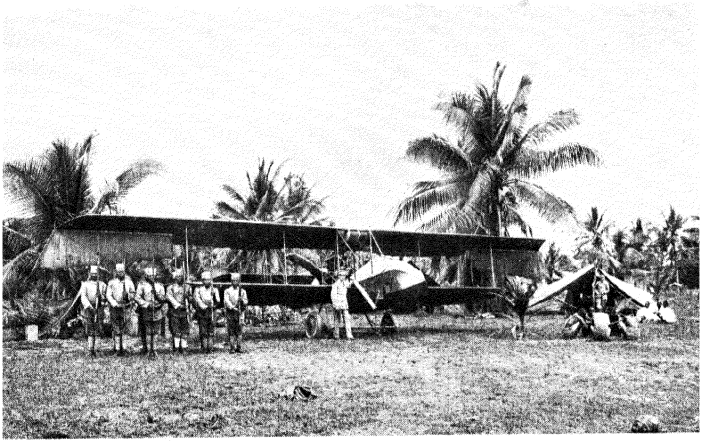
'*Give us back our stolen colonies!*'

Will the sleeper never awake from his nightmare? Is there no limit to the mass hypnotism of millions of people? Time alone can tell.

One thing is certain.

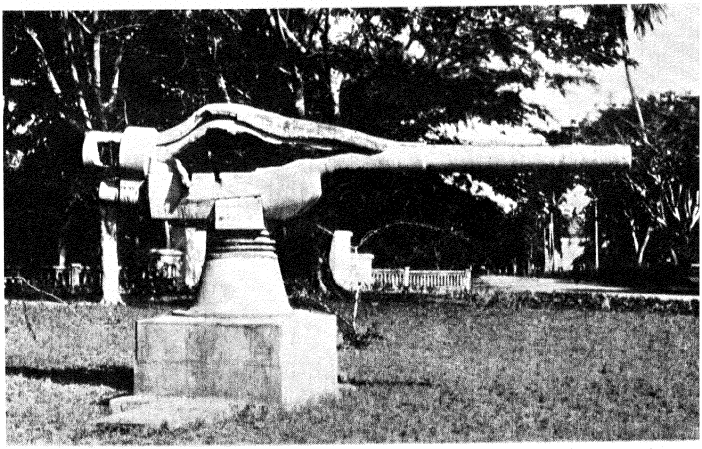
Even if Germany, for the sake of peace, were given

[1] Dr. Goebbels, in a speech at the Leipzig Fair in 1936, declared that the basic materials required by Germany are coal, iron, oil, cotton, rubber and copper—all, be it noted, of paramount importance in waging war.—*Voelkischer Beobachter*, 2nd February, 1936.



1 FIRST GERMAN AEROPLANE, DAR-ES-SALAAM, AUGUST 1914

2 CAPTURED GERMAN GUN, DAR-ES-SALAAM



back one or more of her pre-war colonies, it is inconceivable that, in her present frame of mind, she would ever consent to assume the responsibilities subject to the same League control such as have been shouldered by other mandatory Powers. The difference in mental make-up and outlook is too fundamental. The heady wine of 'equality' has clouded all sane thinking.

Lord Lothian said the other day that Germany must be restored to that equality, in the fullest sense of the word, which is her natural right. (But he failed to define the point at which equality in that sense of the word should have been achieved. He closed his eyes to the fact that the Germany of to-day is the same in spirit as it was in 1914, and that her foreign policy is still as 'restless, explosive, and disconcerting' as when it was so described by Sir Eyre Crowe in his well-known memorandum.)

The noble lord then proceeded to suggest that the present holders of mandates should pool their colonial holdings under the ægis of the League. It is, one understands, a condition precedent to this fantastic pooling plan that Germany shall return to the fold of Geneva.

There is an old English recipe for jugged hare, which starts: 'First catch your hare.' Does any man in his right senses who has observed the nationalistic egoism of to-day as typified in the totalitarian *Reich* of Adolf Hitler—does any one for a moment believe that the *Fuehrer* will be content to accept the irksome restrictions and limitations to which mandates confine Imperialistic Powers?

If there be such a man, let him read on for a few pages in this volume. . . .

IV

CATEGORIES OF MANDATES

MANDATES are divided, for convenience, into three categories—A, B and C. The first applies to countries, such as Iraq, Syria and Palestine whose independence can be 'provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance *until they are able to stand alone.*'

B mandates cover the ex-German Central African possessions, in which no period is envisaged within the scope of practical politics for the natives to stand alone under any possible system of self-government.

C mandates comprise countries like South-West Africa and New Guinea, which can 'best be administered under the laws of the Mandatory, as an integral portion of its territories, subject to safeguards in the interests of the indigenous population.'

As Tanganyika is the chief bone of international contention at the moment, and the colony which Germany covets most of all, it may help to clear up many misconceptions if the terms of the B mandate under which it is at present administered are here given. They are as follows :

'*Article* 1—Defining boundaries.

'*Article* 2—Providing for appointment of a Boundary Commission to demarcate as between Tanganyika

territory and the Belgian mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi.'

(*Note:* The delimitation of the Anglo-Belgian boundary, as recommended by this Commission, was approved by the League in 1923.)

'*Article* 3—The Mandatory shall be responsible for the peace, order and good government of the territory, and shall undertake to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of its inhabitants. The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and administration.

'*Article* 4—The Mandatory shall not establish any military or naval base, nor erect any fortifications, nor organize any native military force in the territory except for local police purposes and for the defence of the territory.

'*Article* 5—The Mandatory :

(i) shall provide for the eventual emancipation of all slaves and for as speedy an elimination of domestic and other slavery as social conditions will allow.

(ii) shall suppress all forms of slave trade.

(iii) shall prohibit all forms of forced or compulsory labour, except for essential public works and services and then only in return for adequate remuneration.

(iv) shall protect the natives from abuse and measures of fraud and force by the careful supervision of labour contracts and the recruiting of labour.

'*Article* 6—In the framing of laws relating to the holding or transfer of land, the Mandatory shall take into consideration native laws and customs, and

shall respect the rights and safeguard the interests of the native population.

'No native land may be transferred, except between natives, without the previous consent of the public authorities, and no real rights over native land in favour of non-natives may be created without the same consent.

'*Article* 7—The Mandatory shall secure to all nationals of States Members of the League of Nations the same rights as are enjoyed in the territory by his own nationals in respect of entry into and residence in the territory, the protection afforded to their person and property, the acquisition of property, movable and immovable, and the exercise of their profession or trade, subject only to the requirements of public order, and on condition of compliance with the local law.

'Further, the Mandatory shall ensure to all nationals of States Members of the League of Nations, on the same footing as to his own nationals, freedom of transit and navigation and complete economic, commercial and industrial equality, provided that the Mandatory shall be free to organize essential public works and services on such terms and conditions as he thinks just.

'Concessions for the development of the natural resources of the territory shall be granted by the Mandatory without distinction on grounds of nationality between the nationals of States Members of the League of Nations, but on such conditions as will maintain intact the authority of the local government.

'Concessions having the character of a general monopoly shall not be granted. This provision does not affect the right of the Mandatory to create mono-

polies of a purely fiscal character in the interests of the territory under mandate, and in order to provide the territory with fiscal resources which seem best suited to the local requirements ; or, in certain instances, to carry out the development of natural resources either directly by the State or by a controlled agency, provided that there shall result therefrom no monopoly of the natural resources for the benefit of the Mandatory or his nationals, directly or indirectly, nor any preferential advantage which shall be inconsistent with the economic, commercial and industrial equality hereinbefore guaranteed.

'The rights conferred by this article extend equally to companies and associations organized in accordance with the law of any of the Members of the League of Nations, subject only to the requirements of public order, and on condition of compliance with the local law.

'*Article* 8—The Mandatory shall ensure in the territory complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality ; missionaries who are nationals of the States Members of the League of Nations shall be free to enter the territory, and to travel and reside therein, to acquire and possess property, to erect religious buildings and to open schools throughout the territory ; it being understood, however, that the Mandatory shall have the right to exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order and good government, and to take all measures required for such control.

'*Article* 9—The Mandatory shall apply to the territory any general international conventions already

existing, or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave trade, the traffic in arms and ammunition, the liquor traffic, the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation, railways, postal, telegraphic and wireless communication, and industrial, literary and artistic property.

'The Mandatory shall co-operate in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of animals and plants.

'*Article* 10—The Mandatory shall be authorized to constitute the territory into a customs, fiscal and administrative union or federation with the adjacent territories under his own sovereignty and control, provided always that the measures adopted do not infringe the provisions of this mandate.

'*Article* 11—The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council, containing full information concerning the measures taken to apply the provisions of this mandate.

'A copy of all laws and regulations, made in the course of the year and affecting property, commerce, navigation, or the moral and material well-being of the natives shall be annexed to this report.

'*Article* 12—The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

'*Article* 13—The Mandatory agrees that if any dispute whatever arises between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating

to the interpretation or application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

'States Members of the League of Nations may likewise bring any claim on behalf of their nationals for infractions of their rights under this mandate before the said Court for decision.'

In the case of Tanganyika, Palestine, etc., which are governed by mandates, Orders in Council relating to the appointment of a Governor, the constitution of law courts, and of a Legislative Council, etc., were made under the hand and seal of His Majesty King George V. In Tanganyika a measure of union was introduced by the Customs Agreement of 1923, and the Postal and Telegraphic Union of 1930, in strict conformity with article 10 of the mandate above quoted.

Similar Orders in Council were also promulgated governing the administration of other mandatory territories such as Togoland, the Cameroons, Palestine, etc. In all these enactments the sovereignty of the mandated territory was implicitly and explicitly expressed and retained. The League of Nations was merely introduced as the supervisory agency to ensure that the terms of the mandate are fulfilled. In the background, as a supreme Court of Appeal, stood the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

The Council of the League delegated to a Permanent Mandates Commission its power of scrutiny into the legislative and other measures taken by the Mandatory during the year, as revealed in the annual reports

submitted to the Council by the Powers concerned in the different mandated territories. This Commission, after satisfying itself that these measures are in order, reports to the League Council accordingly.

To sum up—the essential conditions of all mandates are fourfold : First, the welfare of the inhabitants ; second, the open door to trade of all Nation Members of the League ; third, no militarization ; and fourth, an annual examination by the Mandates Commission of what is being done to fulfil these conditions.

PART II. RESULTS

I

THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION

To the layman, standing without the corridors of the League of Nations Palace at Geneva, it has never been quite clear for what particular qualifications the members of this Commission were selected. With the exception of Lord Lugard, who has had wide colonial administrative experience over many years, and is the well-known exponent of the system of 'indirect rule' as applied to African races, none of the others impress. Lord Lugard resigned in June 1936.

The Chairman of this body was for several years Dr. Andraade, a Portuguese colonial jurist. He was succeeded by the Marquis Theodoli and the present members comprise: M. Orts, Vice-Chairman, Baron van Asbeck, Mlle Dannevig, Lord Lugard, M. Manceron, M. Palacios, Count de Penha Garcia, M. Rappard and M. Sakenobe. Some of these have had practical colonial experience, others have been Ministers for the Colonies at one time or the other in their own countries and can therefore be assumed to have a certain amount of political acumen, others are jurists of considerable eminence in academic circles, but it

is very doubtful if their labours have ever produced concrete results worthy of record or led to amelioration in the methods of administration in mandated territories. Their proceedings reveal a doctrinaire approach to the subjects they discuss, often amounting to pedantry.

It says much for the good-natured tolerance of Great Britain that, for the past seventeen years, not only has she scrupulously furnished the necessary annual reports, hiding nothing and extenuating less, but has also sent a senior representative of the various mandatory territories under her sovereignty to Geneva, to appear before the Mandates Commission and give an account of their stewardship.

The reports submitted to this Commission are not readily accessible to the layman : the English Press pays them scant attention. In one case at least, that of the Union of South Africa anent her mandate for South-West Africa, a report has been belated. Indeed, it was not until the question of the union of the three East African colonies to include Tanganyika (a mandated territory) came into prominence from 1928 onwards, that anything at all got into the Press regarding the proceedings of the Permanent Mandates Commission.

That Commission can, and does, ask questions. Among such questions put to the representatives who have appeared before it from year to year, are the following :

'Why was it necessary to bomb the kraals of Chief Upumbu ?'

The answer of the Administrator of South-West Africa was to the effect that this was considered the speediest and surest way of ensuring peace and good

order among a turbulent tribe who had been proved guilty of many excesses. *Quant. suff.*

Another question raised was the Customs and Postal agreements between Tanganyika and her neighbours, Kenya and Uganda, into which the Commission seemed inclined to interpret ulterior motives.

The answer, which seemed to satisfy *les Messieurs du Comité*, was that these steps had been taken in conformity with the best interests of the native population.

At one time this same Committee cast doubts on the legality of including the head of the late King George V on the stamps of mandated territories, and an issue of such stamps was for a time withdrawn from circulation pending the decision of learned jurists on the point of sovereignty involved. The decision was affirmative.

In all these questions the average Briton finds a certain amount of quiet amusement, mingled perhaps with a trifle of impatience that his country, with hundreds of years of colonial experience behind her, should be subjected to the comments of a gathering of *quid-nuncs*, some of whom represent countries with no colonies at all, either past or present, but who qualify for admission to that body by paying subscriptions to the League. Incidentally, these subscriptions are oft-times in arrear.

When, as happened one year, the Commission apparently could find nothing better to animadvert on than the fact that the word 'Goan' had been spelt 'Goanese' in one report, and when the Governor in question was solemnly taken to task for his orthographical error and as solemnly assured his inquisitors that the point would be noted for future reference—

then the reactions of the average Briton must have deepened into contempt.

As has been stated, the proceedings of the Permanent Mandates Commission do not attain a very wide publicity. It may be that the instances quoted above have been maliciously singled out by ribald Pressmen to discredit a sincere body of undoubtedly well-meaning men. One of two things is certain, however. Either the mandated territories are conducted with an admirable regard to the principles of the League, and call for little or no comment by the supervisory Commission on Mandates, or else the latter is hiding its light under a bushel.

If the Committee can point to abuses it has remedied in the administration of the various mandates, it should make the facts as public as possible. If it cannot, then its existence is a waste of time and breath, and it should retire gracefully into that obscurity from which it should never have emerged.

The weakness of the whole League and the impotence in particular of this precious Commission were shown up when the Japanese representative was asked whether it were true that his country was fortifying certain islands in the Pacific held by her under a mandate. His bland reply was that he had no information on the subject, but would make inquiries. The question was renewed the following year with a smilingly evasive result.

'In the case of Tanganyika, at least, Britain has triumphantly vindicated her right to hold the mandate by the record of her administration in the past fifteen years and by the progress, material and moral, of its inhabitants.'[1]

[1] Eric Reid: *Tanganyika without Prejudice.*

If that be true in the case of the mandated territory most in the public eye of late, then the labours of the Permanent Mandates Committee would seem to be superfluous.

The Commission which supervises the mandate system and its carrying into effect is called 'permanent' and this title alone should convince the world that there is nothing ephemeral about mandates which apply to backward races, especially those of Africa.

One of the favourite jeers of Continental nations against great Britain are the words of Joseph Chamberlain: 'What we have we hold.' These words, however, only express the law of elementary self-preservation. Most of Great Britain's overseas possessions are, in their early years, a burden on the mother country, and many of them are continuously in receipt of grants-in-aid and development loans for long periods of time.

The British attitude of mind towards colonies has, however, altered with the years. Hard experience has taught this people that no nation can 'own' another country. The lesson of the 'Boston Tea Party' is as vivid to-day as it ever was and, whatever our neighbours on the Continent of Europe may say about hypocrisy, Britain realizes that there are only three ways of dealing with a conquered people.

The first is to exterminate them entirely—the method of Genghis Khan and Alexander.

The second is to exploit the riches of their country for the motherland—the method of Rome, Spain and Portugal and the other Empires that have long since crumbled into unhonoured dust.

The third is to let the subject people have an ever-

increasing measure of responsibility for their own government and educate them slowly towards that stature. One has only to look at the history of India and Egypt to be convinced of the choice which Great Britain has made between these three methods of Empire-building.

II

DECLARATIONS BY BRITISH MINISTERS

HAVING won the German colonies by the sword, it was both legitimate and logical of Britain to declare that she meant to keep them. From the outset no secret was made of this intention.

As far back as January 1917, for instance, the late Mr. Walter Long, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, speaking at a meeting in Westminster Hall, declared that the conquered German colonies would never revert to German rule. In making this announcement Mr. Long said he was speaking with knowledge and full responsibility with regard to the German colonies of which we had acquired possession since the war began, and as the representative of the vast overseas dominions of Britain.

'Let not men think,' he asserted, 'that their struggles for these colonies have been in vain. Let not men think that these colonies will ever return to German rule. It is impossible. Our overseas Empire will not tolerate any suggestion of the kind. We have been able to rectify mistakes since the war began and it now rests with the people of this country to help to an early end and a satisfactory peace, and to take care that they prepare before the war ends to face that other bitter and ruthless contest in trade and commerce which will follow hereafter.'

Prophetic words indeed. South Africa and Australia have within the recent past reiterated the statement that they will not forget and cannot forget the deaths of thousands of their sons in the struggle to conquer the former German colonies and will not tolerate any hint of restoration.

It has been shown how the mandate idea originated out of German colonial misrule. The average man-in-the-street was too busy picking up the threads of civil life, and the new British colonist who went and settled in the ex-German possessions overseas was too busy repairing the ravages of the war on newly-acquired farms and building new homesteads to bother much about the permanence of the mandate system. It was not until it was announced that Great Britain intended to surrender her mandate for Iraq in 1925 that doubts began to creep in.

The doubters forgot, of course, that the people of Mesopotamia who had been liberated from Turkish misrule were then found to be fit to stand by themselves, and were given their country to rule under their own king. These people confused the issue by believing that the mandates for countries like the Cameroons and Samoa, inhabited by primitive peoples, under the tutelage of the more advanced European nations, would be surrendered to the League of Nations who would return them ultimately to the flag of their former masters.

Others began splitting hairs and asserting that mandated territories were not really British possessions, not within the Empire, but held on a tenure of years at the discretion of the League.

This mischievous talk was mainly directed against Tanganyika, and became so pernicious that almost

every year since 1925 some British Minister or other has either been asked in the House of Commons for a declaration, or has found it necessary to make some statement elsewhere on a public occasion. These replies in the Commons were so explicit that it seems a pity that the Speaker, long ago, did not rule, once and for all, that the subject was now settled and that further questions were out of order. Questioning continued *ad nauseam* until the year 1936 when the Cabinet thought it would be clever and lead Herr Hitler up the garden path again, show him the lovely League pleasaunce and invite him to enter with a suggestion of colonial equality for Germany. Alarms and excursions followed. Noises were heard off stage. Herr Hitler was not bluffed, but much unnecessary despondency and uncertainty were caused to the inhabitants of South-West Africa and Tanganyika especially, and indeed to all mandated territories. In doing what he did, Mr. Baldwin and his so-called National Cabinet, as every right-thinking man agrees, acted most reprehensibly.

The clearest exposition of the status of a mandated territory was that given by Mr. L. S. Amery, the Secretary of State for Colonies, who in June 1925 at the East African Dinner in London, stated :

'*We have got rid of that intrusive block of German territory which, under the name of Tanganyika, has now been permanently incorporated in the British Empire. I stress that—permanently. It is an entire delusion that it is any less British than any other colony. Though we have laid ourselves under an obligation to the League of Nations, it is not one whit less British nor does it make our tenure there one whit less permanent.*'

These were robust words of plain common sense.

Nevertheless, the doubts and misgivings persisted. The blame for this state of affairs lay partly with the inhabitants of Tanganyika itself, and the Government of the territory and the Government of Great Britain must also shoulder a measure of responsibility. These Governments, again and again, swung from one extreme of firmness to the other of leniency towards German nationals. At first it was decreed that all Germans who had borne arms in the campaign would be deported. This was understandable, but numbers of Germans who asked nothing better than to remain in the country to which they had emigrated, in the first instance, to escape military service and the irksome restrictions of life in Germany itself—the country in which they had made their homes and seen their children grow up, and in which they had, during the war, acted as non-combatants—were ordered to leave.

These men and women, Czecho-Slovakians, Danzigers and Alsatians for the most part, were quite ready to stay on as law-abiding subjects under British rule, and would have formed the core of a hard-working body of settlers on the land. They were all deported in a body back to the Germany they had not seen for many years, where they had no relatives left, and no ties of any kind. That was the first blunder.

Six years later the Government relented, and Germans were allowed to return. That was blunder number two. An entirely different type of settler arrived, men between twenty and thirty years of age who had suffered the want and terror of the war years in Germany as children, men who had seen their

parents' savings lost in the inflation period, men whose feelings had been embittered by propaganda about the French occupation of the Rhineland by Senegalese troops, etc.

They looked around them. They were taught that the country in which they were now living was once under the shadow of the German flag. Pernicious propagandist papers from Germany fed their hate. They listened eagerly to whisperings that British rule was only there on sufferance and that if the clamour were loud enough, the British Government would cravenly surrender.

Much the same thing happened in South-West Africa, but in that mandated territory another and graver blunder was made. Germans were allowed to acquire the rights of British nationality.

In 1925, an amazing piece of legislation was passed in the Assembly of South-West Africa, whereby all Germans were deemed to have become naturalized British subjects unless, before 15th March, 1925, they signed a declaration refusing naturalization—3,261 Germans, out of a total of 3,480 accepted these terms. Apparently the authors of this Act had forgotten or had never learned what had happened in the United States of America. There, before 1914, similar legislation was in force, but when the Great War broke out and Germany found herself faced by the Allies, these men and women reverted to type and—following the lead of the notorious von Papen—caused untold difficulties to the Government.

Numbers of irreconcilable Afrikaner farmers from the Union and from Portuguese Angolaland entered the mandated territory of South-West Africa, and, during the years of the embittered controversy over the Union

flag and the British connexion, these naturalized Germano-British subjects became infected with all the wild republican flatulence which they heard around them and read in every local paper.

A few years later, numbers of *agents provocateurs*, like the late Herr von Lindequist, a German ex-Colonial Minister, began to filter into South-West from the Third *Reich*, and stirred up the latent nationalistic feeling among Germans in the territory. Uniforms were worn. Songs were bawled. Drilling and parades took place. All sense of the obligations under British citizenship which had been acquired under the Naturalization Act vanished. Non-co-operation with their British neighbours became the order of the day for these Anglo-Germans in South-West Africa. The Jewish boycott of German goods, starting in 1934, intensified animosities.

The Government, as Dr. Conradie, the Administrator of South-West Africa, told the Permanent Mandates Commission, had certain proof that 'highly-placed' persons in Germany were giving orders to the Nazi *Bund* in the mandated territory. Appointments of Group Leaders were made from Berlin, and circular instructions laid down the methods to be followed. The Administration of South-West Africa were satisfied, as the result of a search made under warrant of the Attorney-General at the *Bund* headquarters, that the Government of Herr Hitler was responsible for these disturbances. No diplomatic protest, however, was lodged at this unwarrantable interference by a *soi-disant* friendly Power in the internal affairs of another country.

The Nazi movement in South-West was and is still a branch of the movement in Germany. Its aim

remains to induce the German-speaking population, including the naturalized Germans, to dissociate themselves from the Administration and the Union Government and to form a German *bloc.* 'They had even gone so far as to demand that certain oaths should be taken to German leaders in Germany.'[1] In all these subversive actions ample ground existed for a formal protest to Germany, but the pro-German element in the South African Government was able to dissuade the Prime Minister from sending a diplomatic note to Berlin. One or two of the more notorious leaders of the Nazi *Bund* and the *Hitler-Jugend* were ordered to leave the country, and a Press *communiqué* was issued stating that, if the Mandatory Administration had not intervened, the German State and Government would have had at their disposal in the mandatory territory an organization which would have been bound, at all times, to obey the orders of the Head of the German State.

The policy on which the Union Government embarked thereafter was to arrive at a reasonable understanding with the German population—'reasonableness tempered with firmness,' as it has been described. Although the *N.D.S.A.P.* (National-Socialist-Labour Party) offices in South-West Africa, once a hive of intrigue, were closed down, Government forbearance was only taken as cowardice. The agitation went on underground. At the present day the relations between the British, Dutch and German inhabitants of the mandated territory have reached

[1] Twenty-seventh Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission —Statement by Dr. D. G. Conradie on Nazi activities and the relations between the Administration of South-West Africa and the German-speaking population.

such a pitch of tension that life has become unendurable.[1]

With all this fuel in the ex-German colonies to feed on, the fire spread to England itself. The haunting dread that there was something transitory or temporary in the mandate smouldered and refused to be damped. Responsible Cabinet Ministers and the colonial administrators found themselves obliged to reiterate what should have been perfectly clear from the outset.

Thus, Sir Donald Cameron, the Governor of Tanganyika, opening the Legislative Council at Dar-es-Salaam in 1926, made the following emphatic declaration :

' There is no provision in the mandate for its termination or transfer. It constitutes, in fact, merely an obligation, and not a form of temporary tenure under the League of Nations. This obligation does not make British control temporary, any more than other treaty obligations (such as those under the Berlin and Brussels Acts, or the Convention revising these Acts) render temporary British control over Kenya or

[1] Mr. Justice van Zyl, the Chairman of the Judicial Commission on South-West Africa, in a separate Memorandum attached to the Report of that Commission, animadverted on the unsatisfactory position arising from the *automatic* naturalization of Germans in the territory. He recommended that, in future, all naturalization should be effected under the general law in force for the time being in the Union of South Africa. Mr. van Zyl added that these Germans associated themselves with persons of position in Germany to make propaganda for the return of South West Africa and other colonies to Germany.

' This,' he reported, ' has resulted in a feeling of uncertainty in the future security of the country which has become so intense that it is seriously interfering with the economic development and good government of the country.'

Uganda, which are no more and no less likely to remain under that control than Tanganyika territory.'

Mischievous whisperings continued.

It was necessary for the Governor of Tanganyika to make a declaration, in the sense of the above, to the Chiefs of the Western Province. Some six months previously the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Amery) felt called on to amplify his meaning once more.

At the East African Dinner in London, on June 11th, 1926, he said :

' The idea of a united East Africa is steadily growing, and it is growing not least because in East Africa people are beginning to get away from two fears which have rather haunted their minds since the war.

' One was that the gap formerly interposed between the British territories to north and south had not really been removed. There was a fear that there was something temporary and uncertain in our tenure of the mandate for Tanganyika. *That is an entirely mistaken notion.* It is a notion which has arisen, I think, from a misunderstanding of what is meant by the term " Mandate ".

' Our mandate in Tanganyika is by no means a temporary tenure or lease from the League of Nations. . . . *We do not hold Tanganyika from the League of Nations.* We hold it under an obligation to the League, but in our own right under the Treaty of Versailles, and the foundations of East Africa for the future are as sure and permanent in Tanganyika as in any other of the East African territories.'

The most persistent and pestiferous of the whisper-

ings came from Dr. Heinrich Schnee, the ex-Governor of *Deutsch Ost-Afrika*. Unfortunately, this propagandist was given a publicity in the English Press which his utterances did not merit, for it was apparent to any one after the slightest reflection that it was only an instance of the fox who found that the grapes out of his reach were still sweet.

In the summer of 1926, at banquet after banquet, Dr. Schnee had given utterance to the threadbare demand for Germany's place in the sun. Mr. Amery replied to him in these terms :

'I spoke at some length at an East African dinner the other night in order to dissipate certain misconceptions which seem to have been prevalent in some quarters outside this country as to the nature and permanence of our tenure of Tanganyika.

'Now, I want to make it clear again that we mean to fulfil, in the fullest sense in the letter as in the spirit, our obligations to the League of Nations as regards that mandate, under which we voluntarily assumed certain obligations. We hold this as a territory open to the world and with no prepossessions or discriminations. Our former enemies, like our former allies, are free to trade and settle in what was once a German colony ; but as regards the permanence of our position in Tanganyika, as in any other territory we hold and administer, I think I need not say more in answer to Dr. Schnee and other critics than what Mr. Chamberlain said years ago in answer to somewhat similar criticism from the same quarter : " What I have said, I have said." '

It was inevitable that thinking men should have

come to the conclusion that a linking-up with neighbouring British colonies in a customs, fiscal and administrative union was essential for mandatory territories.

The two territories in which this idea of union spread and grew were South-West Africa and Tanganyika. In the former, a Commission of Jurists was appointed to inquire into the feasibility of making that territory a fifth province of the Union of South Africa. It reported unanimously in 1935 that such a step was not merely possible within the spirit and letter of the mandate, but was advisable to give security to the inhabitants of the country.

In the case of Tanganyika, a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament was appointed in 1929, and reported in the same sense. It was agreed, however, that the door which was open for the Union of East African territories, colonial and mandatory, should not be forced until such time as these countries themselves asked for union.

There is no doubt that this indecisive report helped to encourage colonial aspirations in Germany in renewed clamour for the return of former overseas possessions. There is no doubt also that the failure to take steps to implement Union of Tanganyika with Kenya and Uganda (a failure due for the most part to selfish vested interests, official and commercial) led to a period of stagnation, economic and political, in the mandated territory in question.

With the advent to power of Adolf Hitler and his National-Socialist party in Germany, and with the knowledge that the new Leader from the outset had set his face against all ideas of colonies for his country, the Colonial Party under the Third *Reich* disappeared

temporarily behind a cloud. The ill-starred visit of Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Uganda and Kenya in 1933, revived the German hopes. Unfortunately, a septic throat prevented Sir Philip from extending his trip into Tanganyika, and Germans in that country drew the wildest conclusions from that event: that the British Government was not sufficiently interested in the mandated territory, that that German settlement and the numbers of German nationals in Tanganyika now gave them a logical claim for its return and so on and so forth.

The old bogey came to life again. Men went about with long faces dolefully asserting that the mandate for Tanganyika was really only temporary.

Questions in the House of Commons recommenced. Replying to Mr. Mander, M.P., Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister said: 'His Majesty's Government have never contemplated the surrender of the Tanganyika Mandate.' (*Hansard*, March 24th, 1933.) Once again in December of the same year Mr. Mander voiced his own and others' misgivings by asking the Secretary of State for an assurance that Government had no intention, under any circumstances, of surrendering the mandate to any other Power. The reply, testily given on that occasion, was that it had been repeatedly stated the Government never contemplated such a surrender, and that *that was their firm, considered, and determined view.*

One would have thought that the last eight words of that sternly uttered declaration would have satisfied any and every one of the doubters. Not so.

The same Secretary of State on April 29th, 1934, felt it incumbent on him to amplify what he had

already stated in the House of Commons about the present basis and future permanence of the mandate. He said :

' Great Britain does not lightly put a trust in pawn, and we have no intention of surrendering that trust which we accepted fourteen years ago, and which has been discharged with a great sense of responsibility and with great benefit to the inhabitants. Just as no Government in this country, whatever its complexion, has ever changed its mind in that respect in these fourteen years, no Government in future will ever change its mind.'

It did not need the visit of a Secretary of State to Tanganyika—and he added that he greatly regretted his illness had prevented him from going there—it did not need the visit of a Secretary of State to assure the residents, official and unofficial, of that territory that the mandate was a trust which no British Government would ever surrender. On that they might count as a *fixed certainty*.

Everyone, surely, would have been justified in believing that these predictions were well founded, in view of the fact that not only a Conservative, but also a Socialist, and finally a Nationalist party, when in power in Britain, had each in turn emphasized the permanence of mandates. Sir Philip (now Lord Swinton) could not, however, possibly foresee that a number of his Cabinet colleagues, some two years later, could and did temporize on the subject to a criminal degree.

The Baldwin-Eden folly of attachment to the League of Nations as the ' sheet-anchor ' of British

foreign policy has now brought the country to the ignoble position it occupies at the time these lines are penned. Never, since the Dutch sailed up the Thames and bombarded London, has the prestige of Britain been so low as it now is. Interfering in an Italian punitive expedition in Abyssinia similar to those which Britain herself has conducted on numerous occasions in Waziristan and other parts of the North-West frontier of India, and butting in on quarrels in Danzig which are none of its business, the National Government with a Conservative majority in both Houses has tarnished the shield of the nation it represents and betrayed the trust of the voters who put them into power.

Great Britain has been humiliated by Italy and Germany who have shown respectively that they care nothing for the idle threat of economic Sanctions, and refuse to answer a Catechism as to future intentions. To such a shameful degree of degradation has our nation been brought by bowing the knee in the temples of Geneva. To such a depth of discredit has the Government dragged the people of Great Britain in its ineptitude over the mandates question that Poland has now the effrontery to declare that she too must have colonies for her surplus population ! Poland, it should be remembered, like so many of the lesser world states, is the keystone of the many crooked arches in the chapels dedicated to Mammon in Geneva. . . .

Writing in *Eastern Africa of To-day and To-morrow* (October 1934), Mr. L. S. Amery cleared a final point in the mandate hotch-potch :

'For some inscrutable reason—mainly a kind of anti-British complex arising out of the muddle-headed

internationalism of post-war years—doubts have been cast . . . even on the permanency of our occupation of Tanganyika under the terms of the mandate. The mandate . . . is only an undertaking on our part towards the League as to the lines on which we have decided to govern the territories surrendered—for good and all—by Germany, and divided equally—for good and all—by the Allied and Associated Powers.

'Beyond that undertaking we have no obligations towards the League and we are free to do anything we like. At the same time, in order to make our inherent rights more explicit, the following clause was actually inserted by Lord Milner in the Tanganyika mandate :

'"The Mandatory shall be authorized to constitute the territory into a customs, fiscal and administrative union or federation with the adjacent territories under her own sovereignty and control, provided always that the measures adopted to that end do not infringe the provisions of the mandate."

'Nothing could be more explicit than this clause. Its object—as I think I should know, having suggested its insertion and actual wording—was to prepare for the immediate, complete amalgamation of the three (East African) territories.'

III

THE GERMAN COLONIAL PROPAGANDA

THE post-war movement for the return of Germany's former colonies revolved, till quite recently, around the personality of Dr. Heinrich Schnee.

Hankering no doubt for the position he had held (and lost) as one-time Governor of East Africa: and ignoring the wisdom of Bismarck who had said, 'No colony is worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier,' Dr. Schnee, ever since the war ended, has, in season and out, assiduously preached the gospel of Germany's right to tropical possessions. More than any other man in his country this Teutonic pro-consul has helped to keep alight the flame of remembrance. Backing him throughout was Dr. Lindequist, the ex-Colonial Minister.

It is an ironical and little-known fact that, at one stage of the East African campaign Dr. Schnee was prepared to throw up the sponge.

In 1916, the tide of war had reached the Central Railway line in what was then German East Africa: Dar-es-Salaam, the capital, had fallen: one after another the coast towns had been occupied by British troops: both railway systems were in our hands. At this juncture Schnee, as Governor of the Colony, thought the time had come to surrender to superior forces.

Colonel von Lettow-Vorbeck, the officer commanding the troops, on the other hand, was all for continuing the guerrilla tactics he had up to that point so successfully waged by utilizing interior lines of communication, living on the country for the most part, and disputing one prepared position after another in delaying rearguard actions against opponents who had striven again and again, in vain, to encircle him and bring him to a decision.

At a council of war held near Morogoro the cleavage of opinion between the German Governor and the military Commander became acute. Dr. Schnee, it is stated, actually set out for the British lines to give himself up to General Smuts and was brought back by troops sent to intercept him. Thereafter, until the end of the war, the Governor was more or less a close prisoner in the hands of von Lettow and the military junta.

The latter argued astutely that—if only they could prolong the East African campaign and keep British troops from other more important theatres of war until a stalemate resulted, ending with their field army, their Commander, and their chief civil authority intact—then, theoretically, the country could not be considered as really conquered, in spite of the *débâcle* in Europe. This was the interpretation it suited many Germans to put on the provisions of International Law, notwithstanding the fact that not a single square inch of German East Africa remained in effective possession of its former occupants in 1918 when von Lettow and Schnee ultimately surrendered at Abercorn in Northern Rhodesia.

Since the Armistice, with the exception of two books of his war memoirs, Colonel von Lettow-Vorbeck has taken no vocal or active part in the movement for the

return of German colonies. Schnee, on the other hand, has bobbed up again and again. He has never ceased to be the focal point round which an agitation, extending over seventeen years has pivoted at a quickening pace and in ever widening circles.

Before the war it was a matter of extreme difficulty to keep enthusiasm for the German colonies alive. It was even more difficult to persuade the ordinary German to emigrate to these colonies. Poles and Lithuanians were encouraged to go to Africa. Dissident Boers who refused to take the Oath of Allegiance after the Peace of Vereeiniging in 1902 were offered free grants of land in South and West Africa, if they would only come out and settle there.

Prince Bismarck, of whom the present Leader of Germany is an avowed disciple, had often expressed himself with emphasis and clarity on the danger of colonies as a distracting brake on the wheel of his country's normal progress.

'I want no colony,' he said on one occasion. 'Colonies are good for nothing but supply stations. For us in Germany this colonial business would be like the silken robes of the noble families in Poland who have no shirts to their backs.'

Nevertheless, encouraged by Wilhelm II in the early 'eighties of the last century ardent Germans like Adolf Woermann and Luderitz on the west, and Karl Peters on the east coast of Africa, went ahead. These swashbucklers established trading stations or, by high-handed methods and dubious means, acquired various parcels of land from native Chiefs. They were financed and supported principally by the Hanseatic towns, the merchants of Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck and Danzig.

Apart, however, from a few officials and the employees of the large trading firms such as the *Deutsche Ost-Afrikanische Gesellschaft*, genuine settlers of pure Teutonic stock were few and far between in any pre-war German colony.

Experience has shown that those Germans who did go voluntarily and stayed willingly as agriculturists in the German colonies (mining seems to have been singularly neglected as an occupation then as now) were men who wanted to avoid military service in the Fatherland and detested the stifling restrictions on life and the cramping of all liberty of thought and action in the homeland, typified by the word *Verboten*.

In his book *My Struggle* Herr Hitler definitely took his stand with Bismarck in a *Drang nach Osten* (expansion to the East) policy in foreign affairs. In that volume, which has become the Bible of the German Nation and forms the wedding gift of the State to every bride and groom in the country, Hitler disclaimed any advantage to, or in fact any need for, his country's holding overseas possessions of any kind.

Up to the 7th of March, 1936, the German Leader was always very guarded in his public utterances on the colonial question. At that date, inflated by his successful flouting both of the Versailles Treaty and the Locarno Pact and eager, no doubt, to secure a 100 per cent majority for a re-militarized Rhineland at the impending elections, Herr Hitler did let himself go. At Munich he declared that ' colonies are acquired by right of conquest, and Germany is now strong enough, and needs no help from the League of Nations.'

It is understandable how pressure from Thyssen and the Heavy Industries group of German magnates led to the insertion of the eighteenth point in Hitler's

Peace Plan of 1936, viz.: '. . . That after a reasonable time, and by the method of friendly negotiations, the question of colonial quality of rights . . . would be cleared up.'

The Munich 1936 election speech is consonant with another declaration of Herr Hitler's that he would not risk the life of a single Nazi soldier for the return of their former colonies, but it also shows the influence of General Ritter von Epp, the most bluntly outspoken of the mailed-fist colonial propagandists.

Some of von Epp's recent utterances are :

'The German people is united in its demand for colonies. The only question is when and where.' *(Gutenberg, 1933), and :*

'When Germany is master in Europe, the question of colonies will solve itself.' (Munich, 1935.)

The mainspring of the insistent demand for the restoration of the former German colonies has, however, always been Dr. Schnee. Under the impulse of his continued exhortations, various agencies for the furtherance of the colonial idea were established. These were almost all based on the old *Deutsche Kolonial Gesellschaft* founded in 1872. Every move in this agitation manifested an adroit blend of economics and prestige as the driving force for German colonial expansion.

The *Deutsche Kolonial Gesellschaft*, it should always be remembered, was originally set up in order to bring pressure to bear on Bismarck. The same pressure has been exerted by the D.K.G. on the present Leader of Germany, using the same appeals to the patriotism and the purses of German citizens as finally over-

persuaded the Iron Chancellor half a century ago reluctantly to adopt the colonial idea.

Through books and periodicals, pamphlets and leaflets—mostly given away free—the *Deutsche Kolonial Gesellschaft* (and latterly the *Reichs Kolonial Bund*) has, since the Treaty of Versailles, been engaged in an unrelenting and active propaganda for colonies. It is safe to say that these writings have penetrated into millions of German households. The slogans they contain have been added to the parrot cries and catchwords to which whole masses of German people are so addicted and by which they are so prone to be deluded.

In addition, through the medium of a formidable army of professors headed by Thurnwald, Westermann and Troll, German colonial thought has been instilled into thousands of students at universities, such as Berlin, Freiburg, Frankfurt, Göttingen, Halle, Hamburg, Köln, Weimar, Leipzig, Jena, Königsberg, Tübingen and Warzburg by technical, scientific and political lectures.

Pari passu with these activities, propagandist periodicals like the *Deutsche Kolonial Zeitung* with its flamboyant cover and its appeals to German youth for colonial revenge, and the *Korrespondenz der D.K.G.* are issued by the society named.

In all these tactics and in all these publications the principle of *Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi, sed saepe cadendo* (the water wears away the stone, not by force, but by frequent dripping), has been consistently borne in mind. The effectiveness of this method of propaganda over a long period of time is now evident from the numbers of persons in Germany to-day who have really come to believe that their old colonies were

actually filched from them by an unscrupulous and non-victorious enemy who invented colonial guilt among other war lies to cover his actions.

Nor are women neglected in this insidious propaganda, there being a *Frauen Bund* or women's section of the D.K.G. which issues a monthly publication *Die Frauen und die Kolonien.* There is also a Women's Red Cross League for Overseas Germans, which provides nursing assistance in maternity cases principally.

In 1933, Dr. Schnee, feeling presumably that the energies of the *Deutsche Kolonial Gesellschaft* were rather diffuse and too restrained in their nature and scope, tried to impart a spice of 'direct action' into the whole colonial movement.

This he did by founding the *Reichs Kolonial Bund.* Schnee was, until *dégommé* for his royalist sympathies, chairman of this body, which worked hard to achieve a federation of all the various colonial societies in Germany.

The R.K.B. is a more militant body than the D.K.G. and has striven to establish an understanding between industrial and political interests with a view to co-ordinating German colonial policy. The R.K.B. has numerous agents in Germany itself and branches abroad in Africa. Indeed, the activities of these agents in South-West Africa has been so obnoxious that the personal safety of British subjects in that mandated territory has been threatened.

Membership of the *Reichs Kolonial Bund* is now compulsory on all German residents in their ex-colonies. The chief organ of propaganda used by this *Bund* is the *Schulungsbriefe des R.K.B.* and its main activity abroad is the founding of schools for German

children where the true doctrines of Aryanism can be inculcated in the young idea.

The jubilee of the German colonies—8th July, 1934—was made the occasion for a celebration throughout Germany of a special colonial day. Speakers of the R.K.B., as reported in the *Völkischer Beobachter* (the official organ of Nazidom), stated openly on this anniversary that the great German people 'should express the desire to re-establish its wounded colonial honour, to demand equality of its colonial rights, as well as the realization of its colonial needs'.

In thus assailing countless microphones on a colonial anniversary, these propagandists, it will be noticed, have shifted their ground from 'supply of raw products' to a question of 'national honour' and have reverted to the old claim of Wilhelm Hohenzollern to a 'place in the sun'.

In this their psychology is not at fault. By exposing the so-called 'colonial lie' and thus striking a discordant note to which every German still smarting under a sense of defeat will instantly respond, they have been successful in working up sympathy in quarters which had hitherto been indifferent to the subject of colonies.

Behind these spidery webs of propaganda and directing their filaments into every quarter of the globe where they are likely to ensnare frightened victims sits the Colonial Political Bureau (*Kolonial Politisches Amt*) in Berlin, under the presidency of General Ritter von Epp.

This bureau is in close and constant touch with the German Foreign Office where there still exists the skeleton of a colonial department. This 'Shadow Ministry' can, when the time comes, be constituted once more into the Colonial Office. Furthermore

—between the Bureau above mentioned and the Education Department also the closest liaison is maintained for lectures, exhibitions, technical classes, etc., and also with the various colonial societies throughout the length and breadth of Germany. From all these sources issues a never ending spate of propagandist literature, all with one single aim—that of influencing German thought towards colonies.

Other colonial societies in Germany are the *Akademischer Kolonial Bund* and the ' German Colonial Warriors' Union '. Membership of the latter body is mainly confined to those who had served in German colonies before or during the war. The mouthpiece of its ideas is the *Kolonial-Post.*

Then there are the Institute for Tropical Diseases in Hamburg, the Colonial Geographical Institute of Leipzig and Berlin, the Medical Missionary Institute of Warzburg, and several others which—under the guise of scientific or technical research—are all serving to keep alive the colonial spirit in the Third *Reich* against the day when the slogan :

' *Give us back our stolen colonies !* '

should receive an affirmative answer from the quaking lips of England, France, Belgium and Japan.

In the fighting services in Germany propaganda directed at creating and maintaining a colonial spirit is disseminated through *Deutches Wehr* and—for naval officers—the *Marine Rundschau.* The chief exponent of this form of propaganda are Admirals Raeder and Gadow.

For those readers who wish to study in more detail the stream of literature with a colonial background,

which has poured from the presses of Germany in the post-war years the following abridged bibliography, furnished by Mr. S. E. Lewin, Librarian of the Royal Empire Society in London, will serve :

Paul Rohrbach—*Deustchlands Kolonial Forderung.*

Dr. Ernst Gerhardt Jacob—*Die Deustche Kolonial Frage,* 1918–35 (with Foreword by Dr. Schnee). *Kolonial-politisches Quellenhaft.*

Major Paul Schnoeckel—*Die Weltpolitische Lage unter Kolonialen Gerichts.*

Capt. Werner Schoenfeld—*Geraubtes Land.*

Paul Ritter—*Die Kampf um die Erdraum.*

Ludwig Schoen—*Deustche Schutzgebiete unter mandatesherrschaft.*

Georg Fritz—*Kolonien* ?

Dr. H. W. Bauer—*Kolonien oder nicht—die Einstellung von Partei und Staat zum Kolonien Gedanken* (with Preface by Dr. Hjalmar Schacht).

A. von Oertzen—*National Sozialismus und Kolonialfrage. Deutsches Kolonial Kalendar* (annual). *Deutsche Kolonial-Atlas* (Fritz Lange). In this connexion, every map of the world in every German school depicts German colonies as they existed before the war and with their pre-war names, coloured similarly to the Third *Reich.*

Ernst Jacob—*Deutschlands Recht auf Kolonien. Spanische und Portuguesische Stimmen zur Kolonial Frage.*

Afrika Nachrichten—Leipzig (periodical).

Afrika Rundschau—Hamburg (periodical—organ of the German Society for the protection of Natives).

Dr. Heinrich Schnee—*Kolonial Kunde*, 1833–1934. *Kolonial Kampf*—militant monthly journal of the D.K.G.

Apart from the resonant declarations of General von Epp, other speeches of even better-known German notabilities are of interest as showing the trend of thought in the recent past.

Hitler's references to the colonial problem at Munich were suppressed by the all-pervading censorship exercised by Goebbels. Probably it was felt that —for the Leader of the nation—the time was not yet ripe for outspoken utterances on the subject. Goebbels himself, however, who followed Hitler on the same election platform was reported in the Press as saying that it was dangerous not to concede such a demand (colonial equality) because 'some day the bomb will explode'.

Speaking in Berlin on the following day Herr Goebbels went into further detail. In his capacity as Minister for Propaganda he declared :

'We are a poor nation. We have no colonies, no raw materials. But we must tell the other nations that the time must come when we must demand our colonies back. We are beggars. The others do not need the colonies which they have filched from us.'

In the regaining of *Germania Irredenta*—a task to which the present rulers of that country have set their hand and from which they will only be deterred by some group of nations strong enough to challenge them to the arbitrament of the sword—there are

several problems which take precedence of colonies, e.g. Austria, Memel, Danzig.

There is not the slightest doubt, however, that when the various agencies here described have laid the train with characteristic German thoroughness and attention to detail, then the fuse will be thrust into Adolf Hitler's hand. He will, as he has done before, apply with the recklessness of the fanatic a spark to material which is adjudged to be properly inflammable.

As Mr. Winston Churchill, in incomparable language, put it the other day to the House of Commons: 'Either there will be a melting of hearts and a joining of hands between great nations and they will set out on realizing the glorious era of prosperity and freedom now within the grasp of millions of toiling people, or there will be an explosion and a catastrophe the course of which no imagination can measure and which no human eye can see.

'I believe that a strongly-armed Britain, resolutely and valiantly led, seeking nothing but peace, but ready to run risks for peace, may conceivably turn the dread scales between the blessing and the cursing of mankind.'

In the former German colonies themselves the agitation reached a climax in 1933. Intoxicated by the heady wine of Nazi success in establishing the Third *Reich*, German nationals living in the mandated territories of Tanganyika and South-West Africa embarked on a childish campaign of flag-wagging, parades in uniform, non-co-operation with their British neighbours, the incitement of natives against paying tax, boycott of British goods, and the undermining of British prestige generally, accompanied by a boastful hysteria as to the ultimate destination of those colonies.

These ebullitions of bad taste were undoubtedly due to the activities of *agents provocateur* about this time.

The most notorious of this series was Admiral Menches, who came to Tanganyika and abused the hospitality of a friendly nation so outrageously that his correspondence was seized and examined by the censor, with the result that he was warned to leave, lest worse befall.

The same result attended the activities of the representative of the German Youth movement in South-West Africa. The only difference between the two mandated territories was that, while the Government of the Union of South Africa grasped the nettle and prescribed all Nazi organizations and the wearing of uniforms under pain of heavy penalties, the Government of Tanganyika allowed Herr Lindequist to follow Admiral Menches, with the result that Nazi *Bunds* in that country were established everywhere, and continue functioning to this day.

Thus encouraged in the belief that long-suffering patience with their antics was actuated by fear, this agitation proceeded, fiery speeches were made and toasts were hiccupped, while the *Horst Wessel Lied* was sung at gatherings of German settlers.

About this time the ill-starred Ely Beinhorn, the German lady flying-ace, also came to Tanganyika and was fêted by her fellow countrymen who, it is reported, afterwards shot her as a Russian spy. (April 1936.)

Another German aviator who paid a visit to Tanganyika in 1933 behaved so disgracefully and broke every flying and landing regulation, ending with an exhibition of dropping pineapples as bombs, that he was finally asked to leave.

The climax was reached when the late Sir John Sandeman-Allen, M.P., paid a visit to the mandated territory. The stupid agitation had reached such a pitch that he was refused a hearing by the local Chamber of Commerce, although his visit was authorized by the Joint Committee of the East African Board in London. At a public meeting held in Arusha in October 1933, Sir John spoke out and warned those who were making mischief that the game of twisting the lion's tail must stop. He reminded his hearers that King George V was the Sovereign of Tanganyika, and that the tenure of the mandate did not rest with the League of Nations, but with the Associated and Allied Powers.

A few months later it was announced that the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister (now Lord Swinton) would pay a visit to East Africa during the Christmas recess of Parliament. The German Nazi *Bund* in the Northern Province renewed its agitation, not only for the return of the mandated territory of Tanganyika but against the proposed union of Tanganyika with Kenya and Uganda.

Finally, Lieut-Colonel Baussusz was sent out by Herr Hitler to Tanganyika to remind his compatriots that they were ' guests ' in that country, and that their tactics and conduct had only served to harm the fair name of the National-Socialist Party and to bring it into disrepute.

This mission, in no uncertain language, Colonel Baussusz proceeded to fulfil at three meetings of German residents convened by himself. At these gatherings there was no Chairman, no other speakers than himself, no questions were allowed, and no patriotic songs were sung.

His visit and his incisive manner caused a deep impression. Sensible men welcomed him and approved his words. The moderate German elements desired a continuance of the amicable relations between British and German settlers in economic and social spheres and in sport such as had subsisted prior to this wave of misplaced nationalism.

As for the extremists, headed by Herr Ernst Troost, Nazi Leader for all Tanganyika, and his lieutenant, Dr. Mergner of the Lutheran Mission (*sic* !) they obeyed instructions thus bluntly communicated to them from Berlin and perforce put the soft pedal down. Hotheads had to content themselves henceforward with bombastic orations in public on anniversaries such as the burning of the Reichstag. Meanwhile, in private they continued their efforts to shake the confidence of natives in the fairness and permanence of British rule and to maintain the enthusiasm of their sympathizers at concert pitch.

In the steady undermining process which went on for years in Tanganyika, it took a long time for the average Briton to open his eyes as to the sinister activities of yet another powerful colonial-propagandist agency—the Usagara Company.

Backed by formidable capital and resources and staffed in its higher executive posts by trained agents of the German Foreign Office, the objects of this Company were neither commercial nor economic, but simply and solely political. Patriotism and five per cent was its guiding motto. The parent company, the *Deutsche Ost-Afrikanische Gesellschaft* was founded in the 'eighties under a charter granted by the German Government to the notorious Karl Peters.

This company set about exploiting the East African

littoral from Mikandani to Vanga. Very soon the tactlessness of its employees brought it into conflict with the Arabs who, under their leader, Bushiri, flared into open revolt in 1888. Blood flowed, and Major Wissmann was sent with troops to bring some sort of a *Pax teutonica* into the regions affected, viz., Tanga and Saadani. Further revolts followed in the next few years, among them the sanguinary suppression of the Wahehe tribe in the interior.

Finally, the German public would stand no longer for the misrule and atrocities for which this Chartered Company was responsible. Peters was tried for cruelties to natives and punished. The *D.O.A. Gesellschaft* was wound up, and the German *Reich* proclaimed a protectorate and took over the administration of the country. The only relic of the infamous Chartered Company was the coinage which persisted for years, specimens being still in circulation at the end of the Great War.

Out of the ashes of the D.O.A.G. rose the Usagara Company. In the pre-war years this was a bona fide trading concern, affiliated with the Deutsche Bank. In 1926, through the misplaced leniency of the British Government, the Usagara Company was once more allowed to open its doors in the mandated territory.

(Incidentally, there is little doubt now that among the reasons which prompted Germany to profess adherence to the League of Nations, access for her nationals to her former colonies on the same footing as other members of the League was a strong factor. When it suited Germany to turn her back on Geneva in 1933, and the time for reflection, i.e. two years from that date, had elapsed, the British Government added to its blunders in not applying to German

immigration and trade the embargo in mandated territories which she was legally and morally entitled to enforce after the resignation of any country from the League of Nations.)

Be that as it may, from 1926 onwards the merchants and traders of the Usagara Company, working like the white ants which cause such havoc in the tropics, tunnelled away day and night under the complacent British rule. For this purpose the Tanganyika Development and Mortgage Company, was formed and furnished with ample funds from a subsidy granted by the Social-Democratic Government itself. This subsidy, of course, did not appear in the published budget of the German Republic of that time. It was hidden away among the Secret Service Funds of the Foreign Office.

These monies, then, were applied to the encouragement and assistance of German settlers in Tanganyika in buying land, plant and tools, lorries, tractors, and farm machinery (on which the Usagara Company all the time was making its profit, of course), and in planting them into well-defined settlement zones.

As land for alienation to non-natives was not available in sufficient acreages to satisfy this flood of emigrants, and as German missions held large tracts of fertile land which they would not or could not use, someone had the bright idea of settling these immigrants on tracts of land bought from missions. Arrangements were made accordingly between the Moravian Mission in Rungwe and the German Foreign Office whereby land belonging to that religious denomination was to be divided into farms and German settlers accommodated, the mission

to receive a subsidy for every such settler, plus a fair price for the land.

A quarrel between the Moravians and one of the first of these settlers led to the unmasking of the plot. The Tanganyika Government brought in an Ordinance whereby mission land could only be sold or alienated to non-natives for religious or charitable purposes. The German Consul, Dr. Speiser, whose name had come into unwanted prominence in these deals relating to mission land, was withdrawn by his Government as *persona non grata* to the British Government, and that was that.

As soon as the Tanganyika Government began to throw open blocks of land to white settlement, Germans stepped in.

As such land, by the law of the mandated territory, had to be put up to public auction, the man with the longest purse naturally scored heavily. In the case of German nationals, with the Usagara Company behind them, funds were made available not only for the purchase of land, but for development as loans on easy repayment terms. This gave them an advantage over other Europeans.

In 1934 the total number of Germans in Tanganyika was approximately 3,000, and they were distributed in strategic 'cells' in the Northern, Southern and Tanga Provinces.

These men were of an entirely different type from the pre-war German colonial. They were well drilled, determined, liberally supplied with arms, and had no illusions about their presence in an ex-German colony. Shiploads of these settlers poured into the territory during 1934 and 1935, i.e. prior to the date when an emigration quota might have been expected under

the terms of the mandate on non-nationals of the League, until finally German settlers actually outnumbered those of any other European nationality, while, as compared with the total European population (including officials) their ratio was as four to six, approximately.

It is not surprising that the other European inhabitants of Tanganyika, faced with the apparent inaction and supineness of their own local Government, and confronted with this flood of unchecked propaganda, mass settlement and 'peaceful penetration' from the German side, should have begun to question the permanency of the mandate under which they lived. Speakers and writers of the time did their cause a grave disservice in publicly voicing misgivings, and meanwhile German propaganda among natives continued, dropping here a little poison and there a little doubt into bewildered ears and distracted minds.

IV

THE GENTLE ART OF 'WOBBLING'

THERE are none so deaf as those who will not hear.

In March, 1936, Herr Hitler, having reoccupied the Rhineland and sent the last scrap of the Treaty of Versailles floating down that historic river to the bottom of the North Sea, formulated his Peace Plan for Europe. Dr. Schnee, up to that time accepted as the leader of the Colonial Party in Germany, fell under the suspicion of holding incongruous views on the subject of the restoration of a monarchy, and was given his marching orders.

His successor, General Ritter von Epp, insisted that 'equality' for Germany could not be confined to the air, the land, the sea and the waters under the sea, to the mere reoccupation of the Saar and the Rhineland and (ultimately) of Dantzig, Memel and Austria, but must be extended also to colonies. The result was the insertion of a subsidiary section in the German Peace Plan. Even this was only a half-hearted statement, asserting as it did, *en passant*, that it was hoped the question of colonial equality would 'within a reasonable time be clarified by friendly discussion'.

The new Colonial Party and its leader must have been agreeably surprised at the success of this *balon d'essai*. The distracted Mr. Anthony Eden, clinging to the raft of 'collective security' on which he and his

country had drifted to shipwreck from the rocky coasts of Abyssinia, thought he glimpsed a lightship on the horizon, the lightship of mandated colonies. The astute Herr Ribbentrop set out on a 'private' visit to London, accompanied by half a dozen secretaries and stenographers. Though not officially received at the Foreign Office, the unofficial ambassador of Herr Hitler managed to insinuate his ideas into the consciousness of Mr. Eden.

What assurances were given, and in what diplomatic verbiage they were encased, we shall know some day. Suffice it to say, that Herr Ribbentrop returned from his visit, well satisfied, not only on the question of 'equality' for Germany, but on the subject of colonies. Unfortunately, some one in Germany or some one in England failed to conceal his elation. Down in the Commons something stirred, and for the next three months a steady stream of questions was launched at the head of the National Government.

The first ambiguous answer given was that of Mr. J. H. Thomas, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, when he stated that *His Majesty's Government had not, and were not considering the question of the return of the ex-German colonies.* Mr. Winston Churchill, supported by Mr. Sandys, and other M.P.'s refused to take that answer as final. The contrast between the words used, and those employed by previous Cabinet Ministers, was too great to pass unnoticed.

'A door must be either open or shut,' declared Mr. Churchill. 'It should not be left flapping to and fro, to see whether there is any one pushing or whether he is pushing hard enough.'

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, called on to answer a further question as

to whether His Majesty's Government could give an assurance that they *would never* consider the question of the return of Germany's colonies, simply put his ears back and stated that he had nothing to add to the answer already given.

This merely served to deepen suspicion. It was learnt, in well-informed quarters, that the Foreign Office had its eye on mandated territories and actually proposed that they should be transferred to its jurisdiction. When the Colonial Office very naturally demurred, and asked that reasons should be given, it was stated (not in so many words but clearly enough to be unmistakable) that the great idea was to have a 'bargaining counter' with foreign nations—in short, to play the old game of swopping Zanzibar for Heligoland, or ceding Abyssinia a strip of sand at Zeila in British Somaliland as a port. *Quick curtain!*

Mr. Baldwin, his back to the wall, could only mulishly reiterate: 'I repeat once more in the most categorical terms that we have not considered and are not considering the transfer of the mandated territories to any other Power.'—(*Hansard*, 5th May, 1936.)

In the House of Lords, Earl Stanhope, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was even more of a jellyfish. He floundered about in a morass of words, stating that he himself had 'an open mind' on the subject, and that the words 'colonial equality of rights' in the German Memorandum might mean 'the return of one mandated territory or one colony or the return of anything'.

Challenged to declare that under no circumstances would mandated territories be returned to Germany, Lord Stanhope equivocated once more.

'While we are anxious to get a general settlement, and to get Germany back into the League,' he declared, 'not being a member of the Cabinet, I should be extremely unwise to give any such assurance for His Majesty's Government on such a matter as that.'

Fortunately, the Conservative and Unionist members of the National Government soon showed that they would not stand for any such dishonesty, or any such false encouragement of hopes in Germany. To experienced Parliamentarians it was obvious that the attitude of the Cabinet was in the nature of a 'time-saver'. Terrified by Britain's unpreparedness in armaments, a section of that Cabinet conceived the fatuous idea that Herr Hitler might be kept dangling on the colonial string long enough for our Air Force and Navy to regain at least parity with that of Germany.

Mr. N. Chamberlain made matters worse by drawing a distinction where no difference existed, between colonies and mandated territories.

As regards the former, he asserted that any demand for their cession could not possibly be entertained for a moment. As regards mandated territories, he indicated that the Government's attitude would be determined by the view taken by other mandatory Powers, on agreement between these Powers, and the League of Nations.

Subject to these considerations, such transfer would not be agreed to by the British Government even for the sake of obtaining a lasting peace settlement 'unless we were satisfied that the interests of all sections of the population were fully safeguarded'.

To make confusion worse confounded, the same

speaker blandly stated on the same occasion that '*mandated territories were only part of the British Empire in a colloquial sense*'.

The mere mention of the word 'safeguard' sent a shiver down the spine of those who remembered the base betrayal of the Southern Irish loyalists by the Government of Mr. Lloyd George, and the surrender of the Indian Empire by Mr. Baldwin's heterogeneous Coalition.

Unexpected support was forthcoming from the Liberal benches. Members on that side of the House, while coquetting with the Socialist idea of putting the whole British Empire under the League of Nations to be administered by a polyglot body of bureaucrats, expressly disclaimed any desire for a change in the sovereignty of mandated territories.

If the British Government had any fond illusions as to the attitude of other European Powers possessing colonies or mandates, Mr. Lloyd George's references to Holland and Portugal (who, he opined, should be ready to divide their overseas possessions with the Powers who possessed none), and the instantaneous reaction of these small nations to the monstrous suggestion, must have startled them.

The Dutch Foreign Minister at the Hague declared, in round terms, that his country 'would never willingly cede one inch of territory to satisfy land-hungry Powers'.

Portugal in equally spirited terms riposted—and these, be it noted, are two nations with no mandates.

As for the Powers holding mandates, Belgium, France, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa stated their opposition in unmistakable terms. Japan alone kept silent and treated the whole of this pother

with the contempt it deserved, without however relaxing in the slightest her preparations for defence of her mandatory islands.

It is unnecessary to quote the various declarations made by mandatory Powers in this connexion, but the words of Mr. van Zeland, the Belgian Prime Minister, in February 1936, are worthy of reproduction as showing the attitude of that country towards its African possessions.

'Any solution of the international colonial problem, implying a redistribution of the colonies by which the Congo would directly or indirectly be affected, has always been considered as inadmissible by the Belgian Government. *I need hardly add that it will never be admitted.* . . . The territorial integrity of the Congo is a fundamental principle of Belgian policy. If that integrity were ever questioned . . . the Government would defend it with all the means in its power, *barring none.* I am sure that the resolution which I am voicing in the name of the Government is shared by the whole nation.'

In the mandated territories, especially Tanganyika, perturbation grew and spread. Dismay and despondency were increased by the refusal of Premier Baldwin to give any categorical assurances to a deputation of M.P.s headed by Mr. Amery, who waited on him in Downing Street.

A British Mandates Committee was formed in Dar es Salaam and an appeal was issued. The British settlers of that territory, headed by General L. Boyd Moss, having obtained clear promises of support from the Kenya settlers under Lord Francis Scott and Major

Cavendish Bentinck and the settlers of both Rhodesias, conveyed to His Majesty an assurance of their unwavering loyalty, but warned the Government at home that, if any of the political bosses in England did not want them within the framework of the Empire, they were prepared to fight. Ye gods and little London County school-teachers ! To think that in this year of grace there were still Britishers breathing who were prepared to fight in order to remain British !

Into this hornets' nest at this excitable moment came a gad-fly, Mr. Oswald Pirow, the South African Minister of Defence.

Summoned to Great Britain for consultations in matters affecting his office, he committed a series of Press indiscretions which was in keeping with his previous proclivities. He stated, *inter alia*, that 'influential quarters in Great Britain were agreed that there could be no permanent basis for agreement with Germany unless the latter were given adequate compensation for her former colonies in Africa'. War was, apparently, the only alternative which Mr. Pirow could envisage.

Inspired guesses as to the 'influential quarters' which this Union-of-South-Africa Minister had in mind hinted at the King, Lord Londonderry, the group of pro-German Conservatives, and Lord Rothermere, but Mr. Baldwin made haste coldly to disavow any connexion between the defence conversations on which Mr. Pirow had been engaged in London and the British Cabinet's attitude towards mandates.

Mr. Pirow made equal haste to state that, of course, there could be no question of cession in the case of South-West Africa or Tanganyika—what he meant

was that certain unspecified Powers who held colonies in Africa should agree to surrender portions of those colonies to Germany. When he added a little later that Portuguese East Africa or Angola did not also come into the picture, and left his hearers guessing as to the reception which his words would receive in *France, Belgium, Spain* and Italy (the remaining colonial Powers in Africa) he showed an utter lack of coherent thought which completely discredited his previous utterances.

When people recalled, as they inevitably did, the speech he had made in a moment of expansion during the visit of the German cruiser *Emden* to Capetown in in 1934, and reflected a little on Mr. Pirow's German origin and education, they found a clear answer to a simple sum in addition.

Mr. Anthony Eden was put up, during the Foreign Office Debate of 1936 to suggest that Germany and Italy be invited to a conference of all the Locarno Powers to be held at Brussels. In making this suggestion, the Foreign Minister added a pious hope that none of the Powers at that Conference would mention the subject of colonies or mandates, as it would only embarrass the British Government in its efforts at a general settlement. One significant feature in this declaration, showing a gleam of returning sanity on the part of the Government, was the omission of the moth-eaten cliché ' within the framework of the League '. For which relief the weary benches of Westminster sighed much thanks.

Criticism, however, could not be stifled. Misgivings among sincere Imperialists such as Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Amery, Lord Lloyd, Sir Edward Grigg, Mr. Sandys and the rank and file of the Conservative

party in both Houses continued. Mystification grew. This was more than a party issue, stirred up by men who sought the sweets of office, playing the old game of Ins and Outs. Mr. Atlee, the Leader of the Opposition stated that it would 'obviously not be in the interests of the inhabitants to transfer a single British mandate to Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy or militarist Japan, and Labour will oppose any such transfer.' For the Liberals, Sir Archibald Sinclair in debate gave voice to exactly the same sentiment.

Inside the Cabinet and out one school of thought clung obstinately to the idea that a mere declaration, once and for all, viz. that the sovereignty of mandates and the return of ex-German colonies were quite out of the question, would not settle the matter which was most delicately and intimately intertwined with world policy. The others cried 'A truce to this foolery!' Finally, at the Conservative Party Conference, held at Margate on October 1st, 1936, a resolution was adopted which must have left no doubt in the minds of the Government as to the rod in pickle awaiting their backs at the forthcoming session of Parliament. This resolution was couched in the form of a demand that, as the ex-German colonies did not come into the picture of a general European settlement, and as Sir Samuel Hoare told Herr Hitler so a year before, the British Government must now make it clear that the question cannot in any circumstances be broached, discussed, or entertained. With the backing of over 200 Conservative M.P.'s, the writing on the wall for Mr. Stanley Baldwin stands out in letters of fire.

*

V

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA TO-DAY

Among the arguments advanced by Germans for the restoration of their colonies in Africa the most far-fetched is the statement that present-day Nazi ideas of government under the totalitarian State are eminently suited to the tribes of that Continent who are content to render unquestioning obedience to a leader and appreciate militaristic prowess. A favourite reproach of the methods now employed by the British administration in African mandatory territories is that they are too 'paternal', that a loosening of control has been evident, and that corporal chastisement of natives is almost a lost art. One hears these statements from German settlers in South-West Africa especially, and they shed a light on the average German attitude towards subject races and on the whole vexed question of colour.

In the *Royal Geographical Journal* of 1919 there appeared an article from the pen of (the late) Professor E. H. L. Schwarz of Rhodes University College. In this he set out to prove that tribes like the Herreros, and Ovambos, found to-day in the mandated territory of South-West Africa originated from East Prussia. If that premiss be accepted, and these natives are really descended from the Vandals of the Vistula

basin, there is something to be said for the argument that Nazism is suited to Africans.

However, for the present at least, other and more temperate ideas of the administration of the backward races of mankind hold the field in the mandated territory of South-West Africa. Ingenious as the Prussian theory may be, it is highly problematical that it would appeal to the Powers who have put themselves under an obligation to the League of Nations.

Turning to established historical facts relative to the indigenous population of what is now known as South-West Africa, we find that about the twelfth century the pastoralist Hottentots of the Central African *veld*, driven from the interior of the continent, gradually penetrated to regions lying near the coast. In doing so they did not entirely displace the aboriginal Bushmen or even the negroid Berg Damaras of Damaraland who had preceded the former in the mists of time.

Bushmen live in scattered settlements in the northern areas of the territory, in the Caprivi Zipfel, Outjo, Grootfontein and Gobabis districts. The last census taken in 1931 gave their numbers as 5,000 approximately, but they are said to be dying out. As for the Berg Damaras, continuing to follow a patriarchal system of government under the Old-men-of-the-Tribe, they occupy the central regions of the territory and number approximately 23,000. They have been enslaved in age-long tribal wars and no longer remember anything of their original language.

The Ovambos followed the Hottentots and, early

in the eighteenth century, another migration resulted in the coming of the Herreros. This tribe, erroneously known afterwards as the Damaras, enslaved the Berg Damaras while driving the Hottentots southwards. The (Damara) Ovambos now occupy the northern part of South-West Africa, and number 200,000, part of the tribe living under separate chiefs in Angola, Portuguese territory. In the mandated territory among the Ovambos, a Native Commissioner is responsible for administration. The Ovambos make good workers and form the main source of the labour supply. The Native Affairs Department, encouraged by the neighbouring Union of South Africa and the various missionary bodies who labour in the mandated territory, are doing excellent work in the study of the customs, music, and handicrafts (iron-working especially) of this tribe.

Next in historical importance are the Hottentots, numbering 19,000 in 1934, and divided under chieftains. The various sects of this tribe, originally ten in number, at one time had each a separate '*Capitao*' who was assisted by Councillors appointed by the male adults of the clan. Only three of these clans remain to-day with the former hierarchy. The Ovambos are an exception to the other tribes of the territory in that they have never risen against their white masters or given any trouble to the administration. They inhabit the south of the territory.

The Herreros, much addicted to fetishism and black magic, are a nomadic tribe of stock owners. Before they rebelled against the Germans the Herreros numbered 85,000 and their cattle were exceedingly

numerous. In 1934, there were only 25,000 of them left. The rebellion mentioned lasted from 1893 till 1897 and was a bloody affair, the Hottentots and the Afrikaners across the border, under Captain Nicodemus, joining in, as well as the Swaartbois.

After a period of further native unrest in which the Bundelswartz and the Bastards were involved, a fresh rebellion took place in 1908. Before it had been subdued, the Germans had lost 2,000 officers and men and are said to have spent some £30,000,000 on the operations. The casualties of the Berg Damaras, who assisted the Germans against the other tribes in this rising, were 12,000. On the other side the Herreros lost something like 80,000 and the Hottentots 5,000. Although many hundreds of these natives fled for refuge into Portuguese territory farther north and into Bechuanaland, and migration has gone on for several years in the same directions, the ineluctable fact remains that peace was only enforced by an appalling decimation of the natives and their live stock.

A word should be said about the Reheboth Bastards. These are the offspring of Europeans and Hottentots and like all half-castes retain the worst features of their coloured parents, although in intelligence they excel the purely indigenous native tribesmen. They are amazingly fine hunters and trackers and their main occupation is cattle-breeding. At one time they were under a chief or *Capitao*, who ruled through a *Raad* or Council of Elders. The title of ' Councillor ' was partly hereditary, but a certain number of these Elders were chosen at quinquennial elections by the ' Burghers ' of Reheboth.

In March 1925 the Bastards of Reheboth rose in rebellion and though the *émeute* was quelled without

bloodshed, the insurgents were punished by the suspension of their Constitution. The duties formerly carried out by the *Capitao* and his Council are now vested in the Magistrate of Reheboth.

South-West Africa is yet another example of the procrastination which has been so marked a feature of British colonial history, leading to another nation stepping in and occupying a portion of the world's surface where the native inhabitants had for years invited our co-operation.

The first of the early navigators to sight this territory was Bartholomew Dias, 1486. He landed at the anchorage which he named Angra Pequena, now known as Luderitz, and there erected a monument. He was followed by Gaspar Vegas, another Portuguese, who visited the same roadstead in 1534. In 1792 Walvis Bay, the only safe harbour on the 1,000 miles coast-line of South-West Africa was taken possession of by Chevalier Duminy on behalf of the Dutch.

When the Herreros commenced driving the Hottentots southwards during the course of recurrent tribal wars, the latter appealed to one Jonker Afrikaner who, in or about 1850, was living on the Orange River. In regular old-style fashion Jonker complied and drove back the Herreros from whom he exacted tribute and labour until the day of his death. Kamherrero, the chief of that tribe about 1860 rallied his fellow tribesmen and defeated the Hottentots under Jan, the son of old Jonker Afrikans, releasing the Herreros from bondage but stipulating that the Hottentots should live in the southern region of Namaqualand.

This, however, was not the end of native bickering, slave raids, and warfare. Several chiefs sent messages asking to be taken under the wing of the Cape Colony

Government. Mr. Coates Palgrave was sent on an official mission into Namaqualand and Damaraland, and received offers of allegiance from Kamherrero and other tribal and clan chieftains. He made his report accordingly to the Cape Government but no action was taken and native unrest and disorder continued until 1833.

In that year Herr Luderitz from Bremen established the first foothold of his company on some 150 miles of land acquired by purchase from the Chief of South Namaqualand. The 'price' paid in this instance was 100 muzzle-loading guns, some powder and lead and £200 in cash. A couple of German 'factories' or trading stations sprang up at Angra Pequena which was re-named Luderitzbucht, and German traders arrived at several other places along the coast.

An exchange of notes between the German and British Governments, setting forth the respective claims to the disputed territory, followed. Bismarck cut the gordian knot by announcing his intention to recognize the 'annexation' of the coast from Cape Frio to the Orange River, and the delay of the Cape Government resulted in Walvis Bay and the islands alone remaining under the British flag. The *Deutsche Kolonial Gesellschaft* founded in 1885, was granted a charter with almost sovereign rights over the territory thus acquired. This it held until 1892, the company retaining its mining and guano rights but the Imperial *Reich* making itself responsible henceforward for peace and good order among the turbulent native tribes. The latter objected strongly to the German interlopers, whose title to their land, they averred, had been gained by sharp practice.

The first railway—from Windhoek, the capital, to Swakopmund—was commenced in 1897. Since then the following lines have been built:

1. Linking up the railway system of the Union with South-West Africa to Walvis Bay, 791 miles, and branch lines from Seekeim to Luderitz (196 miles) and from Windhoek to Gobabis (142 miles). These lines are all built on a broad gauge of 3 feet 6 inches.

2. Usakos to Tsumeb, 257 miles. Otavi to Grootfontein (57 miles), and Otjwirango to Outjo (45 miles) on a narrow gauge (2 feet).

The total mileage of the railway system with feeder lines on a narrow gauge is 1,483 miles, most of which is due to the energies of the mandatory Government since 1921.

Communications in the territory are also maintained by six railway motor services covering a mileage of 561. Road transport is, nowadays, almost entirely by motor conveyance, though in outlying districts heavy goods are still transported by ox and mule wagon. In 1934, there were 10,340 miles of telephone and telegraph wire and over 100 post and telegraph offices. Postal and telegraphic rates are similar to those in force in the Union of South Africa.

At Walvis Bay there is a wireless station with short and long wave transmitting and receiving apparatus. The Union Government maintains a regular air service, with multiple-engined aircraft between Kimberley and Windhoek, having taken over all air communications from Imperial Airways as from February 1st, 1935, with the exception of the section between the Northern Transvaal border and Capetown. Mr. Pirow has planned a further network of air

services in South Africa to come into operation very shortly.

The public debt of the territory now amounts to £2,264,481. The financial stringency of the Depression years led to the Union of South Africa voting grants to South-West of £264,000 for the 1933-4 deficit in the Budget, and also £150,000 for relief of distressed farmers and others in the territory, and for capital expenditure on irrigation works, etc. A Commission to inquire into the financial position of the territory was appointed in 1935.

Diamonds and the taxation levied thereon are the main source of revenue. In 1920–21 this tax yielded over one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling, the tax in force being 60 per cent of the gross proceeds, less 70 per cent of the working costs graded on a sliding scale, and an export duty of 10 per cent on uncut stones. In 1935, the short fall in revenue was almost entirely due to decrease in the yield from the Diamond Tax.

The diamond industry of South-West Africa is a romantic affair. First discovered during railway construction in 1908 among the coastal desert sands, fresh finds have occurred since the time of the British occupation. The appearance of rich alluvial deposits south of the Orange River established the fact that other fields exist between that river and the limit of the older South-West Africa workings.

In Orangemund further rich discoveries have come to light embedded in ancient terraces and heavily overlaid with sand. Up to 1933, some twenty-six million pounds' worth of diamonds had been exported from South-West Africa, but owing to the depression the Diamond Board has had to curtail the production of these fascinating stones.

'The diamonds', says a writer in the *South and East African Year Book, 1936*, 'are washed by means of sea water from a thin surface deposit of sand gravel and, in some cases, from a lower deposit of sand with a depth of from three to fifteen feet; also from a cemented conglomerate, which requires to be crushed. The deposits are patchy and the richest of them are situated between latitudes 26 degrees south and the Orange River mouth. Prospecting in the Orangemund area has indicated that the southern deposits may contain more than 2,500,000 carats. About 75 per cent of the stones are of good colour. They are, except for the Orange River stones, small in size, averaging five or six to the carat, and realize a high price. Small brown stones, found in some quantity, are not generally suitable for industrial purposes, being brittle and of bad shape.

'The source from which the stones are derived is still a matter of speculation, but the extraordinary regularity with which they are graded and the gradual decrease in size from south to north seem to indicate that at some period they have been washed down the Orange River. It is said that probably not a dozen of the millions of stones found outside of the Orange River area reach the weight of one carat.

'The depressed state of the diamond market has very severely compromised the finances of the Territory, not only by decreasing employment, but by the failure of the principal source of revenue from taxation.

'The diggings closed down March 31st, 1932, throwing out of work the greater part of the staffs, which still amounted to about 200 white men, employed on prospecting work and maintenance.'

The following table shows the export of diamonds since the British occupation of South-West Africa :

Year.	Carats.	Price per carat.	Value.
1919.	462,180	90·9 sh.	£2,081,863
1924.	493,502	49·49 sh.	£1,395,846
1926.	683,024	55·9 sh.	£1,863,860
1928.	503,143	48·33 sh.	£1,215,820
1930.	415,047	59·8 sh.	£1,241,405
1931.	71,532	58·18 sh.	£226,720
1932.	17,946	95·30 sh.	£85,440
1933.	2,376	85·02 sh.	£10,100
1934.	4,128	120·5 sh.	£24,873

This reveals at a glance the amazing fluctuations in the output of this product, controlled by a small coterie of men who, in order to prevent production, often buy up and close down mines entirely.

South-West Africa is not an agricultural country. This is due to the extremes in climatic conditions, rainfall in the wettest region of the country never exceeding 30 inches per annum. In the south-eastern part of the territory there is an ample supply of artesian well water, and the Administration Experimental Farm at Klein Nabas in the Auob valley has succeeded in growing wheat and other crops in this region, thanks to the abundant water supply. A trial with citrus growing has been a failure, due, it is alleged, to the severity of the frost ! In Grootfontein maize, beans, potatoes and leguminous crops are

grown, not so much for human consumption as for silage for the stock industry.

The territory is well adapted to stock raising and dairying, and a considerable amount of the slaughter cattle on hoof required by the Union of South Africa is exported. At Walvis Bay, which is visited regularly by the steamers of the Union Castle and Italian Lines, the Imperial Cold Storage Company conducts slaughter operations on an extensive scale, the meat being shipped mostly to Italy under an agreement by Italian steamers subsidized by the Union Government.

In the southern part of the territory sheep-farming is carried on, and the most interesting feature of this industry is the rearing of Karakuls for their pelts. The karakul sheep originates from Bokhara and the Persian lamb pelts it furnishes are well-known. It was introduced by the German Government into South-West Africa in 1907, and it was found that 'crossing' was possible with the native sheep. It also yields good mutton.

Taken all round, to-day the Karakul industry is easily the most remunerative in the territory. The Union Government maintains a Stock Experimental Farm at Neudam, where not only is a herd of Karakul sheep kept to supply pure-bred rams to farmers, but also Shorthorn, Angus, and Red Poll bulls to assist in 'grading up' of cattle.

Another of these Government Stock Farms, that at Grootfontein has been abandoned, it having been found that local conditions were not suitable. A third, at Altdoorn in the southern corner of the territory, had to be shelved owing to the financial stringency. Liebig's factory for the preparation of meat extract, at

Otjihua, was reopened in 1933. Horse breeding, formerly of considerable importance has, with the advent of the internal combustion engine, fallen on evil days, and ostrich breeding has also been abandoned.

The largest item of public expenditure is the amount devoted to education. Schooling is compulsory for all European children between the ages of seven and fifteen, and the latest figures of Government European schools is sixty-three which works out at the rate of one school for every 500 white inhabitants or one school for every 75 pupils. In addition there are some sixty private schools with 950 pupils.

Native education is conducted by the different missionary bodies, which receive annual grants from Government. In 1934, there were seventy-three native and coloured schools, with 4,253 pupils.

Of the imports into the territory nearly half are produce from the Union of South Africa. Most of the import trade from overseas is with Germany, but as large quantities of goods are imported overland from the Union and are not distinguishable in the Customs figures as to their country of origin no percentages of total imports can be given.

In 1934 the total values of imports and exports of the territory were, respectively :

Imports.	Exports.
£1,261,865	£1,142,120

The principal exports, in the order of value are sheepskins (including karakuls) slaughter stock, butter, preserved fish, diamonds, wool, tin, hides and skins,

and fresh meat. Customs duties are the same as those in force in the Union of South Africa.

Walvis Bay was, for convenience of administration, transferred from the Union of South Africa to the mandated territory, and this district brings the total area of South-West Africa to 318, 099 square miles.

In 1934 the total European population was estimated at 31,600, while in the same year the native population was given as 235,330. The pre-war number of Germans in the territory was 12,292. In 1921 some 6,000 Germans, including officials, were repatriated. This step was rendered necessary by the fact that Germans were inciting natives against the British administration both before and after the mandate came into force. Between 1921 and 1926 the German population fell from 7,855 to 1,707.

In 1930 an Immigration Quota Act was introduced, designed at controlling the number of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. In the years preceding this discriminatory legislation, a very low type of immigrant, forming no less than 87·7 per cent of the new arrivals in the mandated territory were from the Mediterranean and the Levant. These people often became a burden on the State owing to their distressed economic circumstances.

An amendment of this Act, May 1931, allows of the entry into South-West Africa of Japanese wholesale merchants their families and their staffs. The quota was condemned in the Union of South Africa as discriminating against Jews, who formed the largest proportion of the undesirable immigrants. The result is that only nationals of the following countries are now permitted freedom of entry into the territory :

The Britannic Commonwealth of Nations, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Scandinavia, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland and the United States of America.

The reduction in immigration in the three years subsequent to the coming into force of the Quota Act is revealed in the following figures :

	1928	1934
Jugo-Slavians ..	88	11
Lithuanians ..	1,323	300
Latvians ..	269	89
Russians ..	109	12
Greeks	107	40

From 1927 onwards (Proclamation No. 310) land has been made available to European settlers in South-West Africa on a five years' lease, with option of purchase subsequently by easy instalments. The purchase price of such land varies from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.* per hectare. Pastoral farms range from 5,000 to 20,000 acres. During the depression land settlement under Government ægis was suspended, but was resumed in 1936. Loans from the Land Bank are also available to settlers for development, purchase of stock, or water-boring operations.

Numbers of Boers, who had formed a settlement at Humpata in Angola (Portuguese territory) in the 'sixties of the last century were, in 1928–29, encouraged to return and settle in the mandated territory. About 1,500 persons in all availed themselves of the assistance offered by the Union of South Africa, and *trekked*

across the border, settling in pastoral farms in the Gibeon and Grootfontein districts chiefly. Most of them have bitterly regretted the change, which is estimated to have cost the Government of South Africa over half a million pounds, alleging that soil fertility and rainfall in their former homes were superior to those in South-West. Owing to the depression, followed by drought, stock diseases and finally floods, these Boers from Angola were in extremely reduced circumstances, and the local Government had to come to their rescue by grants for the purchase of fresh stock.

This curious community originally left the Transvaal in 1876, and settled at San Juanaria in Angola. There was constant friction over a long period of years between these *Vortrekkers* and the Portuguese authorities, owing chiefly to alleged elephant poaching and ivory smuggling. The Angola Boers, on the other hand, complained of various disabilities in regard to land titles and freedom of religion, to which they were subjected.

Many of the rivers in the mandated territory disappear into the dread Kalahari Desert. Others are believed to find their way through inhospitable country into Lake Ngami. Nearly all dry up at certain seasons of the year. Floods recur annually in the Botlete valley. The Walvis River is the only watercourse of any size which reaches the seaboard.

The usual method of finding water in the dry weather is by digging a few feet below the surface of the streams, or by the construction of underground weirs across the sandy river beds.

Artesian wells at depths varying from 250 to 750 feet have been sunk near the Aoub and Nossop Rivers,

with daily yields of 20,000 to 1,000,000 gallons. Scores of Government well-boring machines are in operation and artesian water supplies are constantly being extended at depths and with daily yields which, a few years ago, would have been considered fantastic. Farm dams have also been built for the conservation of water supplies in many places, and irrigation is also extending.

The chief range of mountains in the territory is the Auas, which forms the principal watershed of most of the rivers. The highest peak is Brandberg (8,500 feet) followed by Erongo (7,277 feet). Other mountain ranges worthy of mention are the Khomas, the Paresias, the Waterberg, Okavaka, and Etjo.

Towards the end of 1914, German troops, joined subsequently by Dutch insurgents, invaded the Union of South Africa. When these forces were ultimately driven out in 1915, General Botha undertook a masterly encircling campaign in German South-West Africa which, in the space of seven months, was crowned with complete success, the German colonial troops surrendering on July 9th, 1915. Up to the 12th September, 1919, when the Union House of Assembly formally accepted the mandate for South-West Africa, administration of the colony was carried on under martial law, though civil courts were established some two years before the mandatory régime.

The mandate for South-West Africa, like those of the ex-German Pacific islands is Category C, i.e. the territory from the start formed an integral part of the Union of South Africa from a fiscal point of view. South-West Africa does not fall within the sphere of the Congo Basin Treaties and the grant of Imperial

Preference under the Ottawa Agreements is, therefore, attended with no such difficulties as occur in the case of Tanganyika, for example.

Towards the end of 1920 a Parliamentary Commission from the Union of South Africa visited the mandated territory with a view to drawing up a scheme for the future administration of the territory. It was not, however, until 1925, that a Constitution for the territory was formulated and this, with minor amendments, has remained in force since that date.

The Constitution provides for the establishment of an *Administrator* as the chief civil authority, assisted by a *Legislative Assembly* of eighteen members, six of whom are nominated by the Administrator and the remainder are elected by twelve constituencies. The franchise does not extend to women. The Legislative Assembly elect four of their own members to form the *Executive* over which the Administrator presides. In addition, there is an *Advisory Council,* consisting of the Executive and three others nominated by the Administrator.

Mr. A. J. Werth held the post of Administrator from 1926 to 1934, when he was succeeded by Dr. D. G. Conradie.

Under the Constitution, subjects which are 'reserved' for the Central Government are Defence, Native Affairs, Railways and Harbours, Mines, Justice, Posts and Telegraphs, Customs and Currency.

Elected members of the Legislative Assembly, very naturally, wished to have a greater say in their own domestic affairs, and two attempts were made to secure this power. Both were defeated by the opposition of the German members which precluded obtaining the

two-thirds majority necessary for the purpose of amending the Constitution in so far as the power of the Assembly might be extended to deal with Education, Police, Civil Aviation, Land Bank and Settlement. Later on more trouble arose through the *intransigeance* of the German members of the Legislative Assembly who desired the retention of the mandate. The German *Bund* party hoped and kept on hoping against hope that a territory like South-West Africa, which was neither fish, flesh nor good red herring, neither Protectorate, Colony, nor Dominion would one day, by some cunning casuistry or other at the League of Nations, revert to the German flag. The United Party were all for abolition of the Mandate and the closing up of their ranks with those of the Union of South Africa.

At the first election for the Legislative Assembly, in May 1926, five Union candidates were returned and seven Germans. This unsatisfactory result was a reflection on the apathy of the non-German voters, and an anomalous position was revealed, inasmuch as Union voters totalled 3,500, while Germans totalled 2,800 only. At the 1929 election much more keenness was displayed, the principal bone of contention being the recognition of German as a third official language. The polling resulted as follows :

United Party—7 members.
German *Bund*—4 members.
Independent—1 member.

In 1931, as a result of another election, the United Party lost one member and the Independents gained

one, while the German party remained at the same strength as before.

The so-called depression hit South-West Africa very hard, and for five successive years from 1931 onwards, it was not possible to balance the Budget owing to short fall in revenue brought about the catastrophic drop in the price of primary products which led to banks restricting credit, with a consequent loss in the purchasing power of the consumer all over the world. In 1930 emergency taxation was introduced to meet the budget deficit, but in the same year ten districts in South-West Africa were so stricken with drought that widespread default and a series of wholesale bankruptcies ensued.

To add to the miseries of the people, one of the longest droughts in history occurred this year, and was succeeded by a similar state of affairs in the two following years. To cap all, in 1934, unprecedented floods added to the toll of suffering, human and animal, leading to outbreaks of diptheria, typhoid and malaria. The region of Walvis Bay—where the normal rainfall is so scanty that permanent drought conditions prevail throughout the year and hardly a blade of grass is ever to be seen—was completely under water. It is estimated that the damage due to the floods throughout the mandated territory was in the region of one million pounds.

In 1932 trouble arose between the Government and the Ukarui tribe, and a punitive expedition of aeroplanes and tanks took place. No lives were lost, and this demonstration in force was sufficient to bring the recalcitrants to their senses.

The only other native troubles which have occurred during the mandatory régime were risings by the

Bondelswartz of the Kalkfontein district (1922), and another by the Bastards of Reheboth (1925). In the former some 300 natives took up arms, but were taught a swift and salutary lesson by local police and other forces. In the latter, which had its origin in an unpopular dog-tax, no bloodshed took place.

Far more serious than these native troubles was the unrest which German political associations, in the mandated territory, fomented from 1933 onwards which reached a climax three years later. Although the Union Government, in 1932, agreed to extend the powers of the Legislature to include the hitherto 'reserved' subjects of Posts and Public Works, Police, Education, Civil Aviation, Land Bank and Land Settlement, and to recognize German as a third official language, the egregious blunder was previously made of granting automatic naturalization to all Europeans resident in the territory on 31st December, 1931. Reference to this piece of legislation has been made in the preceding pages.

It was not found possible to give effect to any of these concessions owing to the campaign of non-co-operation practised henceforth by the German *Bund*, the Hitler Youth League, and kindred subversive bodies. In 1934 things came to a climax in the Legislative Assembly when the four members representing the German *Bund* walked out, and later on tendered their formal resignations, thus taking a leaf out of the book of their Leader in his behaviour towards the League of Nations.

Thereupon the Union Party, which included Dutch and British voters, unanimously passed a resolution asking that the Union of South Africa take over the territory as a fifth province of that Union. In the

same year the Advisory Council unanimously decided to proscribe the wearing of uniforms, whereafter the Hitler Youth Movement and the German Nazi Party of South-West were declared illegal.

In this hectic atmosphere another General Election took place (October) and resulted in the Union Party winning eight seats, the Independents two, and the German *Bund* one. One of the first acts of the new Assembly was to pass a resolution (with the requisite two-thirds majority) praying the Union to take over the territory as a fifth province. A Committee of Inquiry was subsequently appointed, and some of its findings have already been detailed.

Despite the declaration of the voluble Mr. Pirow that no incorporation with the Union was possible without prior consultation with Germany, it seems extremely likely that the findings of the Government Commission on Union will be implemented. The only stumbling block in the way of complete incorporation of South-West Africa with her big neighbour is the state of her public finances. With returning prosperity such as is now in sight, and with the new alignment in Europe brought about by the Abyssinian campaign, Sanctions and the Re-militarization of the Rhineland, the final step should not long be delayed. Ethically, legally, and economically there is no hindrance to such union, and if it amuses the Permanent Mandates Committee at Geneva to go through the solemn ritual yearly of examining the year's progress of the mandated territory, the administration of South-West Africa, will, no doubt, be only too happy to comply with a report in due form.

The present uncertainty should not be allowed to

continue. There are many Moderates among the German ranks in the mandated territory who, if they dared to speak out, would agree that they are receiving a fairer deal under British law than they ever got before when Germany was master of the colony. There are enough of the older, level-headed Germans with sufficient common sense to see that economic salvation lies in union with South Africa, and who detest having their thinking dragooned into them by paid demagogues, incited from the Fatherland.

These men, like their British and Dutch neighbours, are tired of the rôle that has been thrust on them—that of half-baked politicians. They want to get on with a job of work and to ensure a modicum of comfort for themselves and their dependants. They would acquiesce willingly in a *fait accompli*, but as long as there is the slightest chink of doubt in the status of South-West, they will go on hoping that, by some miracle, their country's old colony may be restored to her.

How acute has become the cleavage between the Moderates and the Nazi extremists in this mandated territory was seen when a breach of the peace occurred between the *Deutsche Front* and the *Deutscher Bund* parties in Windhoek. Feelings had been exacerbated by the threats uttered against moderate-minded Germans and by the reprisals taken against their helpless dependants, wives, mothers, fathers and children in Germany itself because, forsooth, these colonials would not toe the line and indulge in local agitation and boycott against their British and Dutch neighbours.

The *Deutsche Front* is the militant section of the German community, taking its orders direct from the

Brown House in Berlin, but the *Deutscher Bund* comprises the great majority of that community which desires only to keep alive the finer inherited characteristics of its race, even though its members happen to live in Africa. When the hectoring and the bullying of the small gang of noisy extremists became unbearable, fisticuffs followed.

VI

TANGANYIKA TO-DAY

AFTER all the beating about the bush to which the long-suffering British public has been treated of late by the National Government whenever any one raised in the House of Commons the future of mandates, two crystal-clear facts have emerged. These are the respective strategic values of South-West Africa and of Tanganyika, of which the most important, by far, is Tanganyika.

The former may be but the heel of our imperial sea and air communications, but the latter is the first rib protecting the heart of Africa. If a boxer were to raise his left elbow and expose his side to an opponent, one would pity, if one did not despise, the poor fool who thus ignored the most elementary rule of the noble art of self-defence. If Great Britain with Cape Guardafui and Aden at the elbow of Africa and the pulse of the Suez Canal behind them, were to lay bare South-West Africa to a potential enemy, one would say she was taking an unnecessary risk. If, however, she were to go so far as to expose Tanganyika to the same danger, one could only contemn her as having learnt nothing from all her past history, and as utterly unworthy to hold an Empire won through past ages by the blood of her sons.

Fortunately, the General Staff in Great Britain is

not likely to tolerate such imbecility. Fortunately, also, the Committee of Imperial Defence, even under the present presidency of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (one time Pacifist, but nowadays much more of a Realist) has still the last word in matters pertaining to British foreign policy—as witness the successful carrying through of the recent Staff Talks with France and Belgium, despite all defeatist demurrers to the contrary.

That committee is just as integral a part of the British Cabinet as any mandatory territory is an integral part of the British Empire. That committee realizes that they would have no option but to resign if any such madness as the surrender of Tanganyika were contemplated. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is, it is true, for the time being the president of that committee. He was once a pro-Boer, and he has shaken hands with Russia, but he is still a Scot for a' that, who knows that 'facts are chiels that winna ding'. With the experience that Cabinet responsibility brings to the most rabid of Reds, he has learnt to apply realism in the governance of the realm.

Make no mistake. The Committee of Imperial Defence must and does appreciate fully the fact that the traditional policy of friendship with the Low Countries of the North Sea littoral has to be retained as a cardinal standpoint in the watch and ward which Britain keeps over the Channel ports. Britain's European frontier is now the Rhine. Moreover, that committee realizes also that the knitting together of the far-flung dependencies of the Crown by a chain of sea and air defences is just as essential to-day as it ever was. It is, therefore, inconceivable that any British Cabinet should

ever dream of such an insane surrender as that of the two mandated territories we have mentioned. Any Government that put such a dream into being would not remain in power for more than twenty-four hours.

Many people have been hoping that General Smuts, who played such a prominent part not only in the conquest of the German colonies in Africa but in the evolution of the mandate system, would have broken silence to fling a douche of cold water over the effervescence of Mr. Oswald Pirow. He has not said a word on the subject, at least of late, but one would have thought that he of all people could have put matters more plainly than any one else in the Empire. He is one of the few surviving statesmen who invented the mandate system. He is one of the Colonial statesmen to whom the British Cabinet listen with respect. As he does not speak now to end the present uncertainty, he cannot blame us if we reproduce one of his previous utterances in this connexion.

Speaking at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on January 28th, 1918, he remarked that the Germans had never been in search of colonies after the British model. Hohenzollern Germany which preceeded 1914 was, he stated, not after colonies but a great Central African Empire. (In passing, the building of the Central Railway in Tanganyika is an outstanding example, proof of the strategic *Mittel Afrika* ambitions of Germany. That line runs straight as a die from the coast for 700 miles to the shores of the lake of that name forming the boundary of the Belgian Congo, and serving no economic purpose whatsoever while traversing a region of the territory almost devoid of production that might furnish freights for such a railway.)

'Towards this objective' (of a Central African Empire), said General Smuts, 'Germany was steadily marching, even before the war broke out; and she claims the return of her lost African colonies, at the end of the war, as a starting point from which to resume the interrupted march. This Central African block was intended, in the first place, to supply the economic requirements and raw materials of German industry; and in the second and far more important place, to become the recruiting ground of vast armies. The natural harbours on the Atlantic and Indian Oceans were to supply the naval and submarine bases from which both ocean routes would be dominated and British and American sea power brought to nought.

'No fresh extension of Prussian militarism to other continents and seas should be tolerated, and the conquered German colonies can only be regarded as guarantees for the security of the future peace of the world. The premature or unwise restoration of German East Africa to its former owners might have consequences reaching far beyond the confines of the African continent.

'Perhaps I may be allowed to express the fervent hope that a land where so many of our heroes lost their lives may never be allowed to become a menace to the future peaceful development of the world.'

Tanganyika is much larger in extent and, from the strategic point of view, vastly more important than South-West Africa. The total area of the territory is 365,000 square miles, and its boundaries run from the Indian Ocean on the east to the Great Central African

Lakes on the west, adjoining Kenya, Uganda, the Belgian Congo, and the mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi.

The wresting of this colony from Germany during the Great War entailed a much more difficult and prolonged campaign than was required in the case of South-West, the Cameroons, or Togoland. It is estimated that the cost to Great Britain of military operations in German East Africa, lasting from 1914–18 was £72,000,000. The number of casualties shown in the official returns was 2,762 South African whites and 15,061 British and Indian officers and men. British War Office records give the total German forces engaged throughout as 2,500 only, but this figure is disputable. Sir Humphrey Leggett, of the British East African Corporation, who was in a position to know the facts accurately, estimates them at more like 12,000.

To reduce these mobile German forces in a vast country like Tanganyika, from beginning to end, some 50,000 troops from India and 40,000 from South Africa were necessary. These were reinforced by 15,000 Africans belonging to the King's (East) African Rifles, Nigerians, Gold Coast Cape Corps, and West Indian units. In addition 12,000 Belgian troops co-operated. As a German prisoner of war derisively stated after his capture—it needed some fifty Generals, and heaven knows how many other senior officers, plus approximately 150,000 troops, to bring one elusive German major[1] and a handful of African *askaris* to book. But, as the elusive de Wet proved against all the blockhouses of Kitchener in the Boer

[1] Von Lettow-Vorbeck, the German commander, was a major in 1914.

War, the advantage lay with the defender in such a campaign.

Having no civil population to worry about, knowing every inch of the dense bush in which he was manœuvring, living almost entirely on the country itself, Von Lettow was also extremely lucky in that three ships were able to evade the blockade and bring him arms, ammunition and foodstuffs, and—in the case of the *Koenigsberg*—heavy guns and highly-trained reinforcements. These things helped him to prolong the campaign as he did. All the same, he was a gallant enemy and fought clean. When he finally surrendered at Abercorn in Northern Rhodesia on November 15th, 1914, he was allowed to retain his sword.

In 1914, as we have seen, the Germans took the offensive, and during the latter months of that year frequently attacked points on the Kenya-Uganda Railway. After the reverse at Tanga (when, owing to quixotic delay on the part of the admiral in command of the fleet in not immediately landing an Expeditionary Force from India, our men were driven back from the beaches) the order went forth to remain on the defensive, a state of affairs which continued for over a year.

In 1915, the cruisers *Emden* and *Koenigsberg* which had been detached from the German China squadron to prey on merchant commerce in the Indian Ocean, were both accounted for, the *Koenigsberg* being brought to bay in the Rufiji delta where she was sunk after running ashore. Guns and men from this vessel were landed and proved a valuable stiffening to the resistance which von Lettow was able, thenceforward, to offer.

When General Smuts took over command in 1916,

the campaign proper may be said to have commenced. Early operations centred on the Kilimanjaro region. Round this mountain, the highest in Africa, the Germans had prepared a number of defensive positions. These, by flanking movements, were turned one after another and the Germans driven out. Thereafter, General van Deventer and the cavalry, having occupied Moshi on the eastern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, pushed on in a southerly direction, fighting a series of brilliant actions in the old-style open fashion, and reached Kondoa Irangi.

Unfortunately, the impetuosity of this commander resulted in his out-stripping his supply train. Horses and men began to die and suffer from disease. Thus weakened, he was heavily counter-attacked and, though the Germans were beaten off, his progress was noticeably slowed down.

In the meanwhile, Smuts had been forcing his way eastwards towards the Panagani basin and reached the coast at Tanga, which was finally occupied on 7th July, 1916, with slight resistance. At the same time Belgian forces under General Tombeur and Colonel Molitor took Kigali, the capital of Ruanda and occupied that mountainous region before advancing against the Central Railway line.

Naval forces and coast columns then proceeded to occupy all the coast towns from Tanga to Dar es Salaam, and thence on to Kilwa, Lindi and Mikandani on the Portuguese border, the while General Smuts himself was advancing on Morogoro—then the seat of the German colonial Government. Morogoro, and other stations on the Central line as far westwards as Kigoma and Tabora (the two latter falling to the Belgians) were taken one after another.

The series of converging movements, Smuts's famous 'scissors tactics', was completed when General Northey and the Rhodesian regiments cleaned up the country between Lake Nyasa and Lake Tanganyika and gained possession of the Southern Highlands, thus confining von Lettow to the central southerly hinterland, the most inhospitable parts of the colony.

In 1917 General Smuts was succeeded by Major-General J. L. Van Deventer, C.B., after Lieut-General A. R. Hoskins, C.M.G., had been G.O.C. for some months. Nearly every one believed the campaign was all over bar the shouting. In reality the fiercest fighting was yet to come, when the German troops made their last stand at the battles of Narungombe and Nyangao before von Lettow finally slipped away with a remnant of his forces into Portuguese East Africa. Here small columns of toughened veterans were able to dodge about throughout 1918, until the cessation of hostilities in Europe.

As the various parts of the territory were subjugated, civil occupation was made effective in Tanganyika, first at Lushoto (Wilhelmstal) under an Administrator, Mr. H. A. Byatt, and then, at Dar es Salaam itself. Until the mandate system was formally applied to Tanganyika, reconstruction work proceeded steadily.

One of the first steps taken under the mandate was the abolition of household slavery which the German administration had recognized with provisions for its gradual disappearance over a term of years.

The first Governor of Tanganyika was Sir Horace Byatt, K.C.M.G., from 1920-5, succeeded by Sir Donald Cameron, K.B.E., Sir Stewart Symes, K.C.M.G. and the present incumbent, Sir Harold MacMichael, K.C.M.G., who assumed office in 1934. The

Governor is assisted by an Executive Council, wholly official, and a Legislative Council, the latter with an official majority and seven unofficial British and three Indian members. There is no adult franchise of any kind in the territory, the agglomeration of European nationalities rendering representation on an elective basis a matter of difficulty. A small measure of local government has been conceded in the form of a municipality at Dar es Salaam, and various Boards and Associations are granted subventions derived from the export taxes imposed on industries such as sisal and coffee, to manage their own domestic affairs.

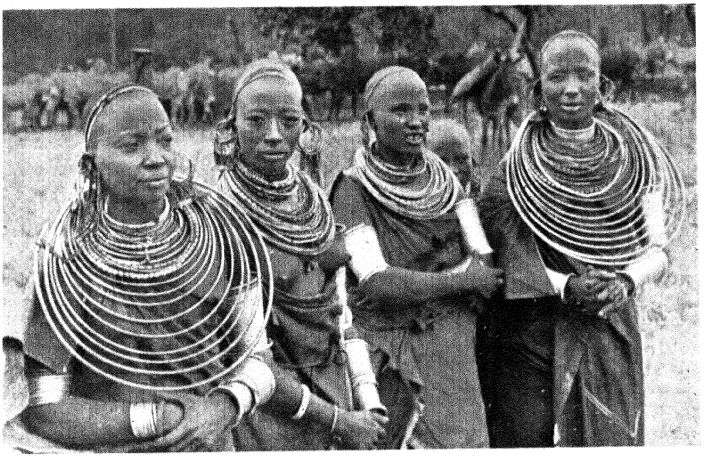
In addition to the Mandate, the Convention of St. Germain en Laye also regulates trading relations in Tanganyika. This Convention lays down equality of treatment in commercial matters among Great Britain and her Allies, with the exception of the United States and Italy. It does not preclude the imposition of Import Duties or the granting of preference on articles *from* the conventional Congo Basin into various European markets. It does, however, definitely bar any preferential treatment on imports *into* the Congo Basin zone.

The principle of the 'Open Door' which these agreements seek to maintain has been adversely criticized by various authorities, more especially in the light of Imperial Preference which Ottawa sought to establish. The Convention of St. Germain en Laye, which is only a corollary of the Congo Basin Treaties, was due for revision in 1930, ten years after it was made, but the British Government, after postponing their decision until 1935, still seems undecided at the present moment.

Some assert that the abrogation of this Convention is inadvisable because Great Britain would lose trading advantages in those parts of the Congo Basin area which are under foreign suzerainty. The stumbling block seems to be the fact that exports from the Empire to Nyasaland (a part of that Empire) pass almost entirely through Beira and Lorenço Marques, ports which fall within the Congo Basin commercial boundary of 1885. As the signatories to the original Congo Basin Treaty—established when Cobdenism was enthroned in Great Britain—included practically every European state, and as every one of these states—including Great Britain herself—is now wedded to preferential tariffs, quotas, bilateral agreements and other restraints of free trade, the confusion is increased.

Writing in *The Times* of January 1936, Lord Lugard —after making it quite clear that, in no circumstances, could Great Britain surrender her mandate for Tanganyika or anywhere else, without being guilty of a base betrayal—put forward the following suggestion :

'What can Great Britain offer if it is agreed that some sacrifice is needed to meet new conditions, and preserve the peace of the world? I submit the following suggestion. Provided the other Colonial Powers are prepared to bear their share in the collective effort—not necessarily by adopting the same method—Great Britain should fulfil the promise to accept her share by reverting once more to her traditional policy of the "Open Door" in the African territories over which she has control. The departure from this policy in 1932, admittedly in the interest of British trade, has afforded some pretext for the complaint of monopolies.



1 MASAI WOMEN WITH THEIR CATTLE, TANGANYIKA. THE NECKLETS ARE MADE OF COPPER WIRE AND NEVER TAKEN OFF

2 NATIVE FRUIT MARKET, DAR-ES-SALAAM

'To afford the guarantee which Sir Samuel Hoare said was demanded for the effective application of this policy I would further suggest that the Mandates Commission should be entrusted with the task of seeing that the "commercial equality" was strictly enforced. For this task it is exceptionally well qualified, for, as the *rapporteur* of the Assembly Committee observed, "there is hardly a session at which the question has not been raised." This would not impose too heavy a burden, since its role would be limited to receiving memorials or petitions from anyone who had grounds for considering that the pledge was being infringed. There would be no discrimination against imports on account merely of their cheapness, provided that the reduction in price was not effected by contravention of any convention ratified by the number of States requisite to bring it into operation, as, for instance, the conventions regarding conditions of labour. Where no such contravention can be proved the Natives are entitled to the benefit of the cheap goods, but I would not wholly rule out a stipulation that the purchase in the Colony of commodities for export should bear a reasonable relation to the value of the imported goods.

'This proposal would of course involve some adjustment of the Ottawa Agreements, but, in so far as those Agreements stipulate for a reciprocal preference by the Colonies, we may hope that the Dominions which have so generously accorded a preference, irrespective of whether a Colony could reciprocate or not, would be willing to follow the lead of the United Kingdom, by agreeing to the application of the commercial equality clause to the territories they hold under mandate. If a Colony desires to reciprocate the

favourable treatment accorded to its exports by any nation, it can do so by purchasing its imports without imposing hostile tariffs on all other nations, and it is worth while thus to encourage mutual reciprocity. A more restricted gesture would be to limit the benefit to States-members of the League only. The proposal to revert in Africa to the principle of the "Open Door" —which used to be our justification for our world-wide colonies—does not of course apply to the policy which the United Kingdom or the Dominions may see fit to adopt for themselves to protect their trade in a tariff-ridden world.'

But would this self-denying ordinance satisfy the 'Have Nots' among the nations of Europe? One cannot see the 'Have' nations like France, Belgium or Portugal entertaining any of these proposals for a moment. And is there to be no limit set to the demand for 'colonial equality' which, when reduced to its lowest common denominator, is merely a question of prestige or imaginary wounded national honour? No amount of supervision by the Permanent Mandates Commission will avail, as Lord Lugard suggests, to attain that measure of 'commercial equality' which is an utter impossibility in the present temper of nations and of the vested interests which dictate their policy.

Tanganyika is outstanding among mandated territories in the attention and expenditure devoted in that country to native social services. The Educational, Medical and Agricultural Departments all understand just as much as the Administrative branch, that they are responsible for the raising of the moral and material standard of the indigenous inhabitants. There are

eighty-four schools for Africans maintained by the Government alone, and these include seven Central Schools for boys and four for girls at which instruction is given to 7,000 pupils.

In addition, there are 205 Mission Schools, supported by grants from public funds. A further 4,000 Mission Schools exist which have not yet attained the standard required to qualify for these grants, the chief difficulty being the provision of properly trained teachers. Nearly a quarter of a million Africans are attending these various schools, which, very wisely, emphasize the importance of agriculture in the curriculum. Industrial training at the Central Schools is very popular, and instruction is given in carpentry, smithing, tailoring and masonry. At the Dar es Salaam school a printing press is maintained by the staff and the boys.

Most Tanganyika natives have a tendency to crave for clerical training to fit themselves for posts in Government offices. Although teaching in English is given to pupils who have reached a certain standard in Central Schools, and at Tabora a post-primary course of typewriting and book-keeping is available, the number of pupils accepted is wisely controlled with a view to preventing the growth of a class of Babu-like natives with no jobs to fill.

There are fifty Indian schools, with 3,600 pupils, serving the needs of the 30,000 Indian residents of the territory. For these, grants-in-aid to assist in the payment of staff, the construction of buildings and the provision of school equipment, are also available, but only eleven of these seminaries have qualified so far for State assistance. At the Government School for Indians in Dar es Salaam the syllabus takes pupils

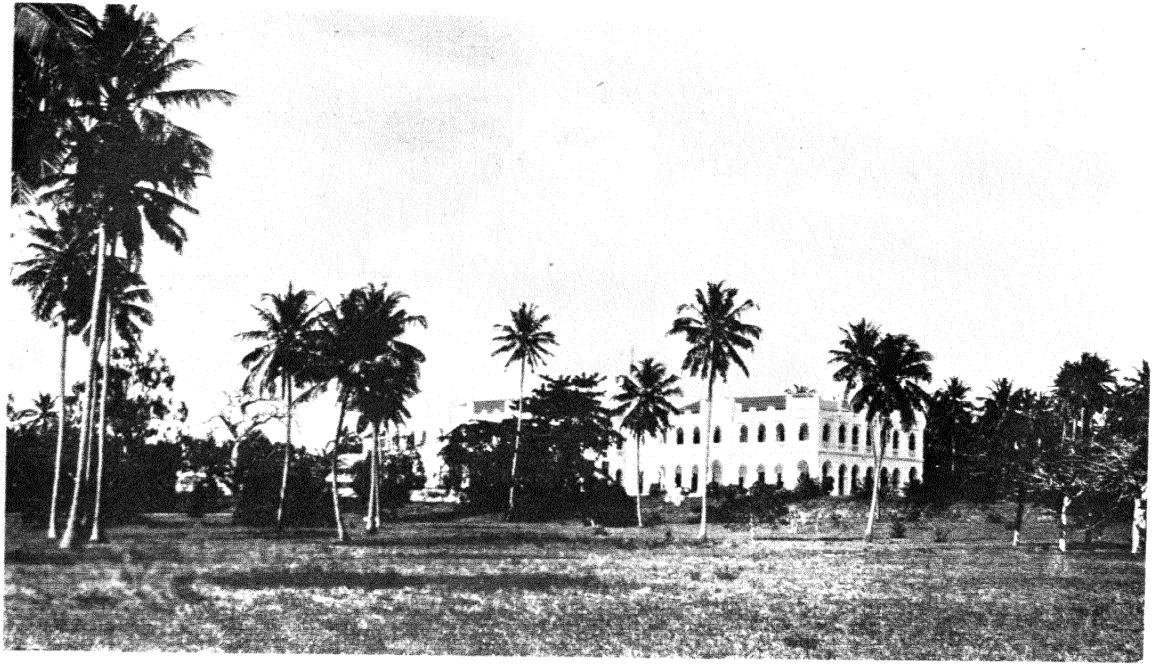
as far as the Cambridge Senior Certificate examination.

In marked contrast to the facilities provided for other races, is the provision for European education in Tanganyika. Until recently, the only method whereby an English child could receive any education whatsoever was either by going overseas for it, by travelling to one of the Kenya schools, or by correspondence lessons ! Nowadays there is a good boarding-school at Arusha and a kindergarten day school at Dar es Salaam. State assistance is given in the case of these schools, as well as in regard to four German schools, two Greek schools, and four Dutch schools.

The total number of European children under instruction in the territory is in the neighbourhood of 1,700, and a tendency is noticeable among European parents to keep their children with them in East Africa at local schools to a later age than heretofore, though always, where possible, sending them to be ' finished at Home ' away from the influence of subject races.

The total estimated expenditure for 1935 on education in Tanganyika was £84,641 out of a budget of £1,871,496.

Medical services are maintained by a staff of British doctors, Indian medical subordinates, and African dressers and dispensers. Freedom of religion assured under the mandate allows of nineteen different missionary bodies' activities in the territory, including German, Italian and Swiss Protestant sects. Of these the most successful are undoubtedly the missions which, besides attending to the souls of their adherents, also care for their suffering bodies, i.e. medical missions. Wonderful self-sacrificing work is done by the White Fathers



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, DAR-ES-SALAAM

and White Sisters, the Capucins and others among the native leper colonies of Tanganyika.

The African population at the 1934 census was given as 4,980,505, and the density per square mile of all races as 13.9 only. Europeans number 8,193 and Indians, Arabs, and Goans 29,640. During 1933 German immigrants outnumbered British, but official returns of immigration for the five years preceding 1933, and the three years subsequent thereto, show no particular preponderance as between these two nationalities who form the bulk of the new arrivals.

Law and order is maintained by 1,000 native troops under British officers of the King's African Rifles (1st and 6th battalions) forming small garrisons at Dar es Salaam, Tabora, and Arusha. These smart troops form part of the Southern Brigade, units of which are also stationed in Nyasaland. An efficient police force, officered by sixty-two Europeans, totals 1,600 men.

There is a High Court for the administration of justice, subordinate courts in several districts with Resident Magistrates, and everywhere Administrative Officers exercise certain defined judicial powers. In addition, there are numerous Native Courts which are concerned chiefly with divorce, inheritance, and petty criminal offences, having jurisdiction under the Native Courts Ordinance.

The Tanganyika railway system includes the Central line and the Tanga line, with branches from Tabora to Mwanza, from Manyoni to Kinyangire, and from Moshi to Arusha. Road versus rail competition has, as elsewhere, become acute, and the railway revenue for four years in succession has shown a deficit over ex-

penditure, the major part of which is absorbed in the payment of loan charges.

A very unsatisfactory feature is the competition between the Kenya-Uganda and Tanganyika railways, whereby three countries forming one geographical, ethnographical, and economic unit are forced into something approaching a rate war. The main bones of contention are the traffic of Lake Victoria emanating from Tanganyika, but carried by the steamers and trains of the Kenya-Uganda railway, and the traffic from the Northern Province which finds its natural outlet down the same railway to the port of Mombasa.

This anomalous state of affairs results in the revenues from the traffic mentioned being credited wholly—and irrespective of its origin—to Kenya and Uganda, causing a railway surplus in the budget of these two countries, while Tanganyika labours on year after year with a deficit. A Commission for the co-ordination of all forms of transport in East Africa has now been set up. It is difficult to see how such a body, if it does nothing else, can avoid recommending the amalgamation of the two railways.

By air Tanganyika is at present well served by the planes of Imperial Airways (Africa), with a bi-weekly service to and from Europe, and to and from South Africa, and Wilson's Airways' feeder services. When the new flying boats of Imperial Airways come into operation (at the end of 1936, as is anticipated) the route will be changed and will follow the Nile as far as Kisumu on Lake Victoria, thence the Indian Ocean along the east coast of Africa to Capetown. A 'shuttle service' between Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia and Nairobi in Kenya and 'feeder services'

will, however, maintain the present standard of communication by air. There are no less than 120 aerodromes and landing grounds in East Africa.

On Lake Victoria, as has been mentioned, small steamers cope with the traffic of the littoral. On Lake Tanganyika one British vessel, the *Liemba*, and two Belgian boats serve the needs of the adjoining areas. Lake Nyasa is negligible as far as Tanganyika is concerned, the exports of the Southern Highlands finding their way more easily to the sea at Dar es Salaam by road and rail transport.

Sisal is the principal industry of Tanganyika, followed closely by gold mining. In both there has lately been a revival of interest resultant on good prices in the world markets.

In 1933 a new variety of sisal (*agave amaniensis*) was discovered at the East African Agricultural Research Station at Amani, which is maintained by the three territories of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. This variety is reported to be of much finer texture than any sisal hitherto known, and is stated to produce twice as much fibre. It is believed that, when the new areas planted up with this kind of sisal come into bearing, a fresh filip will be given to production of this fibre.

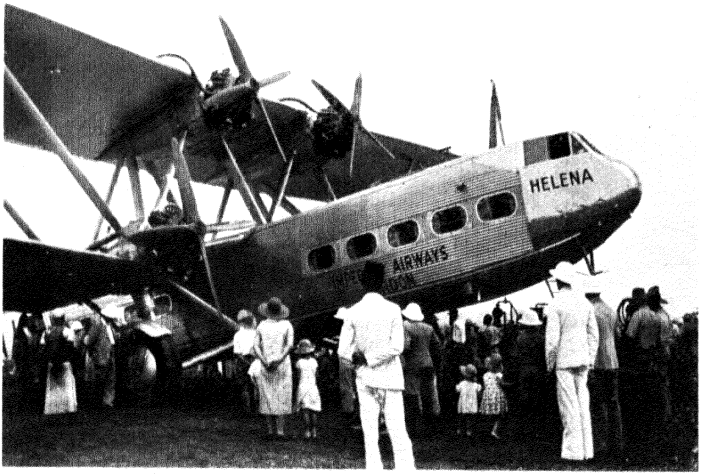
Three new companies have been floated in the year 1936 to take over several individual sisal estates on the Central line and in the Tanga district. The sisal cordage factory near Tanga, which some little time ago gave rise to controversy with the twine manufacturers of Britain, is yearly increasing its production. Thanks to an abundant supply of comparatively cheap native labour, this enterprise has added to the number of industries which have been

set up overseas by British capital competing with those of the Mother country.

Some 80,000 tons of sisal were produced in Tanganyika in 1934 and gave work and wages to thousands of natives. Large companies, for the most part, own the plantations on which this valuable aloe, a native of Mexico, is grown in the mandated territory.

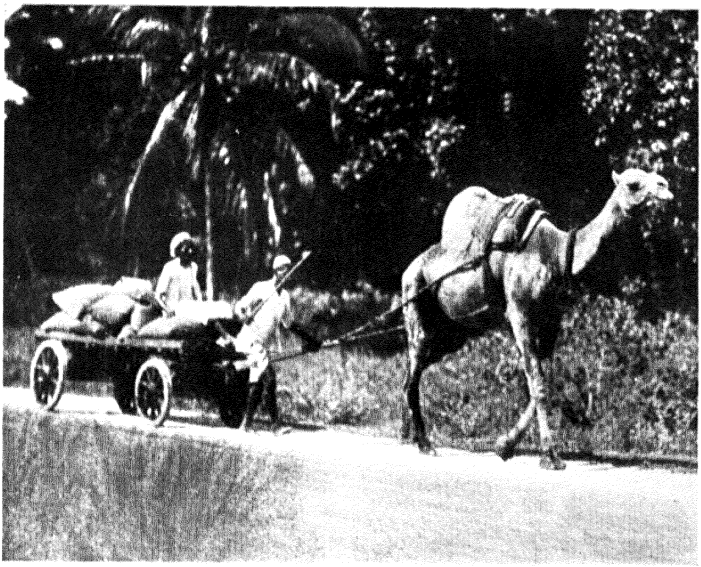
Gold is mined in the territory at the Lupa River, in the Southern Highlands, in the Mkalama district at Sekenke, and in the Saragura and Musoma areas. In 1934 out of a total production of gold valued at £295,690 and won from the various auriferous regions in Tanganyika, two-thirds was obtained by alluvial washings from the Lupa alone. Some one thousand Europeans are now at work in this part of the country. With the exception of the output of two or three large companies engaged on reef production, many thousand ounces of Tanganyika gold are yearly wrung from the soil by purely individualistic effort. The oldest mine is that at Sekenke, and the youngest is the Saragura where the gold is worked in a geologically interesting region of red-banded ironstone. Communications to the gold-fields have been much improved of recent years, and alluvial gold washing helped to tide many European farmers over the worst effects of the depression.

Other minerals found in Tanganyika are iron, mica, coal, tin, copper, nickel, soda, phosphates, graphite and asbestos. With the exception of gold, none of these has been developed to any extent. There are numerous salt works along the coast and at Uvinza, on the Central Railway, until recently, Government were engaged in exploiting the output of the extra-



1 FIRST IMPERIAL AIRWAYS AEROPLANE, MBEYA, TANGANYIKA, 1932

2 TRANSPORT BY CAMEL



ordinary brine wells there, an industry which has now reverted to private ownership.

When it is remembered that, in 1921, there was not a single gold mine at work, and that in the next fourteen years the number had increased to thirty, it will be realized how valuable a part this precious metal has played in the economic history of the mandated territory. The advance in gold production has, naturally, taken place since Great Britain and other countries went off the Gold Standard. Though the price has dropped a trifle recently, there seems to be no indication yet of the bottom falling out of gold. Mica production has declined steadily in the last five years, and the same applies to the output of diamonds. Tin and salt have shown violent fluctuations.

The following table shows the value of the chief metals exported from Tanganyika over a period of ten years :

	Gold.	Diamonds	Mica	Tin Ore	Salt.
	£	£	£	£	£
1926	30,312	37,480	26,954	5,575	17,077
1927	34,630	101,480	21,000	10,555	28,644
1928	54,551	99,838	14,966	8,500	29,130
1929	38,630	88,030	14,780	2,825	39,200
1930	47,013	27,211	6,182	852	36,790
1931	58,449	9,865	2,600	1,987	36,571
1932	149,864	1,859	3,808	6,893	33,788
1933	195,369	2,389	3,148	10,161	17,337
1934	295,690	4,608	1,398	18,618	18,725
1935	369,742	2,972	4,641	24,068	18,681

The system of 'indirect rule', i.e. the administration of natives through their own chiefs and with their own courts and tribal treasuries, was established in Tanganyika in 1925. For the sake of convenience the basic rules of this system may be summed up as follows :

'(i) To rule through the native chiefs who are regarded as an integral part of the machinery of government, with well-defined powers and functions recognized by Government and by law, and (ii) to maintain and develop all that is best in tribal customs and institutions, and to avoid, as far as is possible, everything that has a detribalizing tendency.'[1]

With these principles of government as applied to backward races very few will quarrel. They are, at least, a great advance on the former German system, inherited from the Arabs, whereby native agents known as *Akidas* were given power among tribes to which they were entire aliens, and made responsible for the collection of taxes on a percentage basis. The inevitable extortion and corruption which resulted have been thus described in a German official report :

'*Akidas etc. . . . are in the habit of resorting to oppression and fraud which makes the Administration detested by the people.*'

Meritorious as is the system now in force under the British mandate of Tanganyika, the haste with which it was introduced at the outset led to a number of irregularities. Of these the most notorious was the

[1] G. F. Sayers—Handbook of Tanganyika Territory.

embezzlement of some £11,000 by a chief of Tabora. The author and chief driving force in this interesting experiment in native administration was Sir Donald Cameron, a disciple of Lord Lugard and the Nigerian system of ' indirect rule '.

Unfortunately, in many cases, the attempt was made to fashion bricks without straw, and to introduce the system into areas where no tribal organization worthy of the name existed. The greatest blunder committed was in making chiefs and their underlings responsible for the collection of poll-tax. This led to favouritism, extortion, and misappropriation in numbers of cases. The unofficial community failed to understand why, if a European was found guilty of misfeasance in office or misappropriation of public funds and was punished by the Courts, chiefs guilty of similar felonies were dealt with departmentally, escaping with a reprimand or, at the worst, with deposition, and, in one case at least, receiving a pension for wrongdoing! The High Court also objected strenuously to appeal jurisdiction from Native Courts being removed from its purview and placed under the Department of Native Affairs.

The justification advanced by the upholders of the new system was that natives had not had the same advantages of education nor a tradition of rectitude in the handling of public money, and should therefore be treated differently from Europeans. This is consistent with the theory of many anthropologists that the native is but a child of larger growth, but the remedy surely lies in withholding from a child responsibility for which he is not yet fitted.

Most of the early abuses have now been rectified. A much stricter control is kept over the collection of tax

and court fees by native authorities, and money is not left in their hands for any length of time. Schools for the sons of chiefs and headmen have been established, the largest being at Tabora, and administrative officers are encouraged to maintain personal contact with native administrations, to make frequent tours of the provinces and districts, and to deal with complaints on the spot. The system, reduced to the limitations of the natives' capacity for local self-government, is now functioning fairly well, and malpractice is becoming rarer. Many of the real hereditary chiefs who have been installed are showing promise.

There is no doubt that the people, as a whole, are more content under their own chiefs and headmen than they were under the German régime of 'direct rule'. During the German occupation the native authorities were hirelings of the Central Government and mouthpieces of its orders, while cases involving native law and custom were tried by a harassed *Bezirksamtmann*, who had little knowledge of these and cared less for their sanctions.

Should the British Government ever be persuaded into the folly of attempting to find out by plebiscite the real attitude of the native inhabitants of Tanganyika towards their own, as compared with the German, rule, presumably the voting will be confined to *literate* Africans. In that case, there is not the slightest doubt of an overwhelming majority for the retention of the British Mandatory Government, for every chief, headman and clerk will 'plump' for the form of government to which they owe their positions to-day. These voters are bound to contrast present conditions with the systematic destruction of tribal rule which was the guiding principle of their former masters.

Tribute to chiefs is, of course, an exaction of the past, and the power of life and death no longer rests in the hands of men who owed their primary ascendancy to witchcraft and magic-making : but in their place there is a steady stream of salaries and allocations for tribal councils, dispensaries, schools and roads.

Those who instituted the system of 'indirect rule' in Tanganyika builded better than their critics knew, for by this system the Central Government can keep a benevolent eye on native progress, check intrigue and subversive tendencies on the principle of *divide et impera*, demagogues can be stifled and the loyalty of a hereditary ruling class can be effectively secured.

With the exception of cattle raiding by the Masai tribe upon their pastoral neighbours, there has been no native trouble in Tanganyika for the past eighteen years involving more than police action. Unrest there has been from time to time owing to unpopular chiefs and the machinations of witch-doctors, and discontent arose in one area through the plural wives tax, but firmness and tact by the Administration proved capable of dealing justly and satisfactorily with such sporadic ebullitions. Although Great Britain has now been in occupation of the territory of Tanganyika for a longer period than her predecessors, this record of native orderliness and content is in marked contrast to the frequent risings which marred the German régime.

Whatever the Permanent Mandates Commission may say, and however petulantly it may cavil at the steps towards unification being taken, year after year, in almost all mandated territories, that process can-

not possibly be arrested. The Powers entrusted with the various mandates have been most scrupulous in giving notice of their intentions at the League—intentions which it should be remembered are legally and morally justifiable by the terms of the mandates themselves. Nothing has been done in haste, and at every step Geneva has been consulted and its observations followed.

Indeed, at its twenty-seventh session, in June 1935, the chairman of the Permanent Mandates Commission, Marquis Theodoli, thanked the accredited representative of South-West Africa and the High Commissioner for South Africa in London, for their full and frank explanations regarding the proposals to make that mandated territory into a fifth province of the Union of South Africa. The mandatory power in that instance had renewed its assurance that it would take no action in this respect until it had first communicated its intentions to the commission, and would never present it with a *fait accompli*.

The representatives of South-West Africa called to the table of the Permanent Mandates Commission had, earlier in the same session, made quite clear the feelings of the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa in appointing the Commission of Inquiry into the fifth province proposals. If it were conceded that, as General Hertzog thought, the constitution of South-West Africa in its present form could be described as a democratic system, then it was the bounden duty of the mandatory power to give full and careful consideration to the expression of public opinion on an issue such as this which had been brought to a head by a majority vote of the assembly.

Notwithstanding these declarations, M. Rappard thought fit to impugn the motives of the mandatory Power by suggesting that it was unduly influenced by the passing feelings of even a majority of the population. 'It was quite possible,' he added, 'that a right policy might cause discontent among a certain class of the population of the territory. The policy of the mandate was to improve the position of the natives, even *at the expense of the white settlers*'.

Now, this is the sort of special pleading which Lord Passfield, when Secretary of State for the Colonies in Britain, used to obscure the issue of native paramount interests in his notorious White Paper. Surely when by reason of foreign incitements and local agitation, the failure of the system of government in South-West had become apparent, and when furthermore, that incitement and agitation was grievously disturbing *to white settlers and natives alike*, the time had arrived not for a juggling with words or the transposition of democratic principles but for *action*. When that action was confined to the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into the alleged causes of the present discontent, surely even a jurist like M. Rappard would admit the correctness of the attitude of South Africa.

'Public opinion,' retorted Mr. te Water, the High Commissioner of South Africa, who took part at this debate, 'public opinion cannot be arbitrarily waved aside without stultifying the whole system of government outlined in the mandate.'

This interchange of courtesies at the Permanent Mandates Commission is typical of what takes place every time the question of unification crops up during its ponderous deliberations. It does not seem to help

matters even if, as sometimes happens, the Secretary-General of the League visits mandated areas quite unofficially and tries to get a fresh angle—the angle of the people themselves—on the spot. The atmosphere of Lake Geneva is far too strong to be dissipated by the *veld* breezes of South-West Africa. The itch of interfering in every one's business but one's own is too engrained. Busybodies who are in receipt of salaries and can hold dignified sittings in the Palace of the League, reinforced by group meetings in hotel bedrooms, cannot be expected willingly to relinquish these diversions.

In Tanganyika, similarly, the movement towards union with Kenya and Uganda is subjected to constant and unjustifiable suspicion by the Permanent Mandates Commission. As M. Palacios stated once: 'The Governors' Conference is the primary organ in that scheme of closer co-operation and co-ordination,' which the British Government has ruled should form the first steps in the ladder of federation or union in East Africa. (Report of the Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament, 1929.)

By a legal fiction, this conference is purely advisory or consultative. As not infrequently happens, out of these annual consultations emerges necessity for joint or individual action in some matter in one or all of the territories of East Africa. According to the interpretation of the Permanent Mandates Commission, such action turns the Governors' Conference into an 'executive body'.

Well, what if it does? There is nothing in the mandate to preclude the execution of any measure which, after due consideration, is likely to benefit and increase the material and moral welfare of the inhabi-

tants. The 'inhabitants' of Tanganyika are not confined exclusively to five million natives. There are also European and Indian minorities, and the League has a particular committee for upholding the rights of minorities, though we have yet to find that it has extended its activities to minorities in mandated territories.

The suspicion with which all steps towards the union of Tanganyika with neighbouring British territories has been beclouded by the Permanent Mandates Commission at Geneva, extending over a period of years, is perhaps natural, when one remembers that the *raison d'être* of that Commission will be obliterated when union is complete. There is not the slightest ground for such suspicion. Every category of mandate allows of such union, pending the day when, as the League Covenant puts it, 'these natives shall be able to stand alone'.

In the case of Iraq, and more recently of Syria, the natives of these countries have shown their fitness for a measure of self-government within the last few years. They have been given that measure of independence ungrudgingly, and the Permanent Mandates Commission itself has testified to the generosity with which the mandatory Powers concerned have made the concession.

Tanganyika, however, is on quite a different footing. The League itself, from the outset, has explicitly classed the natives of this territory as 'backward'. Many competent and sympathetic observers with a lifetime of experience in East Africa are of the opinion that on the whole Africans of the tribes found in Tanganyika are definitely types of arrested development. Few negrophiles even would dare to assert that

any period within the reach of practical politics can be envisaged for the natives of this territory to reach the stature of independence.

Postal union has come about in East Africa from the sheer force of economic circumstances, just the same way as the International Postal Union of Geneva came about through the need for centralizing a public utility which affects the well-being of millions of human beings. Yet the Permanent Mandates Commission saw in the issue of postage stamps common to all three territories once more the traces of the cloven hoof. How far, it asked, could such a stamp be looked upon as 'symbolic, just when the question of closer union was very much in evidence'.

The amalgamation of the East African postal services under one Postmaster-General has been interpreted by jurists as apparently bound up with the question of ultimate union. That is perfectly correct, and the British Government has never concealed the fact that it intends, in its own time and not at the time convenient to Geneva, to proceed with federation or union. Why then all this hubbub about a postage stamp?

As for the Governors' Conference, it is surely natural common sense that, when three men are entrusted with the good government of three adjacent territories presenting features of similarity and identity, they should meet occasionally for an exchange of views. If these men do proceed to give themselves advice which they see fit to follow—after the sanction of the British Government—in any particular matter, is that an infraction of the mandate which applies to only one of the three territories concerned? Is it necessary for them to notify the Permanent Mandates Commis-

sion of every step they take, provided that the Governor of the mandated territory reports annually what has been done and why? Such a position would be intolerable, but the frame of mind which dictates it is typical of the woolly internationalism of our time.

VII

RUANDA AND URUNDI

If the payment of taxes by the inhabitants to a Central Government be accepted as the criterion of effective administration, Ruanda and Urundi, during the period of the German occupation of their colony in East Africa, was never administered. These two provinces, lying in the angle between Lakes Tanganyika, Kivu, and Victoria, and densely inhabited by pastoral natives of almost purely Nilotic origin, were merely placed under German Military Residents, the extent of whose sway was the carrying distance of the rifles of their *askaris* or native soldiers.

In 1915 Belgian forces from the Congo occupied Ruanda and Urundi, after slight opposition from the Germans, and the first civil administrators appointed to the two provinces found a powerful chief, Sultan Musinga, with a hierarchy of nobles and courtiers, wives, slaves, and thousands of cattle, living there in unusual style. This sultan, over seven feet in height, belonged to the ruling class of the Watussi, a race of cattle-owning natives, arrogantly despising the lesser breeds who occupy their country. The Watussi worship the cow in very much the same way, if not to the same degree, as the Hindus. Indeed, the oligarchy they have set up in Ruanda bears many resemblances to that of the Brahmins in India.

The Sultan of Ruanda, when he wanted to reward

one of his courtiers, gave him a bit of hill-side and the taxpayers of the region were then called on to bear the heavy burden of providing for the requirements of this parasite. As a result, the Belgian Administration, when it formally took over Ruanda under a B mandate in 1921, found hundreds of these so-called sub-chiefs. By dint of dismissals and displacements of the older men by younger sub-chiefs who have been trained in the Nyanza school, the number is now 2,000, none of whom has less than 100 taxpayers under him. The chiefs do not all belong to the dominant race, but the former practice whereby Musinga had a sovereign choice in these appointments has fallen into desuetude, though the Sultan is still consulted and himself nominally makes the appointment.

It will be seen that, with this state of affairs, the possibility of introducing 'indirect rule' into Ruanda presented no special difficulties. The sons of chiefs are trained in the official native school at Nyanza, and are then attached, on probation, as secretaries to chiefs. In this capacity they acquire useful experience, and when the chief dies, a trained successor is obtainable to replace him. Mutara Rudahigwa has now replaced the legendary Musinga. Monthly meetings of chiefs, sub-chiefs and notables are held, at which, it is reported, wishes are made known and views freely expressed. The opportunity is taken at these meetings to explain matters relative to the growing of food, measures to combat famine, coffee planting, etc.

In 1934 a witch in the Ngozi district stirred up trouble and troops had to be called out. The unrest was quickly dissipated when the hollowness of her promises were realized and the marvels she had foretold failed to materialize.

The native rising at Ndora, as M. Halewyck de Heusch, Director General in the Belgian Ministry for the Colonies, informed the Permanent Mandates Commission in 1935, was also directed against the Mwami or Sultan of Urundi, its object being to bring back into power the son of a chief who had been deposed as the result of civil wars and the disunion which had begun in Urundi in the days of German rule. Fomenting the trouble with oracular predictions was a native woman. Otherwise there has not been any serious native unrest in this mandated territory.

Ruanda and Urundi, for purposes of administration are divided into two sections, one of which comprises the European areas of North and South, corresponding to the two former Residencies. Each is divided into a number of territories.

Under the ' native plan ' as it is called, the country is divided into areas known as ' provinces ' in Ruanda, and *chefferies* in Urundi. Some years ago the boundaries were altered to make the area of the ' Residencies ' correspond more exactly with those of the sultanates, and to include in the European ' territories ' the whole or one or more ' provinces ' or *chefferies*. The native ' provinces ' of Ruanda are larger than the *chefferies* of Urundi, but in practice there is no distinction. A certain number of group settlements of detribalized natives—mostly Islamic Africans who had come into contact with Europeans and lost their tribal entity and consciousness—have formed themselves into communities on the lower plains near Lake Tanganyika. In Urundi there was, for a time, a school for sons of native chiefs at Kitega, but this has now been closed and its place taken by the present school at Astrida, where it is the intention of the Government to

train these youths in a group to become clerks, office employees, Customs officials, medical attendants and school-teachers.

Persons of European descent born in or residing in mandated territories have no national status in the fullest connotation of the term. According to a finding of the Permanent Mandates Commission the inhabitants of mandated territories—at least those of the B and C categories—have ' no link of dependence between their territory and any other nation sufficient to create nationality '. They have, however, the status of ' nationals of the mandated territory itself '.

This is another sample of hair-splitting which passes the comprehension of the plain man. In practice, it does not matter two hoots, for these ' nationals ' when they have occasion to travel do so on a passport issued by the mandatory Government as a routine matter aimed at producing revenue. There are, however, several people of different nationalities in mandated territories who would be content to naturalize themselves British or Belgian as the case may be, but are precluded from doing so. The question of half-castes is also complicated by this ruling of the Permanent Mandates Commission, and the number of such unfortunates in Belgian mandated territory is not negligible. Whether the legal status of ' European ' can be conferred on such people is another nice point for the consideration of the Commission.

The public debt of Ruanda and Urundi in 1934 amounted to 163,000,000 francs. Development loans or ' recoverable advances ' as they are called, seem to have reached a disquieting total although the mandatory Power, Belgium, appears confident that the maximum set before themselves, viz. 200,000,000

francs, will not be an abnormal burden on areas with the economic potentialities and taxable capacities of Ruanda and Urundi.

The mining industry in this territory is concentrated on tin production, but copper cassiterite and gold are also developed. There is a welcome upward trend in mineral production in the past two years.

Agriculture among the natives is confined to the growing of bananas, which with milk and a few peas and beans form the staple food of the inhabitants. *Cassava*, a tuber, is also grown, and its cultivation is everywhere encouraged by the mandatory Government as a stand-by against famine. As an economic crop, to assist the natives to better their standard of living and to pay tax to the Government, coffee is now also grown. Government encouragement in the supply of seed; inspection, grading and advice in marketing is given. The whole of the coffee produced in Ruanda and Urundi is exported to the Congo or to Belgium itself, existing Customs barriers precluding any other outlet at present. The natives find it a very remunerative and popular crop and, it is stated, no distinction is made between European-grown and native-grown coffee.

In 1927 and 1928 the territory suffered a very severe famine, but the Government took energetic steps to prevent the recurrence of a similar calamity. The storage of food was organized, roads constructed and drought-resistant food crops, such as potatoes and sweet potatoes, extended. In 1934 and 1935 the threat of another famine was averted.

Although parts of Ruanda consist of high tablelands, reaching an altitude of 9,000 feet, interspersed with perennial streams and bamboo forests and furnishing

good grazing for the numberless cattle owned by the natives, many other regions such as the Busegera country and the Kagera triangle of the Kagera and Nyarawongo rivers and Lake Mohazi, where tin mining is carried on, suffer from a scanty rainfall. These areas are made up of deeply scoured valleys and bare tablelands. The valleys, often marshy at the bottom, dry up almost completely at certain times of the year. In the volcanic regions to the north of Ruanda are to be found many large subterranean caves which in the past history of tribal warfare and cattle-raiding, have often served as refuges for humans and domestic animals.

The main difficulty of the Belgian mandatory Government in this territory during the last decade has been to induce the natives, for the most part a feckless, fatalistic folk, to make provision against drought and famine. Medical workers have been preoccupied chiefly with pulmonary and tubercular disease among these, the inhabitants of the wind and rain-swept uplands. Malaria and other diseases, due to human malnutrition, are also rife. Sanitary cordons to prevent the spread of a typhus epidemic and also against the various cattle diseases prevalent, have had to be reinforced by detachments of Congolese troops from Costermansville in the adjacent Belgian colonial district. The cost of these troops was borne by the Government of the Belgian Congo, and their presence has led to no complaints.

Overstocking of cattle is another problem. The humped zebu oxen of Ruanda have for generations been bred for length of horn and some enormous specimens are to be seen. The conservatism of the native owners who look upon every extra head of stock,

irrespective of its size or physique, as evidences of their own prestige, is hard to overcome.

Two commissions, one in 1925 and the last in 1934, have delimited the boundary between Tanganyika territory and Ruanda and Urundi, the new division of what was at one time known as *Deutsch Ost Afrika.* Although the record of the mandatory government in the former German residencies of Ruanda and Urundi, as submitted to the Permanent Mandates Commission, is not as spectactular perhaps as the progress achieved in neighbouring Tanganyika, it nevertheless reveals an admirable picture of sustained efforts. There is no doubt that these efforts have led to a marked betterment of native conditions, while at the same time European enterprise has been allowed to take its proper share in the opening up of the country.

VIII

TOGOLAND AND THE CAMEROONS TO-DAY

INTERESTING contrasts, and equally interesting parallels, between British and French principles of colonial administration are furnished by the history of these mandatory territories since the end of the war. The mandate for both is as in the case of Tanganyika, of the B category, but in both cases a division of the territories concerned has been made between the two principal Allied Powers. It speaks volumes for the good understanding that prevails between Britain and France that no frontier 'incidents' have resulted, despite the fact that the boundary between British and French Cameroons had not even been delimited prior to 1935, while the British and French administrators on either side of that unmarked boundary have, for the last seventeen years, shown a spirit of give and take which has solved, on a basis of co-operative common sense, all everyday problems of extradition and what not arising between the peoples on either side of the border.

In both the Cameroons and Togoland, alike under French and British mandates, the process of absorption into the framework of neighbouring dependencies has gone steadily forward. The German *rapporteur*, Dr. Ruppel, lodged a formal protest at the League when the French Government, faced with the need of

reducing expenditure during the depression, announced its intention to incorporate Togoland with the adjacent French colony of Dahomey, possessing the same native races, customs and geographical features.

The measures of economy were made effective by a decree of November 23rd, 1934, and enabled the French Government to abolish a number of posts in both the colonial and the mandatory territory. This did not mean that Togoland under the French mandate was, and is, not still constituted as a territorial unit possessing administrative and financial autonomy. The powers of the Mandatory Power (France) are exercised in French Togoland by a Commissioner of the Republic who is *ex officio* the Lieutenant-Governor of Dahomey. That high official, as Commissioner of the French Republic in Togoland, is answerable to the Minister of the Colonies, and corresponds directly with him, a perfectly logical arrangement in the circumstances.

Such a step, however, no more means that French Togoland is 'annexed' by the French Government than it means that the Governor of Togoland is under the Governor General of French West Africa. The reform in administration thus brought about was motivated by purely economic reasons. Before the economic blizzard of 1931 swept the world, including France, there had been a distinct tendency for the number of French *fonctionnaires* in Togoland to increase. M. Rappard of the Permanent Mandates Commission declared at one session of that body that: 'In the days of prosperity France made a great administrative effort in Togoland. To-day (19th October, 1935) the position has changed and France has no need, in order to justify the savings which she

has effected, to claim that Togoland is being administered under conditions quite as satisfactory as before. These conditions are, perhaps, slightly less satisfactory, but the *economies have been indispensable.*

Retrenchment of officials, on the same scale and from the same motives, took place during the same period in Tanganyika and other mandatory territories, accompanied by a levy on all salaries. In Togoland the officials who remained loyally carried on, doing the work that two men had previously done. Not only did the territory in question not suffer, but economic conditions improved, thanks in part to the administrative reforms which lightened the burden of taxation.

Internally the number of administrative posts in French Togoland was reduced from six to three. The office dealing with questions of native policy was also abolished, in exactly the same manner as a similar office was abolished in Tanganyika in 1934. Togoland affairs did not, however, receive any less attention from the fact that it was found possible to duplicate certain posts in that mandated territory and in French Dahomey ; in comparison with the stringent economies effected in French Indo-China and in French Equatorial Africa, the reforms introduced in Togoland were relatively slight. The ultimate test was whether they remained within the spirit of the mandate, and the supervisory body at Geneva had to admit that they did.

The difference between French and British ideas of colonial government lies principally in the fact that the former aims at 'assimilation' of the subject peoples by helping them to attain the full status of citizenship within the Republic, while the latter

aims at a form of 'segregation' which will make good Africans instead of inferior Europeans out of the natives concerned.

Thus, the French are so convinced that their language is the source of all cultural advancement and economic progress towards good citizenship that they almost entirely neglect teaching in the vernacular, except in the elementary schools.

The British, on the other hand, insist on their officials attaining a high standard of familiarity with native languages, and teaching of natives is conducted in these languages.

The usual reason given, viz. that the English policy is based on a perfectly understandable fear that native servants with a smattering of English may overhear scraps of conversation among their white masters and put wrong interpretations on such scraps divorced from their context, is borne out by the lessons of the Indian Mutiny. In Africa this argument may not have the same force or validity. The fact remains that the French in some respects are able to win the love and confidence of natives with whom they are brought into contact, while the English, as Mahatama Gandhi has said, with all their devotion and self-sacrificing idealism, always remain somewhat cold and aloof towards the people they work and live amongst in the tropics.

Another interesting feature of French colonial administration as applied to the mandated territory of Togoland, is the establishment of '*Communes mixtes*' on the analogy of the régime in force in Algeria. These communes possess a form of municipal government, the mayor being an official appointed by the local Government. Where Europeans are sufficiently

numerous, they are given the right of electing a certain number of municipal councillors, who sit with representatives, appointed by the Administration, to safeguard native interests.

It is curious to note how, in nearly all mandated territories in Africa, the Central Governments all arrived at the same conclusion in regard to the need for increased production by natives to counteract the effects of the depression. In East Africa, a vigorous 'Plant More Crops' campaign was instituted in 1932, and production and export were trebled in commodities such as ground-nuts and cotton. In West Africa, in Togoland and the Cameroons, both British and French, the same policy was pursued.

Where the world price of these crops, after the first catastrophic fall, remained more or less stable, the policy was successful. In the case of crops like coffee and cocoa where the fall in price resulted later than in other produce, there was some discontent among natives. Facilities for transport were increased, and certain duties were reduced in French Togoland, and the burden of indirect taxation was correspondingly alleviated. (There is no direct taxation in this territory.) Advances from the French Treasury were also made to meet budgetary deficits, after the Reserve Fund had been exhausted in 1933.

Other measures to temper the wind to the lambs shorn by the breakdown of the world monetary system which brought about the depression, were the distribution of seed, rebates to primary producers, reduced transport rates, and the introduction of agricultural mutual benefit organizations.

A factor in the import trade of Togoland and the Cameroons, both British and French, which has

assumed disquieting proportions of recent years is that of Japanese 'dumping', as it is usually termed. Though Togoland and the Cameroons, like Nigeria, fall within the conventional Congo 'basin' where the door of trade is nominally open to all nations, the ingenuity of the Law Officers of the Crown in the Gold Coast was turned to finding some way by which the total quantity of textiles (cotton manufactured goods principally) manufactured in foreign countries could be regulated. By a quibble, to which apparently Japan raised no objection, the Regulation of Textiles Ordinance of the Gold Coast, was turned into a Textiles Quota Ordinance in British Togoland, there being a Customs Union embracing both these territories.

In this connexion, the Permanent Mandates Commission has never defined its attitude towards such discriminatory trade legislation other than by stating that the question was an 'open one'. Logically, quotas are not, by any stretch of imagination, quite compatible with the principle of economic equality to which the old-style economists still cling. But economic equality in West Africa rests first on the Congo Basin Treaties to which Japan was not a contracting party, reaffirmed by the economic clauses of the mandate.

Japan is no longer a member of the League. Neither is Germany, for that matter. In both British and French Cameroons, however, the mandatory Government, apparently, consider that the question of Japanese imports is sufficiently covered by some system approximating to a quantitative quota, and have not bothered to take any steps against imports from other non-Member States of the League.

When one turns to the freedom of aerial navigation, a similar attitude of co-operation between the mandatory Powers and the League is manifest. By a decree of 1932 the French Government reserved to French aircraft the commercial transport of goods and passengers between France and the French mandated territories. When it was brought to the notice of the French Government that this decree conflicted with the mandatory doctrine of economic equality, she showed her readiness to conform with the international obligations which the mandates imposed on her. The decree was therefore repealed.

How very primitive if not backward are the native tribes inhabiting the mandated Cameroons, is revealed by the admission that slavery still exists there. For that matter, *slavery* was, until quite recently, not unknown in a neighbouring British colony, the Gold Coast also; but in the Cameroons *slave-trading* is still carried on.

The traffic is mostly in girl children who are sold into Mohammedan families in the remote north of the territory. The cunning and mobility of the traffickers was such that up to 1935 the Administration, for all its watchfulness, could not claim to have completely eradicated slave-trading.

In British Togoland the two systems of native administration both 'direct' and 'indirect' are in vogue. The southern section of that mandated territory is administered as if it formed a part of the Gold Coast colony, while the northern section is administered as if it formed an integral part of the northern territories of Nigeria. In the southern section forty-seven 'divisions' have been amalgamated under the system of 'direct rule' the petty chiefs outside the

amalgamation having to be content with restriction of their judicial powers to arbitration, i.e. they may give decisions but cannot enforce them by legal process.

These chiefs have no financial responsibility in the raising and expenditure of local revenue, whereas in the northern section of Togoland the entire proceeds of the capitation tax levied there is wholly spent in the areas in which it is collected. No portion of the yield goes to the Central Government.

Though Northern Togoland, admittedly, models itself on the native administration of Tanganyika, there is this fundamental difference between the financial accountancy of these two mandated territories viz. that the money from the native poll-tax in the former is entirely used for the salaries of chiefs, clerks, messengers, etc., and circulates within a limited area, whereas the revenue from the same source in the latter (Tanganyika) is paid into General Revenue in the first instance, and a percentage only is returned to native administrations for the purposes mentioned.

Inter-village battles or 'matches' are a favourite pastime of one tribe in British Togoland, the Konkamba, who number approximately 8,500. Mr. W. J. A. Jones, the Chief Native Commissioner of British Togoland, when giving evidence before the Permanent Mandates Commission on one occasion described this tribe as very 'likeable, possessed of a very strong sense of humour, and a legal code of their own which demands an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'.

When there is nothing much doing in the native gardens, these dusky gentry get out their bows and sharpen a few extra arrows. They then look round for some outlet for their energy and some target for

their marksmanship, and issue a challenge to a neighbouring village to what is euphemistically known as a ' match '. Death and wounding frequently result, but that is all in the day's work.

The Chief Commissioner admitted that the misdeeds of this tribe had figured with monotonous regularity in every report submitted to the Council of the League. It was a waste of time and breath to disarm them, as their bows and arrows were made from local material of which there was everywhere an abundance. They were, he added, becoming more tractable and in time would give no trouble at all. These outbreaks were seasonal and were, in a sense, a mere ' letting off of energy '.

Even Sanders of the River could not have bettered this explanation. When the Chairman of the Permanent Mandates Commission, who seemed to disapprove of Mr. Jones's philosophical acceptance of these evils, drew attention to another incident where a District Commissioner had been wounded in the lung by an arrow when attempting to arrest six notorious criminals, the answer was typical of the average Britisher who nonchalantly shoulders the white man's burden in the outposts of Empire.

The bowman in that case, Mr. Jones said, was a B'Moba, a very good, industrious people, and the shaft was loosed off by night, probably with no intention of hitting the D.C. In any case, the Administration did not take a very serious view of the inter-village ' matches '. The Konkamba have another pleasant habit of sending ' spoof ' messages to their administrative officer forty miles away, indicating that inter-village blood-letting might possibly be expected. The D.C. was obliged to take this news as accurate,

but on arrival would sometimes be met by the tribal elders who told him there was peace on all sides, but that they were wearying to see his face and give him their greetings !

When Baron van Asbeck, whose previous experience of native administration included the Malays of the Netherlands Indies, suggested teaching the tribe a lesson, Mr. Jones with righteous indignation replied that it would be very unfair to the Konkamba to punish them for exhibiting a sense of humour.

We quite agree. And if we may, we would like to put one last question. Have the splendid British administrators of mandated Togoland ever thought of football (preferably the carrying code) as an outlet for the high spirits of the Konkamba ?

But there ! We feel sure they have, and we are equally sure that inter-village ' matches ' will in time lead to the formation ot leagues and the presentation of a cup by the Permanent Mandates Commission !

IX

NEW GUINEA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS TO-DAY

When the Commonwealth of Australia was entrusted with the mandate for New Guinea and British occupation became effective, very little indeed was known of the topography, resources or tribes of that territory. Under the German régime effective control did not extend beyond the certain parts of the coast near Rabaul, and no penetration of the interior, peaceful or otherwise, had been undertaken.

Dense jungles, fearsome swamps, steep mountain peaks, and deep valleys and gorges cover the greater part of the territory, and the native inhabitants are difficult of approach. Nowadays, thanks to aeroplanes which have flown over heights and landed in parts never previously seen by white men—and in the past decade of years, thanks to patrols under European officers—the country is being steadily penetrated in all directions. How much the activity of gold prospectors has helped in opening up the country is a matter of no moment. The work has been done, and *terra incognita* is now becoming settled.

More and more is being learnt every year of the natives and their multiplicity of languages through the labours of the Government Director of Anthropology (Mr. E. W. P. Chinnery), who is also Director of

District Services and Native Affairs, and his lieutenants, and through the efforts of missionary bodies. Quite a number of unofficial research workers, aided in some cases by grants from the Rockefeller Institute, and travelling under the ægis of the National Research Council of Australia, in recent years have also carried out investigations among the tribes and groups inhabiting the New Britain, Buin, Sepik, Marobe, Bougainville and New Ireland areas of the mandated territory.

The present Administrator of New Guinea, Brig.-General W. Ramsay McNicoll, C.B., has travelled indefatigably both in the hinterland and among the islands which fringe the territory. His officers also are continuously on tour for the greater part of the year.

Native unrest is not unknown. Frequently this arises from the pretensions of persons professing to have seen 'visions' and heard 'voices' and in consequence giving vent to prophecies which for a time disturb their superstitious neighbours. The result generally is that native gardens are left neglected, weeds allowed to grow on the recently opened roads, and girls sent away for safety into the jungle. The chiefs and headmen (*Luluais* and *Tultuls*) themselves do not always turn a deaf ear to such nonsensical predictions of evil. The natives claiming to be 'possessed' in this manner of an alleged evil spirit or at least of supernatural powers, are often able to undermine Government influence.

The territory is divided for administrative purposes into 'controlled' and 'uncontrolled' areas. In the latter peace and good order are maintained by the establishment of 'base camps' in charge of European officers, and in the former by police posts.

Inter-tribal warfare is rife in some parts of New Guinea. In addition to the more serious crimes, such as murder, theft, rape, assault and wounding which are dealt with under the Queensland Criminal Code by the Supreme Court and District Courts, several native courts also function with jurisdiction over sorcery, adultery, petty assaults, gambling and cruelty to animals.

The recruiting of labour is under strict surveillance by the Administration, and the provisions regulating recruiters, medical inspection, housing and food of employees, their transport to the place of employment and their ultimate repatriation to their homes are enforced, and in most cases complied with.

The Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Seventh Day Adventist and other missionaries who are at work in New Guinea are in some quarters accused of excess of zeal in penetrating unsettled portions of the territory, and in a race for converts ; but the accredited representative of New Guinea (Mr. H. O. Townsend, Government Treasurer) told the Permanent Mandates Commission in 1935 that rivalry of this nature was denied by the missions and he was not aware of any general evidence of undue competition, while their work throughout the territory had undoubtedly been beneficial to natives in the form of medical aid and education.

It must be remembered, however, that these missions are not only engaged in teaching (they claim 55,425 native pupils all told) and the practice of religion, but also have ' commercial pursuits ' and possess large tracts of land, only a quarter of which is cultivated.

The Mandatory Government maintains a European school at the capital, Rabaul, and others at Wau and

Kavieng in addition to native elementary schools, native technical schools, and native day schools. There is also a state subsidized school conducted by the Fathers of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, for European children, at Kokopo. Chinese schools are also recognized and teaching is given by Australian Sisters and a Chinese staff.

In 1934 a conference was held at Canberra attended by administrators of the external territories of the Commonwealth of Australia with a view to examining the possibility of unifying the administrations of New Guinea, Papua, Nauru and Norfolk Island. The conclusion reached in this case (as in the problem of the unification of Tanganyika, another mandatory territory, with neighbouring British colonies or protectorates) was that co-operation between these Administrations was advisable to ensure greater conformity in methods of administration. Amalgamation was not considered possible as a sufficient degree of development had not yet been reached. The advantages of co-operation between New Guinea and Papua—neighbouring territories in which conditions are very similar—are obvious, but there is apparently no intention yet of making either territory subordinate to the other or of achieving close amalgamation.

Western Samoa consists of the two main islands, Upolu and Savai'i, and the smaller islets of Apolima, Manono, Fanuatupu, Namua, Nu'utele, Nu'ulua, and Nu'usafe'e. The two largest islands are respectively 47 miles by 27 miles (Savai'i), and 47 miles by 15 miles (Upolu), and are separated by the eight miles of the Apolima Strait. All the islands are mountainous, rising to heights of 6,094 feet in Savai'i and 3,608 feet in Upolu. Rainfall is heavy, averaging during the

past ten years, 117·76 inches. The climate is healthy, the average temperature being in the neighbourhood of 79° F.

The native population of this territory, which has been administered since 17th December, 1920, under a mandate held by New Zealand, is 49,501. Non-natives total 3,568. In 1923 natives of Western Samoa were given the right of British naturalization, but the provisions of the 1923 Act relative to naturalization were, in 1925, repealed and replaced by the British Nationality and Status of Aliens (in New Zealand) Act. Since 1923, sixteen certificates of voluntary naturalization have been granted to native Samoans, and fourteen certificates to others.

For many years past, both in American Samoa and in the mandated islands held by New Zealand, a sort of Home Rule movement, known as the *Mau*, has been in progress. Unbiased observers find it difficult to state what particular grievances exist as a basis for this state of affairs, though it is possible that the grant of partial independence to the Pacific islands under the flag of the United States has been like a stone thrown in a pool, the eddies of which have reached other parts of Melanesia.

In 1928 a Commission under the Chief Justice of New Zealand examined numerous witnesses and reported as a fact on which all instructed observers agree that 'the Samoans of the *Mau* are, and always have been, totally unable to advance any legitimate grievances except a very general one that Samoa should be for the Samoans and that there is something wrong which should be put right'. This is very much like the legendary Irishman who, on being cast away on a South Sea Island, asked who was the Government

there, as he was 'agin it' no matter who it was or how it acted. The official view of the various *Mau* grievances that have, from time to time, been sent to New Zealand and to Geneva is that 'these, on investigation, will be found to be grievances based on the development of the situation and not grievances causing the situation'.

These developments came about through the activity of Mr. O. F. Nelson, the mainspring of this political agitation. At his instigation, in 1925–6, chiefs and natives began to voice objections to the mandatory form of government as represented by New Zealand, and to utter slogans like 'Samoa for the Samoans' and 'A New Government'. From the resolutions passed and the remits drawn up, it was for long not quite clear whether protectorate status alone was desired by the *Mau* or complete control of their own domestic affairs on the time-honoured principle of no taxation without representation.

In 1936, when a 'Goodwill Mission' from New Zealand visited Western Samoa, High Chief Tamasese declared that, though they wanted the protection of New Zealand, they could manage their own affairs without financial assistance. This clarifies matters somewhat, and shows that the abolition of the mandate is aimed at, to be replaced by a British protectorate over Western Samoa.

Matters became so bad that in 1927 extra police had to be drafted in to maintain order, blood was shed, and Nelson was deported for a term of five years under a Government Order. He returned again in May 1933, and immediately thereafter political agitation revived. The climax came when two parties of Samoans started to tour the territory appointing *Mau*

officials, collecting *Mau* taxes, and in fact setting up a new form of government!

Under a Court warrant a search was made in the house of Nelson. Among other incriminating documents found there appeared a paper setting out the Constitution and a budget for *Mau* Samoa, letters of appointment for officials, etc., under the title of 'The First Proclamation of the *Mau*'. Nelson and his assistants were arrested and tried. Fourteen natives implicated in this sedition were convicted and sentenced to a period of imprisonment varying from three weeks to one year. Nelson himself, on conviction by the High Court, was awarded eight months' imprisonment and sentenced to ten years' exile from Samoa.

Four Judges of the Supreme Court of New Zealand to which Nelson appealed reduced the sentence of imprisonment but confirmed the sentence of banishment. The Privy Council of Great Britain, on the application of Nelson's counsel, reviewed the law and decided that leave to appeal could not be granted.

Nelson, however, has still correspondence and the Press at his disposal, and the agitation has by no means ceased. When H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester visited Apia, the capital of Western Samoa in 1934, a petition signed by fourteen natives was presented to him, showing that active members of the *Mau* still remain. The Administrator of the mandated islands has declared that a 'complete change of the political situation has taken place upon the departure of Mr. O. F. Nelson from Western Samoa, there having been no trouble or difficulty of any kind, the great bulk of the Samoans going about their daily occupations unconcerned with the *Mau*, which is moribund, and practical administration being in no way affected'.

Despite the allegation that convictions under the Seditious Organizations Regulations had dropped from nineteen in 1933–4 to nil in 1934–5, it is unlikely that a movement of this kind will die out until prosperity again returns to Samoa. It must not be forgotten that *Mau* agitation reached its crux during the depression. Trade in copra, cocoa and bananas, which are the chief products of these remote islands, fell off, money in circulation declined, and it was not really until an arrangement was effected with the Government of New Zealand and Fiji that the export of bananas resumed a satisfactory level in 1935. A special private vessel was built by the New Zealand Government and placed on the Western Samoa run, and advances of money in default of private enterprise were made to give the fruit export business a start, with the result that some £20,000 was distributed among native producers during 1934. This undoubtedly had a beneficial effect on agitation.

Six years ago, as Sir James Parr, High Commissioner for Australia in London, told the Permanent Mandates Commission at its twenty-eighth session, there were in Western Samoa ' hundreds of police with rifles and weapons, and they had to be used '. In 1935, on the other hand, law and order among over 50,000 people were maintained by eleven white police and thirty-six native police. There was grave unrest, bitter feelings, mutual recriminations and dissatisfaction in all quarters. ' Apart from a recrudescence of Mr. Nelson's activities, contemporaneous with a General Election in New Zealand, Western Samoa has never been quieter or more content, and there is general evidence of increasing co-operation on the part of the natives with the Administration which augurs well for the future.'

The 1936 'Goodwill Mission' from New Zealand, of which Mr. F. Langstone, the Minister for Lands is a member, recently had a meeting with sixty notables representing the *Mau* Home Rule movement. Mr. Langstone is reported to have said: 'We don't want Samoa—glad to get rid of it. . . . Get your protectorate and see where it lands you. It will be a hot time for you. New Zealand can get bananas and other produce more cheaply from the Fiji and Cook Islands.'

Now that sort of talk may or may not be justifiable when you are dealing with a lot of tiresome children who, you know, are crying for the moon. It may even be justifiable and understandable in the conditions under which this rudimentary and unconscious national movement had its origin and has continued to appear and reappear over a period of years. The *Mau* of Western Samoa may not be able to formulate their grievances. These grievances, as official spokesmen have more than once stated, may well have no substance at all but may be the grievances that Mr. Nelson says they have. Government is possibly correct in stating that, after fifteen years' experience of the mandate, it is doubtful if there is any genuine desire for self-government amongst these natives, while such a desire is not an important factor in the *Mau* movement.

To our mind, as long as the Permanent Mandates Commission exists at Geneva this movement will continue. The 'observations' made year after year by members of that Commission on the administration of Western Samoa and other mandatory territories simply act as 'oxygen and revive the opposition in the islands'.

Any one who understands native psychology, and

recalls that Samoa in times past had a history of its own and a tradition of unity before two European Powers, America and Germany, non-Members of the League partitioned the islands amongst themselves, will admit there is at least some *racial* basis for the *Mau* movement.

Under the German régime Western Samoa was ruled but not governed by its white masters who, in this as in others of their pre-war colonies, acted with a lack of vision and of sympathy, and a colour prejudice rooted in fear.

How harsh was German rule is exemplified by the practice of the police in forbidding the Samoans to link hands when walking on the roads, either because they imagined these garlanded, care-free natives concealed a knife in their hands, or because they detested seeing any one happy. The rest of the German administration was haunted by the same churlish mistrust.

The mandatory system was introduced and, as happened elsewhere, milder methods prevailed. The Samoans are a childlike and simple race. As such they are an easy prey to the influence of a clever European demagogue. They have no knowledge of the outside world, but to them it is incomprehensible that the Administrator over them is not really a 'Big White Chief', but has to account for almost everything he says and does to a distant Juju, called Geneva.

The impression prevails among natives, not only in Western Samoa but in other mandatory territories, that the Permanent Mandates Commission is the final arbiter in all matters.

No man can serve two masters. That, to our mind,

epitomizes the greatest disadvantage of the mandatory system when it comes to dealing firmly and fairly with nationalist movements which are bound to spring up sooner or later in all these territories.

The Pacific Islands held by Japan under mandate are numerous and widely scattered. They lie north of the Equator, and their chief economic importance lies in the extraordinarily valuable quantities of phosphates which they contain. The main sources of revenue are the port dues paid by four state-subsidized shipping lines. These and the revenue accruing from the sale of phosphates under Government monopoly in 1934 made up four-fifths of the total of six million yen, poll-tax, Customs duties and other indirect taxation being of relatively small importance.

Grants-in-aid are afforded to the natives for extensions of stock-breeding, etc., but Government expenditure is chiefly devoted to the improvement of transport and communications. A bold five to ten-year' plan for this purpose has been drawn up for improvement and creation of ports, etc., and credits have been voted by the Japanese Government.

These islands (the Marshalls, Caroline and Marianne Group), and the seas around them are very rich indeed, and every square inch of the soil is cultivated by industrious Japanese workers. The bonito fish industry, sugar, rice and other foodstuffs, and ores and metals have all been developed to a remarkable extent. While exports are increasing in volume and value, even more remarkable increases are apparent in imports, nearly all of which come from Japan. Japanese investment in phosphates and sugar-growing have earned enormous dividends. Intensive

exploitation, however, has now led to the almost complete exhaustion of the phosphate deposits.

Whether humanitarian conditions involved in this economic progress square with the principles of a C mandate governing the material and moral welfare of the inhabitants is open to question. Even the accredited representative of the mandatory Power at the table of the Permanent Mandates Commission in Geneva was obliged to admit that these conditions could be improved. The Japanese Government, it is understood, is now realizing that an obligation rests on it to raise the standard of living and the purchasing power of these islanders in return for the economic expansion to which their labour has contributed.

From the start, the Japanese as Mandatories have taken as their objective the administration of these territories as 'an integral part of the Empire of Japan', the South Seas Bureau being its administrative organ. No one will claim that, for the last few years, Article XXII of the Covenant of the League (which refers to the principle of trusteeship for the backward races of mankind) has been followed in these Pacific Islands with the same thoroughness as in territories like Tanganyika. Nevertheless, the village chiefs and district chiefs have certain well-defined duties and prerogatives, and act as advisers to the Chief of the Branch Bureau, and an attempt is being made, by recruiting natives of standing, particularly village chiefs, and training them as police officers, to fit them for administrative duties. Administration, generally speaking, is highly centralized in the person of the Director of the South Seas Bureau, to whom all decisions must be submitted for approval.

There are approximately 40,000 Japanese in the

islands, but foreign visitors are subject to control under an elaborate ordinance. This is merely an extension of an ordinance which has been in force in Japan itself for many years—a step which the mandatory Power is entirely within its legal rights in taking. Statements have appeared in the Press from time to time indicating that the Japanese view tourists with great suspicion and are anxious to keep the inquisitive at a distance.

The Permanent Mandates Commission, after carefully considering one petition setting forth allegations of this nature, came to the conclusion that even if the petitioner (M. Richard Voight) could justify his complaints—which the mandatory Power denied—they did not contain any allegation that the mandate had been violated. On the other hand, Mr. P. H. Clyde in his book *Japan's Pacific Mandate*, makes no complaint of restrictions put on his movements while visiting the islands. Furthermore, in this connexion, the Japanese Government has stated most clearly and definitely that there is not a single Japanese sailor or soldier on the Imperial active list in the entire territory. Due weight must be given to that assurance when one reads alarmist articles about the alleged naval and air bases which are supposed to exist in these Pacific islands.

Although Japan severed her formal connexion with the League of Nations over the Manchurian affair, it will be observed that she still submits a report to the League Council of her stewardship in mandatory territories under her sovereignty. The searchlights of the Permanent Mandates Commission are turned on these reports exactly as in the case of other mandates, and questions are put to the accredited repre-

sentative who appears yearly at Geneva to explain matters.

Though, by implications contained in the mandates, the nationals of non-Member States of the League of Nations are not entitled to the same equality of trade, entry, land-holding and residence in the territories affected, up to the time of writing not a single mandatory Power has shown an uncompromising attitude. Some state they have not yet arrived at a decision on the point. Most apparently consider that as the number of these nationals is small, the problem is not a pressing one.

M. Orts, of the Permanent Mandates Commission, roused a certain amount of resentment in Japanese circles when in putting questions to the various accredited representatives, he emphasized in an affirmative form that this right of embargo existed. To this the Japanese accredited representative took exception as going beyond the province of the Mandates Commissioners. The latter, after discussion, decided to forward the objection to the League Council.

This incident, and scores of others—notably in the discussions year after year on the French mandate for Syria—show how absurd it is for a body such as the Permanent Mandates Commission to intervene effectively in any matter of importance and how futile are all their 'observations' in diverting mandatory Powers from any policy which they have decided on in the interests of their national sovereignty.

X

PALESTINE AND SYRIA TO-DAY

To appreciate the muddle into which continued fumbling with the woolly international idealism inherent in the mandate system can bring a great Power like Britain, one has to turn to Palestine as it is to-day, eighteen years after General Allenby freed it from Turkish misrule. Making confusion worse confounded, the attempt has been made in Palestine to reconcile League idealism with misplaced sentimentality for the Jewish race. The mandate lays down that the inhabitants shall be trained for full independence, but the discord among the inhabitants of that 'twice promised land,' as it has been described, has persisted for a round dozen of years. As in India and in Egypt, the British *raj* has brought to the native inhabitants of Palestine a remarkable measure of prosperity and welfare. The same cannot be said for the moral or political contentment of these people.

In other mandatory territories a time of acute economic depression such as the world has recently weathered brought about native unrest, discontent and bitterness. But the same reasons do not apply to Palestine, where both Jews and Arabs all through the depression have enjoyed, and are still enjoying, an unprecedented degree of material welfare. Notwithstanding which, the two races are as antagonistic

to one another as ever, and the Arabs have reached such a pitch of despair that they have resorted to lawlessness, rioting and sabotage.

It seems hopeless to point out to a Palestinian Arab to-day that the influx of Jews and Jewish money has led to an improvement of his lot. The economic interests of the Arab on the surface favour Jewish immigration, but he now realizes that this influx will lead to his being politically swamped. Five Arab delegations have gone to London to lay their grievances before the Parliament of Great Britain, and six Special Commissions have investigated and admitted the burden of these grievances.

The fact remains that the Arab has parted with his land to the Jew, the excellent price received being immaterial. The acreage which has thus changed hands is some half a million acres—and Palestine is a small country of some 10,000 square miles only. The total number of Arabs to-day is 925,000, while there are approximately 400,000 Jews. But the Arab to-day finds himself debarred by stringent conditions from offering his labour on the lands acquired by Jews. That is a genuine grievance when one remembers the specific declaration of the Zionist Congress of 1921 that its intention and desire was to develop Palestine, *a homeland common to both races*, into a prosperous community.

The latest grievance is the proposal to establish a Legislative Council in Palestine. In this, by reason of their wealth and superior education, Jews are bound to predominate, as is apparent already in the new municipalities where local self-government has been tested over a short period of years.

Historically, it may be that the Jews were the origina

inhabitants of Palestine, and on historical grounds, going back many thousands of years, they have a definite claim to the Holy Land. Throughout the ages, Palestine has been the cockpit of many nations and many empires, Roman, Saracen and Turkish. The Jews have been driven out and have taken refuge in many countries where they have been alternately persecuted and tolerated, feared and despised.

When Turkey tried to make a separate peace with the Arabs in 1918, and offered them the same independence as Great Britain had promised for their assistance to Colonel Lawrence, King Hussein, then Shereef of Mecca, honourably refused. He relied on the pledges plainly given by Lord Kitchener and Sir Henry MacMahon for the establishment of Arab independence throughout the countries of the Near East, and in particular in Palestine where so many of the Moslem Holy Places existed.

The Arabs of Palestine to-day genuinely believe that Britain has broken her word to them. The Jews —and not always extremist Zionists—equally genuinely believe that we have deceived them by our failure to implement the famous Balfour Declaration of 1919. This latter, while stating that His Majesty's Government would use its best endeavours to facilitate the establishment of a National Home for Jewry in Palestine, contained a rider that 'nothing shall be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing *non-Jewish* communities in that country'. The effort to reconcile these two mutually conflicting aspirations has been made half-heartedly and unsuccessfully. Ardent Zionists have been allowed to influence British sentimentalists of both sexes, while moderates

among the same party have been unable to restrain the enthusiasm of the extremists.

Unrest and disorder broke out, culminating in armed conflict, in Palestine in 1929. Seven years later even more extensive trouble arose and lasted for several months, showing that no improvement in the relations between the two races, but rather an embitterment of feelings had resulted.

Lord Melchett, in an article in the *Daily Mail*, stressed the obligation under which the British Government and the British arms in the Great War had placed themselves in profiting by the discovery of Dr. Chain Weizmann. The invention of this Jewish scientist may have been invaluable—no one disputes it—but equally valuable and even more important inventions by other scientific workers, such as the tanks, depth charges, and direction indicators for submarines were made during the last European conflict—inventions which enabled Britain and her allies to bring the war to a conclusion.

The claims of these inventors were investigated and suitable monetary rewards were paid. In the case of Dr. Weizmann, however, it appears from Lord Melchett's statement, that Lord Balfour himself made the award—and that reward was a National Home for the Diaspora in Palestine.

Lord Balfour was not as a rule impulsive, but if the facts relating to Dr. Weizmann are as stated, a fresh light is thrown on the suddenness with which the Balfour Declaration was made. Unfortunately, at the time, very few realized the inevitable morass into which successive Ministries in Great Britain were bound to land themselves in carrying its promises into effect.

It is, of course, inconceivable that Britain should go back on her word (either to the Arabs or to the Jews) regarding Palestine. To say that the Jewish preceded the Arab occupation takes one no further. It was in assuming the governance of Palestine under a mandate that the cardinal error was made, and all attempts to carry out that system on the lines which have failed everywhere else in the past seventeen years, have been attempts to ' square the circle '.

In actual practice two mandates are being applied, one to Palestine and the other to Transjordania, for quite a large number of Transjordanians settle in Palestine, but Jews are not allowed to settle in Transjordania. On the other hand, immigration of Jews into Palestine itself has proceeded at a rate which has given rise to very natural misgivings on the part of the Arabs already there, the Jewish influx between 1918 and 1936 having raised the total Jewish population from 53,000 to 400,000. Even this would not matter so much—in view of the fact that the increase in the Arab population of Palestine has, during the same period, been approximately the same, i.e. approximately 300,000 souls—were it not for the added fact that the land available for the sustenance of these Arabs has decreased by *half the total area of fertile land in Palestine.* (*G. Prince White* writing in the *Daily Mail.*)

Two remedies are possible. One is to allow the Jewish Agency for Palestine to continue bringing in fresh immigrants from countries like Poland and maintaining them for a year after their arrival, as has been the case since the war, until the numerical total of Jews and Arabs in the mandated territory is equivalent. Thereafter, a mixed Legislative Council, elected on the franchise basis of a Common Roll,

can be tried. This remedy is logical but it is extremely unlikely that it will prove practicable after the recent inflammation of feeling.

The other remedy is to divide Palestine into a system of cantons on the Swiss model. In Switzerland Germans, French, and Italians live beside each other on well-defined lines of segregation, without, however, derogating from their national consciousness or failing to co-operate on a federal basis in matters of common interest such as railways, postal and telegraphic services, customs, defence, etc. Under the benevolent oligarchy of carefully selected British officials, the system might solve many of the problems of the Palestine mandate.

Transjordania is also a mandated territory, and is governed satisfactorily by a local administration under the Emir Abdallah ibn Hussein, K.C.M.G. The clause relating to the establishment of a Jewish National Home in the Palestine mandate is expressly excluded from the mandate governing Transjordania. By the agreement of February 20th, 1928, the British Government recognized the existence of an independent government in Transjordania under the rule of the Emir, and a Legislative Assembly was set up without any difficulty in April of the same year and continues to function.

The population—300,000 approximately—is mainly composed of Arab Moslems, but there are also thousands of Arab Christians and Circassians settled there by the Turkish Government nearly fifty years ago.

Peace and good order are maintained by the Arab Legion, which includes Gendarmerie and a specially

recruited Desert Patrol, under a handful of British officers of high calibre, while units of the Royal Air Force stationed at Amman and Maan, also play an important part by keeping a watchful eye on movements in the desert and in the mountains of the territory.

In Syria and Lebanon, which are under French mandate, important steps have now been taken for the grant of partial independence to the inhabitants under a republican system of government. For some years preceding these measures, non-co-operation between the French High Commissioner for Syria and the local inhabitants had reached such an *impasse* and the Syrian Parliament was suspended. A constitution which had been drawn up could not be put into force owing to the *intransigeance* of the Opposition political party, and the lack of leadership on the other side, the Nationalists.

Economic and financial measures of a drastic nature were taken by the High Commissioner during the period of the world depression, while political advance came to a standstill. Syria has now emerged from her economic and financial difficulties through wise and resolute guidance from the French Government. To-day, when passion has subsided, a compromise has been reached on the main political stumbling-block, viz, the Franco-Syrian treaty and decentralization of government from Damascus is gradually taking place.

Syria under French mandatory rule is organized into four territories. The first, Damascus and Aleppo, with the subsidiary Sanjaks of Hama, Homs, Damascus, Hauran, Aleppo, Alexandretta and Deir es Zor constitute the autonomous Republic of Syria. The

remaining territories are those of Lebanon, Latakia, and Jebel Druze.

The population numbers 2,831,622, and owing to its proximity to the Turkish and Iraqui border, an entire division (12,000 men) of French troops is in military occupation of the country. Railways traversing Syria to the Turkish frontier at Rajn, and motor passenger services across the Syrian Desert between Beirut and Baghdad maintain an efficient system of communication. There is an air mail service between Beirut and Marseilles.

The difficulties encountered by the French Republic in its administration of Syria under a mandate are due to two factors—the great gap between the educated class of highly vocal *quidnuncs*, a small majority not characterized by practical experience of government, but infused with a mass of ill-digested theoretical ideas on constitutional law; often brilliant in the intellectual sphere, but divorced from the realities of life; and on the other hand, the great mass of the population occupied in earning a livelihood and by temperament and tradition disinclined from taking any interest in their governors or the manner in which they are governed.

The main *external* questions exercising the minds of the Syrians to-day are the pro- and anti-Zionist movement, Communist agitation and the Pan-Arabia movement. According to M. de Caix, in evidence he gave before the Permanent Mandates Commission, the Syrians, both Moslem and Arabic-speaking Christians, are almost unanimously opposed to the introduction of Zionist elements into their country. As for Communism, which is principally Armenian in its origin, it is making no appreciable headway

in the country, while the Pan-Arabia movement exists only among a certain number of Moslem nationalists and owes much to opposition elements living abroad.

This accredited representative was able to assure Geneva that no encouragement for the movement was traceable to King Ibn Saud. Although that ruler was greatly admired by the Arab elements, there had never been any reason to believe that he was mixed up in Syrian affairs.

PART III. REMEDIES

I

WHAT IS BEHIND IT ALL?

We have now seen that the claims advanced for the return of her former colonies to Germany rest on three grounds: (i) raw materials; (ii) outlets for surplus population, and (iii) prestige or honour.

This quaint mixture of economic, national, and psychological arguments hardly merits serious consideration or refutation, but there is no doubt that the economic factor therein is easily the most potent factor for evil.

'There can, to begin with, be no doubt what Herr Hitler means by colonial equality. He means that Germany should be given, at some one else's expense, a colonial Empire. Why?

'She had such an Empire once and lost it in a war which she began and in which she was defeated. What special reason is there for reversing the verdict of history in her case?

'There is nothing in the mandatory position of her own former colonies to constitute such a claim. Germany ceded these colonies outright, not to the League of Nations, but to the major Allied and Associated Powers. That these Powers, in dividing them

amongst themselves also agreed to administer them under special arrangements designed for the benefit of the natives, and in the supposed interest of world trade, and formally sanctioned by the League was, and is, no concern of Germany's.

'In any case, what right have we, in disregard of our mandatory obligations, to surrender populations who, whether technically full British subjects, are living contentedly under the British flag? What is there, whether in the practice or the avowed principles of German Nazism, to encourage us in the belief that transfer will involve for them greater prosperity, more freedom, better opportunities for self-development?'

In these words, in a letter to *The Times*, Mr. L. S. Amery sums up admirably the ethical considerations of 'colonial equality'. The objections he advances to German claims in these respects are unanswerable.

As for raw materials, the ex-German colonies now held under mandate by various Powers are responsible for only an infinitesimal part of the total world supply.

In this connexion, the following figures furnished by the Royal Institute for International Affairs (*Bulletin. Vol. XII, No.* 22 of 9*th May*, 1936 have never been disputed by any German authority: they show at a glance the relative percentages of tropical products from mandated territories as compared with the total world supply:

TANGANYIKA.

Metals: Gold (0·1 per cent).

Textile Fibres : Sisal (0·33 per cent).
Cotton (0·1 per cent).
Wool (0·1 per cent).

Vegetable Oils : Sesame (0·6 per cent).
Ground-nuts (0·5 per cent).
Cotton-seed (0·1 per cent).

Foodstuffs : Coffee (0·5 per cent).
Butter (0·1 per cent).

BRITISH CAMEROONS.

Vegetable Oils : Palm oil (4·5 per cent).
Ground-nuts (0·4 per cent).
Sesame (0·4 per cent).

Foodstuffs : Cocoa (1·6 per cent).

BRITISH TOGOLAND.

Foodstuffs : Cocoa (1·9 per cent).

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

Minerals : Vanadium (0·33 per cent).
Coal (0·1 per cent).

FRENCH CAMEROONS.

Foodstuffs : Cocoa (2·8 per cent).

FRENCH TOGOLAND.

Vegetable Oils : Palm oil (0·6 per cent).
Copra (0·1 per cent).

Foodstuffs : Cocoa (1·1 per cent).

BELGIAN RUANDA-URUNDI.

Nil.

AUSTRALIAN NEW GUINEA.

Metals : Gold (0·5 per cent).
Rubber (0·1 per cent).
Vegetable Oils : Copra (3·7 per cent).

NAURU.

Minerals : Phosphates (4·4 per cent).

WESTERN SAMOA.

Vegetable Oil : Copra (0·7 per cent).
Foodstuffs : Cocoa (0·2 per cent).

JAPANESE MARSHALL, CAROLINE AND MARIANNE ISLANDS.

Minerals : Phosphates (1·1 per cent).

(It will be observed that, with the exception of Tanganyika (sisal) and South-West Africa (vanadium) none of the mandated territories produce anything but a negligible amount of the world supply of tropical raw products.)

It is true that in an article ' Raw Products and Colonies ' (*Rohstoffee und Kolonien—Berliner Tageblatt—May* 1936) an attempt was made to analyse the relation between the resources of mandated territories and Germany's own requirements.

Specious though the statistics cited therein may be, this analysis did not, however, exhaust the list of raw materials that Germany has to import from abroad. It is unnecessary to weary readers with the table of raw products given in the article under

review. They range from oil-seeds, nuts, fruits, flax, hides, cotton, rubber, timber, phosphates to gold and diamonds, but make no mention of the coal, iron, oil, rubber and copper which, as Dr. Goebbels pointed out are essential to German industrial activity and imperative, in her present-day colossal armaments programme.

In other words, only two of the 'basic' materials which the Minister of Propaganda admits are required by Germany to-day appear in the *Berliner Tageblat* table, and not a single one of the mandated territories of the world could satisfy even a fraction of that country's requirements.

Other even more essential raw materials for a country engaged on building up armaments on the feverish scale which one sees in Germany nowadays remain to be mentioned. These are lead, zinc, tin, nickel, aluminium, manganese and asbestos, and not a single mandated territory furnishes any of these metals.

For the purpose of our present examination, it will be sufficient to mention that Germany in 1935 imported *ninety-three thousand tons of aluminium alone*, and not a single ounce of that raw product came from mandated territories. Mr. Baldwin admitted recently that he had been mistaken in the figures which he gave the House of Commons relative to German air rearmament. Whether this mistake arose from misleading information given him by Lord Londonderry, Minister for Air, or not (the noble Lord says not) the fact remains that Germany in the year above mentioned spent the sum of *eight hundred millions sterling on armaments alone.* That is more than the entire British budget for the same period.

(The old adage says that one cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs. That is true, and it is equally true that one cannot arm a whole nation without raw products. How long a nation will submit to making sacrifices on the scale which the German nation has been called on in the last three years to make, in order to build up such colossal armaments, is, of course, another matter which lies between that nation and its rulers, and between these rulers and their Maker.)

No, sir! The raw materials argument for the return of ex-German colonies will not hold water.

The truth of the matter is that the present finance policy of Dr. Schacht and the *Reichsbank* absolutely precludes the creation of foreign credits by German nationals in any mandated territory, whereby raw materials alone can be purchased. *Hinc illæ lachrimæ!*

There is absolutely no distinction or preferential treatment as between different nations, no tariffs, and no quotas, in the mandated territories of Africa. The terms of the mandate and the Congo Basin Treaties[1] debar the imposition of any such restrictions to trade. The catastrophic fall in the prices of primary products all over the world and especially in the mandated territories is to the advantage of the purchaser of these products—a lesson which Japan was quick to learn and quick to turn to the advantage of her own nationals.

Another factor which benefits the foreign merchant is that in British colonies such as Kenya and the neighbouring mandated territory, Tanganyika, the local currency is pegged to sterling, although Great

1 The Berlin and Brussels Acts and the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye.

Britain herself has abandoned the gold standard. The embargo imposed on the export of German currency abroad—ostensibly to prevent that currency from depreciation, in reality to bolster up internally her terrific war preparations and place foreign credits in countries supplying essential war materials—is the sole reason why Germany is now shedding crocodile tears about her inability to purchase raw products.

The barter system which has been tried can go so far in this direction, but no farther, and there are limits, as Germany is finding out now, to the extent of synthetic substitutes for the bounty of nature.

Mr. F. S. Joelson, writing in the *East African Standard*, on 28th February, 1936, very pertinently pointed out that during the years of the so-called depression when sisal fell to very low levels indeed, Germany could, and did, purchase that product more cheaply from Tanganyika than she could ever have done had she been administering the colony under her own sovereignty, for in that case she would have had to bear the cost of administration which would have been, indirectly, a further charge upon her consumption of Tanganyika crops. One might note, in passing, that sisal is used for cordage, etc., and is essential in ships of war and airships. *Verb. sap.*

Turning now to the claims for an outlet for the surplus population of Germany, we find the same hollow basis for every argument advanced. To start with, it should be remembered that the population of England (as distinct from the United Kingdom) is more than double the density per square mile of Germany.

Furthermore, it should be remembered that England imports her raw products and foodstuffs from foreign countries and pays for these in foreign currencies.

When, in the last war, Germany lost command of the seas and was unable to protect her own sea-borne commerce in the ships of her own nationals, the question of raw materials, of course, became of great importance to her. There is little doubt that this factor and this factor alone, has been behind the mind of Germany in her anxiety in pressing for the guarantees proposed by Sir Samuel Hoare at Geneva, viz., that the *distribution* of raw materials will not be unfairly impeded.

Germany, however, conveniently forgets that the British Foreign Minister knew full well that his country has clean hands in the matter, and knew also full well that, if British naval forces be maintained in the ratio stipulated in the Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935, then these forces would be always able and ready to deny access to these materials in time of war to any and every enemy of Britain.

It is sheer moonshine to talk of African colonies as outlets for surplus population. Before the war emigration to German colonies was so unpopular as to be negligible. During the decade, 1904–13, these colonies all told absorbed only 0.13 per cent of Germany's total emigration (the rest went in preference to the U.S.A. and British colonies) and under 0.005 per cent of her increase of population.

During the same period German emigrants to her colonies averaged a mere thirty souls per annum, forming one-twenty-thousandth part of her total population. When the Great War broke out, the total German population in her colonies was 20,000 persons, and of these more than 3,000 were military or police officers.

If we look at post-war emigration to these colonies,

we find that Germans from the Fatherland, where there was a bonus for every baby born and bachelors were heavily penalized, never did and never will come out with any alacrity to tropical dependencies like South-West Africa or Tanganyika or Samoa.

Germans are not fools. These men realize that, miserable as they are in the Germany of to-day, and under the present financial system, and hovering as they are like millions of other gaunt-cheeked human beings on the borderline of penury and starvation in a world of plenty, there will be no guarantee that their spending power will be increased by the sunshine treatment of Africa or Polynesia.

Herr Hitler has found work, food and a trifle of pocket-money for thousands of German down-and-outs. That, at least, is something fine. Nobody will deny it. He has restored self-respect to thousands of youths just out of their teens who would otherwise have become a horde of hoboes. That is more than other leaders have achieved. These thousands may fairly be described at the surplus population of Germany. That also nobody will deny.

Wizard as he is at rousing his fellow-countrymen, will the *Fuehrer* be able to bluff them into believing that the alternative of going East will better their financial condition? Recent figures of German immigration into mandated territories show a marked decrease. In our opinion the type of man who formerly furnished that handful of immigrants now realizes that his financial condition remains precisely the same as before, with a few extra discomforts like malaria added. *Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.*

The only effective thing the patriotic slogans of the colonial party-group in Germany have done is to rouse

a number of wretched people in that country into questioning whether colonies are really, after all, one way out of their present miseries.

Despite the training camps which it is reported are being established all over the Third *Reich* for the benefit of prospective settlers, the recent striking decrease in German emigration to Tanganyika (their star-colony in the old days) shows up yet another cock that will not fight.

That the new colonial organization under General von Epp is turning away from the former idea of Chartered Companies like the Usagara Company for the mass settlement of Germans in their ex-colonies, is revealed in a dispatch by the Berlin correspondent of the *Sunday Tribune*, Durban (June 20th, 1936). The information he reveals comes from sources within that organization which leave no doubt for the authenticity of the general outlines of the plan.

Briefly the new plan of approach is aimed at South Africa, through the pro-German elements there headed by the loquacious Mr. Oswald Pirow. No longer will the uphill task go on of bribing and persuading poor Germans to go out to the ex-colonies, but a division will be proposed to the Union of South Africa, whereby the latter gets a portion of Portuguese East Africa along the line of the Zambesi, the southern section going to the Union, and the northern to Tanganyika. As a *quid pro quo*, South Africa will not oppose German claims to Tanganyika and will retain South-West Africa. Commercial pressure could be brought to bear on the two Rhodesias to compel them to enter the Union.

Considerable Nazi Secret Service funds are being expended in Lisbon for an Anarchist rising and a

paralysis of the central government in Portugal which will result in 'troubles' in Portuguese East Africa also, where Nazi cells are even now known to be actively at work. These 'troubles' will form a pretext for intervention. The correspondent mentioned puts matters in a nutshell when he concludes with the words :

'There is absolutely no doubt about the course of the German African colonial campaign in Africa, as the collapse of sanctions has convinced the Germans that there is no limit of the possibilities of "resolute action" which they think would not be resisted by the British. Therefore, they state that ultimately the Union of South Africa will be only too glad to co-operate with Germany.'

Whether South African Ministers, apart from Mr. Pirow, will be 'only too glad to co-operate with Germany' or whether, as is much more likely according to present indications, they will realize that their best interests are served by working *with* and not against the British Empire, remains to be seen. This pretty plot is only cited here, in passing, as an instance of the lengths to which the Colonial Party in Berlin are preparing to go to regain, by hook or by crook, a place in the African sun. . . .

Fortunately, as has been said before, all Germans are not utter fools. Men's eyes in that unhappy country are turning away from the El Dorados in Tanganyika and South-West Africa that are being offered to them. The abandonment of the mass settlement schemes is proof of that. Men's ears in Germany are hardening to the frenetic appeals to their

passions. Men's hearts in Germany are realizing that, just as millions of human beings furnished the cannon fodder of the last war, so millions of human beings are being again drilled and trained to hate one another so that they may commit follies that will have only one end, the enrichment of a small class of the other human beings who control finance.

Already a great awakening is taking place. The assassination of President Dollfuss in Vienna, the murder of King Alexander and M. Barthou in Marseilles should, by all the rules of the game of International Finance, have most certainly led to war. No such folly ensued ; the time is past when the death of a Balkan princeling can be manipulated to drive the whole of Europe towards the shambles of war.

As a writer in the *Social Credit Review* (Count G. Serra) pointed out a short time ago, Herr Hitler himself has proclaimed that Germany is not concerned with getting colonies. In fact, Herr Hitler must know, as every one else knows, the ultimate destiny of every colony, be they German, French or British, is to acquire complete independence. It has been so in the past history of all colonies. It will continue to be so in the future.

The clamour for German colonies is only another red herring dragged across the trail of financial interests. Investment is needed, and what finer security for the international money-lender than land ?

As has been wittily remarked : ' A colony is not considered by German Finance (and in that respect by High Finance of any label) in the same light as an estate is considered by a money-lender or a bank.

'An estate, for a financier, is an excrescence of the landscape which is, or is not, desirable as a mortgage. A colony is an excrescence of the globe which is, or is not, desirable for the same purpose. A colony is a security on which a monetary value can be put which will be indirectly mortgaged in exchange for the *creation* of the quantity of money needed to develop it. A bank does not care about the estate mortgaged, so long as the interest is paid which can be realized in actual consumable wealth, but it cares about the property of the money it *creates*. So with German finance. Tanganyika would be mortgaged to German finance and Tanganyika people would pay the interest through direct and indirect taxation and the interests on private loans.

'The question of the surrender of Tanganyika is not a question of need, either of settlement of surplus population or the supply of raw materials. *It is solely a question of financial convenience.*'—(G. Serra. *Ibid.*)

In exactly the same way as the world was reshuffled in 1919 into zones of financial power, distributed among the various groups and interests which are under the supreme control of a handful of men, and the League of Nations was made the catspaw of these money groups (cf. the double-dealing over Manchuria, Paraguay and Sanctions), so the world is again being reshuffled now for the same reasons and by the same groups. Certain small-value cards in the pack, such as the sisal and gold industries in Tanganyika, and the corporations and banks who are bondholders in various State loans in colonies and mandated territories will be discarded and given monetary compensation elsewhere. In all cases, the bulk of

investors in colonial development loans are not individuals but large financial corporations. The trustee money and small folks' savings invested in such loans can, for all the League of International Banksters cares, simply go to the devil.

It matters not, to these men, that the lives and well-being of millions of human beings are mixed up in the pack they are cutting and dealing among themselves. In the present clamour for colonies the same sinister influences are at work as were, and have remained, active behind the scenes in the League of Nations and its corollary next door, the Bank of International Settlements at Basle. Only one factor is stronger to-day than it was seventeen years ago, the power of the Press, the loud-speaker and the propagandist broadcaster. These are linked in an unholy network with the armaments firms and the great international money-lenders.

Fortunately, imponderables always tell. Heaven was not on the side of the 'big battalions' in 1918. Many thousands of people are beginning to see through the maze to the central spiders. The economists, like the lawyers, the doctors, and the priests of all ages, have wrapped up their science in a jargon of its own, which the common man could not be expected to understand. One very seldom hears an educated man or a woman nowadays say: '*Oh! High Finance. That is beyond me.*' More often on many sides one hears the question: '*Just a minute. Never mind about reflation, deflation, or invisible exports. Why should my pound, or my dollar, or my mark, to-day buy me a lesser quantity of food, clothing, and housing than it did ten years ago? Tell me that.*'

The late Mr. Alfred Mond cynically let the cat out

of the bag when he published a pamphlet *The Money Game—the Biggest Bluff of the Century.* Others have followed suit, but not always from his side of the fence. Senator Nye in America in the Armaments Commission let more daylight into the web. Lord MacMillan and his colleagues in their epoch-making examination of the banking system only revealed one of the chinks in the armour when he wrote :

'The present system is wrong in that it associates the amount of gold which the Bank of England should hold immobilized and unavailable for export with the amount of active note circulation. Formerly, when the Bank's gold was held for two purposes, partly to meet an external drain and partly to meet an internal drain, it may have been reasonable to earmark a substantial part of it for the latter purpose. But now that . . . the gold reserve of the Bank is held for no other purpose than to meet a foreign drain, the whole effect . . . is to forbid the Bank to use the greater part of its gold for the only purpose for which it is held or could be used. . . .'

The present crazy piling up of armaments all over the world is but a confession of the failure, the palpable failure of economists and bankers to utilize the abundance of production in the only way it can be used—by consumption. In the case of guns, shells and battleships, the only way to consume such products is by their destruction, i.e. in firing them off against targets. Never again will young men offer their bodies for such targets.

What will happen will be the complete collapse of the entire monetary system of the world as it stands at

present, civil disturbances such as have begun in Spain and France, and a world revolt against the hegemony for which the High Priests of that system are striving.

Unfortunately, most of the statesmen in England will not think things out. They accept the present financial system, by which credit is created at the will of a few men who proclaim themselves the victims of a so-called Law of Supply and Demand and are therefore obliged to keep money scarce, prices low, taxation at breaking point, and humanity hovering on the borderline of starvation in a world where Nature and Man's inventiveness in machinery have created super-abundance of material good things.

To do this, it is inevitable that Pelion be piled on Ossa, debts upon debts, both State and private. Immediately cracks appear in the structure (such as the collapse of Britain faced with the American War debt, the flight from the pound, and the jettisoning of the gold fetish), the orthodox economist turns to another makeshift, activity in armaments.

Hypnotized by the claims of financiers that their system contains the only hocus-pocus which will work, and forgetting that the system has not stood the test of time, English statesmen lay themselves open to the insidious pressure which International Finance can bring to bear. Neither Mr. Baldwin nor Mr. Eden can yet quite see that the world hegemony of Judaeo-Masonry is utterly incompatible with the trusteeship for the welfare of the human beings inhabiting the British Empire, in which they sincerely believe.

Mr. Eden, it is true, showed more than a glimmer of far-sightedness when he stated not long ago that the transfer of mandated territories from one Power to

another was a question which affected not only Great Britain and Germany. As far as the British Government were concerned, he added, *the question would inevitably raise grave difficulties, moral, political and legal, to which they would be unable to find any solution.*

He might have stated, though he did not, that the *economic* factor most of all rendered it difficult for his Government to reconcile German claims for colonies with the principles of human well-being which constitute trusteeship. There he would have laid his finger on the spot at which the shoe pinched. In economic causes lie the seeds of every war.

II

ANALYSIS OF THE LEAGUE'S FAILURE

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to show how the mandate system began, how it has worked, and the development of the territories to which it has been applied. The one broad fact which has emerged from our examination of the system is that British overseas possessions, no matter how, when, or where acquired, should be divorced from all connexion with the League of Nations. This assembly has always been a league of hallucinations, and to-day it is dying, damned and doomed, unhonoured unwept, and unsung.

The League is bankrupt and should put its shutters up. From the moment when the United States of America decided to stand aloof and refused to subscribe to its Covenant, the League was doomed to failure. Nations like Japan and Germany have contemptuously left it. The final degradation was when godless Russia, despite the fact that she has never ceased to proclaim her ambition of working for world-wide social revolution, was allowed to become a full member.

Mussolini, it is true, has not yet handed in the formal resignation of Italy. Some time ago he declared his readiness to 'reform' the League. Of late his patience has almost reached breaking point, and he

has now turned a realistic eye on his neighbours, Austria and Germany. As one of the colonial Powers of the world, her reputation enhanced by her rapid conquest, if not subjugation, of Abyssinia, Italy sees clearly that the mandate system is in a state of obsolence with the other appurtenances of the League. General Smuts, himself the inventor of the mandate system, was once heard to say recently: 'The mandates will fade away.'

It now remains to find, if we can, the remedies for the diseases, both in the League itself, and in the mandate system. Obviously, the first is the relegation of the League to its proper position as a diplomatic clearing house, a round table at which trained diplomats can gather, well away from the tumult and the shouting of party cries and passions, pause a while, reflect, and discuss causes of friction between nations. Thereafter, these men should surely be able to arrive at a *modus vivendi*, instead of, as in the dog days of 1914, precipitating a crisis by the sending of notes, cipher telegrams, and memoranda from one European capital to another, while all the time the General Staffs in all these countries were hastening preparations for mobilization.

Once or twice in its past history the League *has* succeeded in postponing action in times of crisis, but these rare occasions were only when it remained true to its proper function. When the attempt was made, as in 1935, to invoke the operation of Article XVI of the League and to enforce sanctions against a nation adjudged to be an 'aggressor' a fiasco ensued. Without its own armed forces, preferably an air arm, the League could not possibly impose its collective will under this article of the Covenant.

The result has been that the representatives of great

Powers like England and France have found the jig-saw idealism expected at Geneva impossible to fit in with the permanent and continuous policy being pursued in their respective Foreign Offices. The pull-devil-pull-tailorism of Mr. Eden before the League, for instance, was farcical.

His verbal agility helped him to keep his equilibrium on the tight rope of Geneva. When, however, he stood once again with both feet firmly on the floor of the House of Commons he talked sound, horse-sense. No amount of tinkering with the League Covenant will serve to remedy the defects in its present make-up, short of securing the apparently unattainable backing of its own air force.

As regards the mandate system, the great drawback, as has already been shown, is the composition of the supervisory body. The principles which have been accepted in all mandates for the welfare of backward races in no wise differ from those of past British colonial policy.

The responsibility of Great Britain to civilization for the standard of government to be maintained in mandated territories is not enhanced by its subservience to the Permanent Mandates Committee. The idea of General Smuts, of course, was that by assuming towards the League of Nations and the Permanent Mandates Committee certain obligations in these territories, which obligations we were already voluntarily and spontaneously fulfilling in neighbouring British colonies, we would remove the reproach of ' exploitation '.

But have we? One has only to read the German papers of to-day—aye, and the papers of our former Allies as well, to see how this reproach persists. For

instance, Rear-Admiral Gadow, in a recent issue of *Deutsches Wehr* stigmatizes the English attitude to the question of colonies as 'unsatisfactory to the highest degree and *in part impudent*'.

He continues: 'Once again we hear the familiar sound of cant when it is stated that the government of natives is a high and holy obligation that England takes very seriously. . . . We see quite clearly in that that *the whole manœuvre is intended to change an entirely economic problem into one of pseudo-morality and prestige*'.

This writer, at least, among all the German propagandists for the restoration of colonies has no illusions about the real nature of the issue involved, which is, of course, entirely economic, and that issue, for Germany, overshadows even the strategic value of a mandated territory like Tanganyika. How much simpler to tell Germany that 'we are in Tanganyika (as we are in South-West Africa, Kaiser Wilhelm Land and all the other former overseas possessions of Germany) by plain right of conquest and formal surrender, and shall remain there until someone stronger than ourselves takes it from us.'[1]

What on earth is the use of shifting from one foot to another, and asserting, as a National Government spokesman did this year in the House of Commons, that 'we should not think of handing over these territories to any other Power . . . unless we were satisfied that the interests of all sections of the populations inhabiting these territories were fully safeguarded.' Such a declaration neither satisfies the claimant nor does it persuade the 'inhabitants' concerned that any right, interest, or liberty they now enjoy could

[1] L. S. Amery: *The Forward View.*

ever be safeguarded in a territory which we had abandoned.

The words of Lord Palmerston, written in 1842, are prophetic. 'Foreign nations,' he maintained, 'take our professed love of peace beyond the letter when they see the sincerity of our professions so abundantly proved by submission to everybody with whom we have any dealings.' (This fits exactly the steady growth of the German colonial movement.)

'Foreign Governments,' he proceeded, 'will extort from us one after another a great number of concessions which, with a little firmness, we need never have made : and, some fine day, led on and encouraged by our *want of proper spirit*, they will drive us to the wall on some point on which they will have gone too far to recede and we shall have gone too far to go back any further : then one party or the other must submit to open disgrace . . . which might have been escaped by making the same stand at the first steps as we shall then have made at the last.'

(When Herr Hugenberg, the German representative at the World Economic Conference in 1933, blurted out that as far as his country was concerned, colonies and access to raw materials alone furnished a satisfactory solution of the problem of international trade, he was promptly recalled and disavowed by Herr Hitler.

When the latter, faced with the spectre of revolution in Nazified Germany in 1936, insinuated the colonial issue in his Twenty-Five Years' Peace proposals, the British Government showed a lack of proper spirit in not stating frankly then and there that there was nothing doing. Herr Ribbentrop's second London mission succeeded in driving us to the wall. The threat of

disrupting the Empire, and the very real danger of civil war in South and East Africa if Tanganyika or any other African mandate were surrendered, at last forced Great Britain to speak firmly and categorically to shut the door and place her back against it. It was too late.)

A fortiori, the annual farce of submitting a report to the Permanent Mandates Committee is also detrimental to our tenure of the territories in question. Japan has shown quite clearly that her resignation from the League of Nations in no wise affects her rights and titles to continued possession of her Pacific Islands obtained under the mandate system. She still goes through the fatuous performance of submitting an annual report to the League.

III

A MONROE DOCTRINE FOR AFRICA

BEFORE the ignoble scramble for African colonies and possessions had seriously started among the Powers of Europe in the nineteenth century, it dawned on one American President at least that the same smash-and-grab methods might easily constitute a danger to the whole American continent. He laid down a doctrine which has been incorporated as a cardinal principle in the foreign policy of the United States, and which has the adherence of the several South American republics. Put shortly it is: 'Hands off America!' though it is generally referred to as the Monroe Doctrine, from the name of its originator.

The partition of the continent of Africa has been accomplished. On the whole it has been a sorry tale of rapacity, lit up by some bright spots such as the Abolition of Slavery, a measure which Great Britain undertook some time before the United States saw its way to emancipating its own negro slaves, and which cost the British people some eighty million pounds freely voted and generously spent.

Germany has dropped out of Africa, partly through her past misdeeds in that continent, and chiefly through her wrongdoing during the years from

1914–18. Abyssinia, after years of misrule, has now been taken over by a European Power which already held possessions in other parts of Africa. If the material and moral progress of the backward races of Abyssinia is not ensured by the clumsy and impracticable device of a mandate subject to the League of Hallucinations—we can be certain that the Government of Mussolini and his Viceroy will at least bring a great measure of material prosperity and well-being to the Ethiopians who have been recently defeated but are not yet by any means subjugated.

After the treatment which it has suffered at the hands of the League, it is, to our mind, exceedingly doubtful if the Italian Government will ever agree to the application of Article XXII of the Covenant to the administration of Abyssinia. With the examples of the illogical inconsistencies into which the mandate system has led England, France, Belgium, Japan, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand before him, and with the knowledge that that system inevitably tends to the training of mandatory territories to an ever-increasing degree of self-government—it is also extremely doubtful whether *Il Duce* will be able to reconcile the principles of General Smuts with his own dream of a great Roman Empire.

There are other Powers, however, who are concerned in the African continent. Apart from the Mandatories, there are Portugal and Spain. It is increasingly obvious that all these European Powers are disturbed by the covetous eyes cast on their dependencies in the Dark Continent.

Some few years ago, Japan was one of these covetous Have-nots. It is an established fact that certain

negotiations between the Japanese Government and the Government of Haile Selassie had reached an advanced stage. These negotiations were with a view to the alienation of land in Ethiopia to Japanese settlers, some 30,000 of whom were ready to start in planting cotton on the word 'Go' and with a view to a dynastic alliance between the Japanese Royal House and an Abyssinian prince or princess.

These facts have been forgotten or obscured in the dust of sanctions and the acrimony of collective security, but there is not the slightest doubt that they turned the scale finally towards Italian intervention in Abyssinia. It was clear to anyone who followed the *pourparlers* between Mussolini and the representatives of Great Britain and France who met him at Rome in 1933, that a choice of two evils faced these three Great Powers in Ethiopia—either the penetration of that turbulent country by a European Power or a foothold by Japan in Africa.

The interests of France were confined to the Djibuti-Addis railway. The interests of England were restricted to the headwaters of the Nile and Lake Tsana. Occasional raids by Abyssinian tribesmen into Kenya and French Somaliland were neither here nor there. The whole question resolved itself into one of '*Aut Caesar aut Nippon*'.

Italy, therefore, assured of a free hand in clearing up the Abyssinian business, went ahead to some purpose. In this agreement which was probably never committed to paper other than in some *aide-mémoire* of Mussolini's interview at Rome with Barthou and Ramsay Macdonald in 1933, we can see the first gleam of a feeling of solidarity between the European

Powers who hold African possessions, and who wanted no interlopers.

Unfortunately, a panic at the growing military strength of Germany led our statesmen into the foolish attempt to warn Germany that coercive clauses existed in the Covenant of the League. These coercive measures, as applied to Italy, in the form of partial economic sanctions and the concentration of the British Fleet in the eastern Mediterranean only estranged Italy and annoyed France. When American oil interests were successful in persuading the Roosevelt Administration not to restrict the inflow of oil and petrol which Italy needed, the whole house of cards collapsed. Germany smiled, walked into the Rhineland and then faced England and France with a 'Well, what about it?' To which the reply was: 'Oh, nothing.'

The next German *coup de main* will come in Danzig, and will be followed by some spectacular event in Austria which is the only method of keeping the enthusiasm of the followers of Hitler at fever pitch and taking their minds off economic distress. The ex-German colonies are for the present in the background, but German intrigue in South-West Africa, where their Consul is no more and no less than the chief Nazi agent, is continuous. Although the old balance of power in Europe has been partially restored by the Franco-Soviet Pact, and by the bringing of Czecho-Slovakia into the orbit of Moscow's influence, no steps have been taken or even thought necessary for the maintenance of the *status quo* in Africa.

Africa, some one has said, is *the* continent of the twentieth century. Its surface has only been scraped. Its riches are incalculable. Certain European Powers

and British Dominions between them are at the present day responsible for the whole of this continent, with the exception of Liberia. We have seen that a sense of solidarity among European Powers was manifest at the threat of Japan's gaining a foothold in Africa, and we have seen how three of these Powers reacted to that threat in Abyssinia.

When the doctrinaire Mr. Sydney Webb attempted some years ago to lay down the principle of native paramountcy in East Africa, all the protests of the local European inhabitants did not turn him from his crazy ideas. Even when the representative of the Union of South Africa stated that *his* Government, at least, would not stand for any such folly, nothing but a flutter in the dovecots of Downing Street took place. When, however, Paris, Brussels and Lisbon, through diplomatic channels, pointed out firmly but courteously the serious repercussions of such a policy (if applied to British East Africa) on neighbouring African colonies held by other European Powers than Britain, the Cabinet of the time took steps to curb the inverted racial hatred of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. A hasty disclaimer was issued, and a reversion took place to the saner 'Dual Mandate' ideas of Lord Lugard, whereby the interests of all the inhabitants, white as well as coloured, became the concern of the Government which tries its best to keep the scales equal. This is the second historic instance of solidarity (the word is preferable to the ridiculous term 'collective security') among the Powers with African territorial interests. The third and most recent instance was when the Governors of the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar (British) and Angololand and Mozambique (Portuguese) fore-

gathered at Johannesburg prior to the opening of the Empire Exhibition of 1936 and conferred on the co-ordination of transport and mutual defence measures.

General Smuts on that occasion voiced the hope that " we in Africa will act in the spirit of a small League of Nations from whose relations all fear and suspicion is banished.' He added that those who try to transplant to Africa the barren feuds and poisonous racialism of Europe do the greatest disservice to that continent. It is, therefore, abundantly clear that the really effective co-operation of groups within the British Commonwealth of Nations, drawn together by ties of geographical proximity, historic tradition, and economic interest for which the forward-looking Mr. Amery has so often pleaded is, in Africa at least, taking shape in men's minds.

In a notable article on Joseph Chamberlain,[1] written on the centenary of the birth of that great English statesman, Lord Lloyd of Dolobran defined Chamberlain's policy as 'the catching up of all the loose ends of past individual imperial effort, all the self-sacrifice of unknown men and women, soldiers, sailors, and civilians in remote outposts of the Empire, and the bringing of them at last to the very fruition their sponsors had dreamed of and intended for them, but which none but Chamberlain had understood'.

The Coronation Year will furnish a suitable occasion for the gathering up of loose threads in British policy, and not least in regard to our colonial policy in Africa. Although the present volume is confined in its purview to the mandated territories of Britain

[1] *National Review*—August, 1936.

and other Powers and is an attempt to give a composite picture of the whole mandatory system, it is extremely unlikely that it would have ever been written had not the threat of surrender in our African mandated territories become a very real danger, rendering it imperative that the British reading public be informed of the true state of affairs in regard to German pretensions and the money power behind them.

These pretensions will be renewed when the time is ripe.

In the meantime every effort will be made to soothe the feelings of alarm that have been aroused, and to undermine the unity that has so far been shown in the storm of opposition against any cession of territory in Africa to Nazi Germany.

The British Foreign Minister tried to pave the way by telling the German Government that the solution of the problems presented was impossible, and asked Herr Hitler please not to reopen the question of colonies. He can lay no flattering unction to his soul that this question will be buried away just because of his request. It may be shelved to a more opportune moment, when the public is not as vigilant as it is at present, but—as sure as little apples—it will be taken off the shelf, dusted, given a new coat, and brought forward again as soon as that vigilance relaxes.

Surely, the only possible method of dealing with this *crambe repitita*[1] is to say now, once and for all, that it is not discussable in any circumstances nor for any consideration whatsoever.

Our Foreign Office will have to admit that the

[1] 'Cauld kale het again'.

League of Hallucinations, and its sinister hand-in-glove partner the Bank of International Settlements, has failed in the sight of every one, and should be decently interred with all the other kindred assemblies from the time of the Achean League. But if our Foreign Office is wedded to the idea of collective security, let them for a start secure the acceptance of all the European Powers responsible for the peace of Africa to a form of Monroe Doctrine for that continent. In Signor Mussolini, for a start anyhow, they will find a ready espousal of some such understanding aimed at the maintenance of the *status quo*.

If and when General von Epp and the *Kolonial Amt* of Berlin are once again given their head by Herr Hitler, and insist on reasons why ex-German colonies cannot possibly be discussed, it will be sufficient to refer them to the notices all over the grass of Africa. The Germans, we know full well, will not go to war for the sake of colonies. Not a single German would march for such a reason; but unless an expressly clear understanding on the point is reached by the mandatory and colonial Powers most interested, and until that understanding has been definitely formulated, certain elements in Germany will return interminably to the subject.

This is not to say that a totally uncompromising attitude is to be assumed. Once the question of sovereignty in respect of mandates has been accepted as unchangeable and undiscussable, other remedies can be examined dispassionately from another angle altogether.

It cannot be too often reiterated that—in this tariff-burdened world of which the monetary system is on

the verge of collapse—the approach to the subject of colonies or mandates is simply and solely economic. It is not a question at all of bartering a few million natives from one Power to another whenever the latter rattles the sabre loudly enough. The crude colour of the piece of bunting which floats over the D.C.'s office in South-West Africa or in Western Samoa does not matter a row of pins in the promotion of the world's recovery. What does matter intensely, however, is that the wit of man shall find—and that speedily—some means whereby the abundance of the earth's products and all the ingenuity of man's labour-saving and space-annihilating inventions shall be consumed and enjoyed in leisure by the inhabitants of this world. The Herrero and the Samoan, just as much as the Frenchman, the Englishman and the German, are concerned now to discover how the total amount of purchasing power distributed in the course of production can be actively used in buying the products of these mandated territories as of every other portion of our globe. And there's the rub !

The Financial Committee of the League of Nations have at last sat up to take notice of the fact that world recovery—and by 'world recovery' is meant the wealth and happiness of mankind—is being 'retarded by a disproportion between prices and currencies leading to a dis-equilibrium in exchanges' —their own phraseology. In their latest report, published in September, 1936, this Committee have come to the conclusion that another World Economic Conference is useless, but that 'every country should deal with its own monetary problems first'—in other words every country should adjust the gap between prices and incomes all over the world to-day—the job

to which Alberta and New Zealand, the pioneers, despite the jeers of purblind critics, are getting down at the present moment.

The MacMillan Report on Banking was the first, and this report of the League Financial Committee is the second, public admission of International Finance that the orthodox monetary systems of the world are faulty. Orthodox Finance in the shape of the League Committee states further that the abolition of import restrictions is as essential as currency adjustments. With the abolition of tariffs, quotas, and all that horrid brood that Mankind has made to plague themselves, will disappear all indirect taxation through Customs duties, and the gap between prices and incomes will be correspondingly lessened. Direct taxation by income tax *et hoc genus omne*, which nineteenth-century finance looked upon as the only way in which the services of public servants, policemen, judges, soldiers and sailors can be recompensed, is yet another factor in the lessened purchasing power of the masses of mankind. But these services, just as much as the accounting services rendered by innumerable banks, shipping companies, railways, mines, electric power stations, and other public utilities should not be a debt against the public at all, but a credit, created by the national credit office. Thus, it will be seen that the necessity for direct or indirect taxation of any community does not exist.

Now, it is significant that the recent Currency Agreement between England, France and America which the Press of three continents has hailed as an epoch-making step towards 'world recovery' predicates the disappearance of Customs tariffs, quotas, and the burdensome restrictions which hinder the free

interchange between the nations of the world of the real wealth furnished in overflowing bounteousness by the world in which these nations lived.

Lord Lugard, in attempting to find a *quid pro quo* for the German colonial claims, suggested a reversion to the Open Door policy. This, unfortunately, is no solution, as has been shown in the preceding pages. What Britain can offer, however, to Germany and to all the Have-Not nations of the world is an agreement to waive her rights under the Most-Favoured Nation clause in many colonial treaties.

Dr. Schacht has been going up and down Europe for the last few months, not like a roaring lion from the Nazi pride, but in a genuine attempt to find some means of meeting the appalling burden of armaments with which the leaders of his country's destiny have saddled the inhabitants of Germany. There is no denying he has succeeded. There is no denying he sees far more clearly than Herren Hitler, Goebbels or Goering, that Germany's trade in South-Eastern Europe and in France must be built up on the basis of a free interchange of goods. Now and then he gives half-hearted utterance to the echoes of the Colonial Party slogans. In his heart of hearts he knows that colonies and the tenure of mandates have as much to do with the plight under which his fellow-countrymen are groaning to-day as the man-in-the-moon has to do with the Olympic Games. No grandiose 'Four Year Plan' of self-sufficiently building up synthetic substitutes for rubber, oil, or cotton, will avail to stave off another bloody revolution among the hungry masses of Germany, however grimly they may tighten their belts again in the coming winter. The problem, as Dr. Schacht sees it and as so many others are gradually

learning to visualise it, is first and foremost, simply and solely economic and monetary.

The economic-group solution for our present discontents to include nations with kindred political outlooks, such as Scandinavia, Holland, the Argentine and the peoples comprising the British Commonwealth, has been ably propounded by Mr. Amery. Here we have at least a piece of sound, constructive statesmanship. If Britain is prepared to waive her rights under the most-favoured-nation clause of several colonial treaties, a definite step towards a reasonable compromise on the question of mandates will have been reached.

'If,' as Mr. Amery said in the last earnest plea he made this summer to the British Government on the motion for the adjournment of the House of Commons, 'If we introduce that suggestion into the forthcoming negotiations, we should do something which would bring Germany and Italy on our side and create better prospects of a successful outcome of these negotiations and of the stabilization of peace in Europe than anything we can do by merely negative pacts and promises not to break the peace.'

Would that statesmen of this calibre in England today might use their great gifts and bring their influence to bear on a subject of paramount importance—monetary reform. If the notice of the half-awakened inmates of Westminster could only be directed to the fact that British monetary policy acts continuously in opposition to her economic and national policy, the M.P. who did so would perhaps lose a few votes in his constituency but he would deserve well of his fellow-countrymen.

Mr. Amery stated once his conviction that monetary,

economic and national policy can only be brought into line when statesmen realize that national and Imperial monetary policy is theirs to direct, just as much as fiscal and foreign policy, and cannot be left to so-called '*experts whose interests, however legitimate, by no means necessarily coincide with the general national interest.*' Would that this admonition could be emblazoned over the portals of St. Stephen's Hall, and that the cobwebs of pre-Copernican superstition could be brushed, once and for all time, from the brow of the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street. . . .

Where there is no vision, the people perish. In the confused uneasy world of our times, there are men of vision. Among all nations there is an ever-growing will-to-peace. Alas, the leaders of to-day in most nations are fettered by pride and suspicion, greed and fear, their eyes ever on the ground, their feet sunk in the blood-stained past. . . .

Yet, while the tired waves vainly breaking
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back—through creeks and inlets making—
Comes, silent, flooding in the Main.

INDEX

Abdallah ibn Hussein, Emir of Transjordania, 166.
Abyssinia, 70, 71, 98, 189.
Aerial Navigation, 143.
Afrikaners, 81.
Agents provocateur, German, 62.
Alexander the Great, 33.
Alexander, King of Jugo-Slavia, 182.
Allen, Sir John Sandeman, 63.
Allenby, General, 161.
Alsatians, in mandated territories, 38.
Amery, Mr. L. S., 10, 37, 43, 48, 172, 191.
Andraade, Dr., 29.
Angola, 91.
Annual Reports to League Council, 26.
Arabs, in Palestine, 162–6.
Arab Rebellion in German East Africa, 65.
Armaments, 185.
Asbeck, Baron Van, 29, 146.
Askaris, 16.
Atrocities (Blue Book, 1916), 12 ; in East Africa, 13, 17.
Austria, 61.
Backward Races, 10, 33, 78, 79, 127, 156.
Baldwin, Mr. Stanley, 47, 71, 74, 75, 175, 186.
Balfour Declaration, 163.
Barter, 177.
Barthou, M., 182.
Bastards, S.W. Africa tribe, 81.
Bauer, Dr. H. W., 59.
Baussusz, Lieut.-Col., 63.
Beinhorn, Frl. Ely, 62.
Belgium and Colonies, 74.
Bentinck, Major F. Cavendish, 75.
Berg Damara tribe, 79.
Berliner Tageblatt, 174.
Bismarck, Prince, 50, 52, 53, 83.
'Black armies' in Africa, 6.
Black Slaves of Prussianism, 18.
Boers, 9, 52, 91.
Boundaries, of mandated territories, 22.
Boyd-Moss, Brig.-Gen. L., 74.
Bushmen, 79.
Byatt, Sir Horace, 108.

Cameron, Sir Donald, 42, 121.
Cameroons, British, 36, 141–3, 173; French, 142; Raw materials produced in British, 173.
Caprivi Zipfel, 79.
Cecil, Lord Robert, 10.
Chamberlain, Sir Austen, 19.
Chamberlain, Mr. Joseph, 198.
Chamberlain, Mr. Neville, 70, 72.
Chinnery, Mr. E. W. P., 147.
Churchill, Mr. Winston, 19, 61, 70.
Clyde, Mr. P. H., 159.
Communism, in Syria, 168.
Congo Basin: treaties, 5, 6; conventional zone, 109; non-aggression clauses, 142.
Congo, Belgian, 5.
Conradie, Dr. D. G., 40, 94.
Cunliffe-Lister, Sir Philip, 46, 47.
Customs Agreements in mandated territories, 27, 31.
Czechs, in mandated territories, 38.

Daily Mail, 164, 165.
Damaraland, 79; tribes of, 80.
Damascus, 167.
Dannevig, Mlle, 29
Danzig, 38, 61, 197.
Dar es Salaam, 6.
Darling, Lord Justice, 1.
De Caix, M., 168.
Declarations on mandates by British ministers, 35–49.
Defence, Committee of Imperial, 19, 102.
Deutsche Front, 99.
Deutsche Kolonial Gesellschaft, 54, 55, 56, 83.
Deutsche Kolonial Zeitung, 55.
Deutsch Ost - Afrikanische Gesellschaft, 53, 65.
Deutsches Wehr, 191.
Dias, Bartholomew, 82.
Dollfuss, President, 182.
Drug Traffic, 26.
Duala, port of, 6.
Dual Mandate, The, 198.

Eden, Mr. Anthony, 47, 70, 76, 186, 190.
Emigration, German colonial, 178.
Epp, General Ritter von, 54, 60, 69.
Equality under mandates, 24; in aerial navigation, 26.
Evening Standard, 4.

Federation of mandated territories, 26; Swiss, 166.
Forced labour, prohibition of, 23.

Forward View, The, 191.
Freedom of conscience, 25.
Fritz, Georg, 59.

Gadow, Admiral, 58, 191.
Garcia, Count de Penha, 29.
Genghis Khan, 33.
George, Mr. Lloyd, 73.
German claims for colonies, 5, 10, 54, 55.
German 'Colonial Day,' 1934, 57.
German Colonial Movement, 50–68.
German 'Political Bureau,' 57.
German 'Protectorate Troops,' 6.
German Women's Colonial League, 56.
Gerrard, Mr. (U.S.A. Ambassador), 1.
Gloucester, H.R.H. Duke of, 153.
Goans, 31, 115.
Gobabis district, 79.
Goebbels, Dr. Joseph, 1, 20 (footnote), 60, 175.
Goering, General Hermann, 19.
Gold Coast, 142.
Gold, in Tanganyika, 118, 119.
Governors' Conference (East African), 126.
Grootfontein district, 79, 92.

Hanseatic Towns, 19, 52.
Hearnshaw, Professor, 4.
Herreros, the, 13, 80; cattle, 14, 80; population, 13, 80–1; rebellion, 80–1; and Vandals of East Prussia, 78.
Hertzog, General, 12, 124.
Hitler, Herr Adolf, 19, 21, 37, 45, 53, 60, 69, 171, 179, 182.
Hitler Jugend in S.W. Africa, 41.
Hoare, Sir Samuel, 71, 178.
Hohenzollern, Wilhelm, 57.
Holland and Colonies, 73.
Hoskins, Lieut.-Gen. A. R., 108.
Hottentot, tribe, 79, 80.
Hussein, King, 163.

Indian Mutiny, 14, 140.
Indirect Rule, 29, 120, 131.
International Affairs, Bulletin of, 172.
International Justice, Court of, 27.
International Settlements, Bank of, 184.

Jacob, Dr. E. G., 59.
Jacob, Herr Ernest, 59.
Japanese, 90; dumping, 142, 176; in Abyssinia, 196.
Japanese Pacific mandated islands, 157–60; raw materials, 174.
'Japan's Pacific Mandate,' 159.

Jews, in Palestine, 161–6.
Joelson, Mr. F. S., 177.
Jones, Mr. W. J. A., 144, 145.

Kalahari Desert, 2.
Kenya, 5.
Kitchener, Lord, 163.
Konkamba tribe, 144.

Labour contracts, 23.
Land tenure in mandated territories, 23.
Lawrence, Col. T. E., 163.
League, Council, 26; of Nations, 188–93.
Lebanon, 168.
Lewin, Mr. S., 59.
Lindequist, Herr von, 40.
Lithuanians, 52.
Lloyd, Lord, 199.
Locarno, 19, 53.
Lockhart, Mr. Bruce, 4, 5.
Londonderry, Lord, 75, 175.
Long, Mr. Walter, 35.
Lothian, Lord, 21.
Luderitz, Herr, 52, 83.
Luderitzbucht, 6, 83.
Lugard, Lord, 29, 110, 121, 198.
Lutheran Mission (Tanganyika), 64.

MacDonald, Mr. Ramsay, 102.
MacMahon, Sir Henry, 163.
MacMillan, Lord, 185.
McMichael, Sir Harold, 108.
MacNaught, Rev. J., 15.
MacNicoll, Brig.-Gen. R., 148.
Maji-Maji rebellion, 13, 15.
Manceron, M., 29.
Mandates: definition of, 1–3; categories of, 22; text of a B mandate, 22–7; essential conditions of, 28.
Mander, Mr., M.P., 46.
Man-in-the-street, Open Letter to, 3, 4.
Mau Nationalist movement in Samoa, 151–3.
Mein Kampf, 19.
Melchett, Lord, 164, 184.
Memel, 61.
Menches, Admiral, 62.
Mergner, Dr. E., 64.
Milner, Lord, 10.
Minorities, German, 18.
Missionaries, 25, 66, 67, 149.
Mond, Sir Alfred, 184.
'Money Game,' 185.
Monopolies under mandate, 24–5.
Monroe Doctrine, 200.
Moravian Mission, 66.
Musinga, Sultan, 131.
Mussolini, Signor, 188, 195.
'My Struggle,' 53.

Namaqualand, 83.
National Socialist Deutscher Arbeiter Partei, 41.

Naturalization : in S.W. Africa, 39 ; in Samoa, 151.
Nazi Bund, 41.
Nazism in mandated territories, 40, 61, 99.
Nelson, Mr. O. F., 152, 153, 154.
New Guinea : topography, 147 ; anthropology, 147, 148 ; native unrest, 148 ; labour recruiting, 149 ; Missions, 149 ; education, 149, 150 ; unification, 150.
Nicodemus, Capt., 81.
' No annexations,' 9.
Non-militarization of mandated territories, 23.
Nyasaland, 6.
Nye, Senator, 185.

Oertzen, Herr von, 59.
' Open Door ' policy, 109, 110.
Orts, M., 29, 160.
Outjo district, 79.

Palacios, M., 29, 132.
Palestine, 27, 161–6.
Palgrave, Mr. Coates, 83.
Palmerston, Lord, 192.
Parr, Sir James, 154.
Peace Plan, Hitler's, 54, 69.
Permanent Mandates Commission, 29, 98, 127, 146, 155, 156, 157, 159, 190.
Peters, Dr. Karl, 15, 52, 64.
Pirow, Mr. Oswald, 75, 180.
Poland's claim for colonies, 48.
Poles, in Tanganyika, 52.
Portugal, and colonies, 33, 73, 180.
Post and Telegraph Union, 27, 31.
Powell, Mr. (Consul), 17.
Prince White, Mr. G., 165.
Puttkamer, Herr von, 16.

Rappard, M., 29, 125.
Raw materials, colonial sources of, 172–5.
Reder, Admiral, 58.
Reheboth, 81.
Reichsbank, 176.
Reichs Kolonial Bund, 55, 56.
Reid, Mr. Eric, 32.
Rhineland, militarization of, 197.
Ribbentrop, Herr, 70.
Ritter, Herr Paul, 59.
Rohrbach, Herr Paul, 59.
Roman Empire, 33, 195.
Roosevelt, President Franklin, 2.
Rothermere, Lord, 75.
Ruanda, mandated territory, 131–6 ; topography, 131, 134–5 ; native unrest, 131, 132 ; native administration, 131 ; national status, 133 ; public debt, 133, 135 ; agriculture, 134 ; mining, 134 ; cattle, 135 ; raw materials, 173.

St. Germain en Laye, Convention of, 109.
Sakenobe, M., 29.
Samoa, Western, 36, 150–7, 174.
Sandys, Mr. Duncan, M.P., 70.
Saud, King Ibn, 169.
Schacht, Dr. Hjalmar, 1, 176.
Schnoeckel, Major P., 59.
Schoen, Herr Ludwig, 59.
Schoenfeld, Capt. W., 59.
Schnee, Dr. Heinrich von, 1, 44, 50, 51, 56, 60, 69.
Schwarz, Prof. E. H. L., 78.
Scott, Lord Francis, 74.
Seitz, General, 15.
Serra, Count G., 182, 183.
Sisal, fibre, 117, 118, 177.
Slavery, 23, 143.
Slave traffic, 26.
Smuts, General Jan Christian, 10, 103, 104, 106, 107, 189.
Social Credit Review, 182.
South Africa, 6.
South Seas Bureau, 158.
South-West Africa, 39, 40, 78–100; diamond industry, 85–7; public debt, 85; irrigation, 85; stock farms, 88; Karakul industry, 88; education, 89; imports and exports, 89; population, 90; immigration quota, 90, 91; artesian wells, 92; campaign in, 93; administration, 94; legislative assembly, 94; advisory council, 94; elections, 95; native unrest, 96; German agitation, 97, 98; fifth province movement, 98, 124; railways, 84; German intrigue, 197; raw materials, 173, 174.
Sovereignty of mandate, 27.
Spain and colonies, 33, 195.
Speyer, Dr. (Consul), 67.
Staff talks, 102.
Stanhope, Earl of, 71.
Sunday Tribune (Durban), 180.
Supreme Court, U.S.A., 3; New Zealand, 153.
Swakopmund, 84.
Swinton, Lord, 47.
Symes, Sir Stewart, 108.
Syria to-day, 167–9.
Syria, Republic of, 167.

Tanga, port of, 6, 67, 107.
Tanganyika, 5, 22, 27, 101–29; strategic value 101; campaign, 104–8; social services, 112; missions, 113; education, 113; population, 115; German immigration, 115, 180; garrison, 115; police, 115; railways, 115, 116; aviation, 116; products, 117; metals, 118, 119.

Tanganyika without prejudice, 32 (footnote).
Tariffs, 3.
Te Water, Mr., 125.
Theodoli, Marquis, 29, 145.
'This mandate business,' 1.
Thomas, Mr. J. H., 70.
Thurnwald, Professor, 55.
Thyssen, Herr, 53.
Togoland, 136–46; raw materials, 173, 180–1; under British mandate, 137, 139, 140, 143–6; under French mandate, 137, 138, 139, 140.
Tombeur, General, 107.
Townsend, Mr. H. O., 149.
Transjordania to-day, 166.
Treaties of Berlin and Brussels, 176.
Troll, Professor, 55.
Troost, Herr Ernst, 64.
Trotha, General von, 14.

Union of mandated territories, 26, 45.
Upumbu, Chief, 30.
Urundi To-day, 130–6.
Usagara Company, 64–6.

Vandals and Herreros, 78.
Van Deventer, General, 107, 108.
Versailles, Treaty of, 4, 8, 9, 19, 53, 69.
Voelkischer Beobachter, 20.
Voigt, Mr. Richard, 159.
Vorbeck, Colonel von Lettow, 16, 51, 105 (footnote).

Walvis Bay, 82, 92, 96.
Walvis River, 92.
War-guilt, 12–18.
Watussi tribe, 130.
Weizmann, Dr. Chain, 164.
Werth, Mr. A. J., 94.
Westermann, Professor, 55.
Western Samoa, 150–7.
Weston, Bishop Frank, 18.
Windhoek, 84, 99.
Wissmann, Major, 65.
'Wobbling'—the gentle art of, 68–77.
Woermann, Adolf, 52.
Woodrow Wilson, President, 1.

Zambesi River, 180.
Zionism in Syria, 168.
Zionist Congress, 162.
Zyl, Mr. Justice van, 42 (footnote).

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
WYMAN AND SONS, LIMITED,
LONDON, FAKENHAM AND READING.